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# Languages and Cultures

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*edited by*

Mohammad Ali Jazayery and Werner Winter

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## Foreword

This volume had been planned for publication in 1985, to celebrate Professor Polomé's sixty-fifth birthday. We regret that publication was delayed, primarily because of difficulties that were caused by M. A. Jazayery's extended health problems. We apologize to the contributors, and to Dr. Polomé, and appreciate their patience. We also apologize to those colleagues who were unable to participate in this tribute to our colleague and friend because they felt they could not meet the original deadline. Had we, and they, known at the outset that more time would be available, they would now be represented in the following pages.

The editors are pleased that their invitation for participation in this volume met with such an enthusiastic response from so distinguished a group of scholars from around the world — itself a tribute to Edgar Polomé. The variety of subjects and languages covered in the papers reflects the breadth of his interests, and the calibre of the intellectual company he has kept throughout his career. We feel this volume is a fitting tribute to a man whose scholarship and teaching set standards we hope our younger colleagues will aspire to and emulate.

We would like to thank, first of all, the contributors. We also thank Dean Robert D. King of the College of Liberal Arts, University of Texas at Austin, himself a contributor, for his generous assistance in the administration of this project. Mrs. Dorothy DeLong, the Administrative Associate at the University's Department of Oriental and African Languages and Literatures, and in that capacity a colleague of Professor Polomé, has from the start helped with the correspondence, record-keeping, typing and other tasks without which the editors could not have brought the project to completion. Her help and personal interest are very much appreciated. Our thanks finally go to Christian A. Winter, whose careful proofreading greatly facilitated Werner Winter's editorial work.

M. A. Jazayery

Werner Winter



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## **Edgar C. Polomé: A biographical sketch**

M. A. Jazayery

Edgar Charles Polomé was born on July 31, 1920, the son of Marcel Félicien Polomé and Berthe Henry. He graduated (with highest distinction) from the Athénée Royal de Koekelberg in Brussels, Belgium. He received university degrees from the Université Libre de Bruxelles (candidature en philologie germanique), the Université Catholique de Louvain (License en philologie germanique), and, once again, the Université Libre de Bruxelles, which granted him the Doctorat en philologie germanique in 1949. His university studies, while concentrating on Germanic philology, included classics, Sanskrit, and comparative religion, in all of which he has retained considerable active interest.

He began his teaching career in Brussels, where he taught Dutch, English, and German at the Athénée Adolphe Max from 1942 to 1956; during 1954–56, he also taught Dutch for the Belgian Broadcasting Corporation. For the next four years, he was professor of linguistics at the Université Officielle du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, teaching general as well as Indo-European and African linguistics, and conducted extensive field work of African sociolinguistics.

At the University of Texas at Austin, Edgar Polomé has been on the staff of the departments of Germanic Languages, of Linguistics (established in 1965), and Oriental and African Languages and Literatures (founded in 1969). He was the first Chairman of the latter Department, from 1969–1976. Professor Polomé is also on the faculties of several interdisciplinary, interdepartmental programs: Center for Asian Studies, of which he was the Director from 1962–72; Center for Middle Eastern Studies; and the program in Foreign Language Education. He also taught at the University of Kiel, Germany, as a Fulbright Professor, in 1968, and was Visiting Research Professor at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, in 1969–70.

Dr. Polomé is currently the Christie and Stanley E. Adams, Jr. Centennial Professor in Liberal Arts. This Professorship is one of several established to commemorate the centennial of the University

of Texas, celebrated in 1984. He is one of the distinguished faculty members honored by appointment to the centennial professorships.

Dr. Polomé married Julia Josephine Schwindt in 1944. They had two children: Monique Polomé Ellsworth, and Dr. André Polomé. Julia passed away on May 27, 1975. Since July 11, 1980, he has been married to Barbara Elizabeth Baker Harris. Edgar is a devoted family man and has always combined a happy family life with a highly successful career as a scholar-teacher.

Professor Polomé's scholarly activities have by no means been limited to his teaching. He has pursued a tireless career in research and publication, as his bibliography in this volume clearly shows. He is also a frequent participant in national and international conferences, congresses, symposia, and seminars. He is a member of many professional societies around the world, and has held offices in a number of them.

This volume, in short, honors a man with a career both distinguished and varied. He is a global man: in geography, in education, in teaching, in scholarship. He has roamed the world in pursuit of knowledge; and has roamed through many disciplines and many millennia to bring balance and depth to that knowledge. His thirst for learning is matched by his dedication to teaching; and to both he brings a quality of humanity that makes for a true scholar, and for a good person.

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# **Speech and religious affiliation in Egypt**

Peter F. Abboud

It has been shown that in some parts of the Arabic speaking world, such as Iraq and North Africa, speech differentiation runs along communal lines, i. e., is attributable to religious affiliation, and that the linguistic differentiation is reflected in the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the various speech communities. Thus, in Iraq for example, Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Baghdadi Arabic differ in the absence or presence of certain consonants, in the distribution and historical correspondence of vowels, in anaptyxis, in the forms of the personal pronouns and of the feminine ending on nouns, in the forms of the simple pattern of the verb, and in the use of a postpositional copula, to name a few.<sup>1</sup> This paper will look at the spoken dialects in Egypt for such diversity; in other words, it will seek to answer the question as to whether the hearer of a speech event can tell the religious affiliation of the speaker and whether the speaker's perception of his/her own or his/her hearers' affiliation determines in some way his/her verbal behavior, and, if so, how and under what circumstances.

It will be stated at the outset that no evidence whatsoever for any speech differentiation has been found between the religious communities in Egypt, namely the Christian and the Muslim, in the areas of phonology, morphology, or syntax, i. e., that in Egypt there are no clues in the sounds, word structure, morphological patterns, or sentence structure that will identify a person's religious affiliation. Such differentiation is to be found in Egypt, as in other parts of the Arab world, along regional, socio-economic, and gender lines. Thus, for example, there are well-known, marked differences between the speech of Cairenes and that of Upper Egyptians; also, recent research has shown that social class and gender influence the pronunciation of the emphatics.<sup>2</sup> But the kind of linguistic differentiation spoken of above does not exist and has to my knowledge never been reported for Egypt in the literature nor advanced by any scholar.

There are, however, identifiable differences between the speech of Muslim and Christian communities in two areas, namely in given

names and titles, and in verbal expressions containing religious terms used in everyday conversation in non-religious contexts, expressions which we will call for lack of a better term speech seasoners or qualifiers. In a society where religious concepts and precepts pervade every aspect of living, it is natural to expect that such religious expressions peculiar to each community become part and parcel of the speaker's linguistic performance and can thus serve as speech differentiators. For self-evident reasons, we exclude from consideration verbal and non-verbal behavior associated with the performance of a religious duty or ritual, such as being in a particular house of worship, reciting religious texts or prayers, etc., where the communal differentiation is obvious and plan to refer only to contexts that are non-religious in nature where such speech seasoners are used. Needless to say that the approach will be illustrative rather than exhaustive.

## Names and titles

It is clearly the case in Egypt, as elsewhere in the Arab world, that the most widely used given names in the community refer to religious personages revered in that community and are the exclusive domain of that community. Thus, *Muḥammad*, 'Umar, 'Ali are exclusively Muslim names, while *Matta* 'Matthew', *Būlus* 'Paul', and *Šinūda* are exclusively Christian.<sup>3</sup> One can further notice that names with 'asmā' 'illāh al-ḥusnā 'the beautiful names of God' following 'Abd, such as 'Abd-il'ādir, 'Abd-issamī' etc., are exclusively given to members of the Muslim community, while names of foreign origin, such as *Luwīs*, 'Louis', 'Albēr 'Albert', 'Ilēn' 'Helen' and Pharaonic and Roman names such as 'Izīs, *Ramsīs*, 'Aḥmis, or *Kliyu* are given exclusively to Christians.

It must be noted, however, that there is an appreciable number of names that are shared by the whole society. These include both religiously neutral names such as *Nabīl*, *Layla*, *Muna*, *Muḥsin*, etc., and names that are part of the common religious heritage of Christians and Muslims such as *Maryam* 'Mary', *Mūsa* 'Moses', *Dawūd* 'David', *Yūsif* 'Joseph', and others. Not all such common-heritage religious names, of course, are in actual use by everybody. Some



are not used at all by anybody, e. g., the name *Hawwa* 'Eve'. Some are given to members of one community but not the other, e. g. *'Isma 'il* 'Ishmael', which is only a Muslim name. And where a common personage is given different names in each of the Scriptures of the two communities, the form that is used in one's scripture is normally the one given, e. g., *Yahya* and *Hanna* refer to the same person, John (the Baptist), but Muslims use only the first, which is the one given in the Qur'an, and Christians, only the second. In this connection, it is worth noting that while the Qur'anic name for Jesus, *'Isa*, is widely used in the Levant by both Christian and Muslim communities, this is not the case in Egypt, where it is not given by the former except among people of Levantine extraction.

With respect to religious titles, one can say that they unmistakably identify religious affiliation of the referent and that most are used by all segments of the population in referring to the individual in question, be it *iššēx*, the title given to a man who has Islamic religious training, *ilhagg*, the title given to a Muslim who has performed the pilgrimage rite, or *il'assīs* 'Pastor, Reverend', etc. Some are more restricted, however; thus *sayyidna*, which refers to the Coptic Pope, is never used but by a member of that community to a co-religionist or another Christian. Such is also the case with the titles given by Christians to Christ, and with *abūna* 'Father (referring to a priest)'.

## Expressions of religious content used as speech seasoners

These expressions are widely used in event initiation or termination, as speech interruptors or reinforcers, in social rituals and amenities, in crises, in entreaty, asseveration, adjuration, oaths, swearing, and as emotive exclamations of admiration, distress, surprise, anger, and frustration. Before discussing them as indicators of religious affiliation, we will give a few of their general characteristics:

1. These speech seasoners are numerous and their use is widespread and pervasive. They form a large repertoire shared by the whole community. Forms like *rabbina-kbīr* 'our God is great' (said to someone in distress, or as a wish for one's vindication by God, etc.), *'ala-lla* 'it is up to God' (said as a prayer for



God's help, to wish someone well, as a threat, as a wish that something good might happen to one, etc.), and many others, are in everybody's speech. Also, similar experiential situations prompt their use.

2. The religious content of these expressions is sometimes diluted in form and meaning beyond recognition. Who today would recognize the word *'Allāh* in *'aywa* (< *'ay wallāh*), 'yes', or who would utter the word *'allah* as an expression of surprise or frustration with the awareness of a reference to the deity? Similarly, *ya šēx* 'Oh man' is used as a term of address to anyone of the male gender with no reference whatsoever to the turbaned individual given that title or to the age of the person. Consider also the surprising form *ya šēxa*, the feminine counterpart to the expression *ya šēx*, for which there is no referent with the original meaning, i. e., there is no female *šēx*.

3. The use of these speech seasoners and the number of them in a repertoire is often a function and an indicator of socio-economic class, gender, or age. One can observe that the number decreases, and there is increased 'secularization', as people climb the socioeconomic and educational ladder. Thus, the expression *'alayya-ttālā* lit. 'I would be bound (by this oath) to divorcing my wife (were such and such a thing to or not to happen)' (said as some kind of solemn affirmation or denial) identifies the user, in addition to being a Muslim, as belonging to the lower, and is unlikely to be used by individuals in the higher, echelons of the social ladder. In addition, it is used exclusively by males. On the other hand, such expressions as *'ism-alla 'alēk* 'May the name of God be upon you' in its normal primary meaning (said, e. g., by an older person to ask for God's protection of, or to express admiration for, a younger person), is used exclusively by women, though like many other speech seasoners it has developed secondary meanings and is used by men to mock someone.

4. This brings up an important characteristic of these seasoners, namely that they can be used in a variety of contexts with primary, secondary, and metaphorical meanings. It is enough to point to the various functions of items such as *'allah*, lit., 'God', used by everybody regardless of religious affiliation to express admiration, or surprise, or dissatisfaction (in which case it is usually reiterated), or disapproval, or disbelief, etc., and *salli 'a-nnabi* 'bless the prophet' which is used mainly by, and exclusively to, Muslims, to fill periods of silence in conversation, to express admiration for a commendable

act, to draw someone's attention (as in a café), to relieve tension or animosity in a hot discussion, or to comfort someone in distress, etc. It must be remembered that intonation patterns associated with these expressions play a crucial role in conveying the intention of the speaker and the various subtleties of meaning. The situation is complex, but there is clearly identifiable structure. Children do learn these expressions; they thus belong in a linguistic description of a language or dialect.

Having given these general observations about language seasoners, we will now move to their use as determiners of linguistic affiliation.

1. Expressions that are not compatible with the religious beliefs of one of the communities will in most cases not be used by a member of that community and will identify the speaker as belonging to the other religious community. Thus, *wi lmushaf* 'by the Holy Scripture (the Qur'an)', *salli 'a-nnabi* 'bless the prophet', *ya nūr-innabi* 'how great! (lit. the light of the prophet!)', *da zarna-nnabi* 'we are honored and pleased to have you (lit. the prophet has visited us)' are unmistakably Muslim.

Whether the expression is addressed only to, or in the hearing of, a co-religionist, or not, very much depends on the nature of the expression. Thus, one that would require the hearer to participate in the exchange, such as *salli 'a-nnabi* given above, which usually elicits from the hearer the response *allahumma salli wa sallim* 'may God bless him (the prophet)', which must be compatible with his religious belief, is unlikely to be used with a non-Muslim. The same is true of the fourth expression above. The first and third expressions, however, do not require a response from the hearer, and are used in the hearing of co-religionists and others as well. Similar expressions that are used by Christians and which are unmistakably Christian, however, are unlikely to be used in the hearing of Muslims.

2. There is one case where expressions that run counter to a religious position, instruction, or injunction, of one community, have become adopted by members of that community and used by them with members of both communities. Thus, oath words such as *wallāhi* 'by God', *widīni* 'by my religion', *wahyāt rabbina* 'on God's life' are widely used by members of the Christian faith, which has an injunction against swearing, both among themselves and with others. This is a striking example of social adaptation.

It must be mentioned, though, that adopting of minority expressions by the majority does not occur. Adoption of speech seasoners, when and if it occurs, is a one-way street, usually minority borrowing from majority.

3. A few expressions that are not compatible with the religious beliefs of a speaker are sometimes used by that speaker only with members of the other community. Thus, *ramadān karīm* 'Ramadan brings lots of favors with it' and *wi-nnabi* 'by the Prophet', with the meaning of asking a favor, are examples of items used by Christians with Muslims. This is not done with Christian co-religionists, but I have heard the outright Muslim expression *lā 'ilāha 'illā-llāh* 'there is no god but God' so used for effect, the implication being 'I am so mad at you, I am ready to renege'. Again, such adoption is a one-way street for the most part.

4. It is not the case that all seasoners of speech in use by the religious majority that are compatible with the religious beliefs of the minority are necessarily adopted by the latter. Thus, there is certainly nothing un-Christian about the *basmala*, i.e., *bism-illāhi-rraḥmāni-rraḥīm*, 'in the name of God, the most merciful, the most compassionate' and certainly not as initiator of an event. In fact, Arabic manuscripts from St. Catherine monastery in Mt. Sinai that I worked on, which were translations into Arabic of some books of the Old Testament, had the *basmala* at the heading of each book. It is not so today: Only Muslims use the expression, and anyone using it is identified as a Muslim. Such is also the case with *lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata 'illā billāh*. 'Ability and power are to be found in God only'. On the other hand *'innā lillāhi wa 'innā 'ilayhi rāji 'ūn*, 'we are God's and to God we shall return', which is a Qur'anic quotation, is sometimes, though not very commonly, used by Christians in offering condolences to members of the Muslim faith, but never by Christians among Christians. It must be pointed out, again, that this type of adoption is a one-way street, and again, in the direction given above.

To summarize, speech in Egypt is characterized by the frequent and widespread use by all elements of society, for a variety of purposes, of religious expressions in ordinary non-religious conversation or speech acts. These expressions, or language seasoners, as we called them, which are usually polysemic and are highly structured, together with names and religious titles, do identify the religious affiliation of the speaker, whereas no identifiable element of the phonology, morphology or syntax as such does.

*Notes*

1. For full details and for a bibliography on the topic of speech and religious affiliation see Haim Blanc, *Communal dialects in Baghdad* (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs X) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964).
2. For a discussion of this topic and a detailed bibliography see Ann Royal's University of Texas at Austin forthcoming dissertation *Male/female norms for phonetic 'emphasis' in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic: A sociolinguistic comparison of two Cairo neighborhoods*.
3. The transcription used here follows generally accepted practice. Emphasis is indicated with a line underneath the portion of the word that is velarized, mostly one or more syllables, as pronounced in Egypt.



# On the origins of the Indo-European dative-locative singular endings

Francisco R. Adrados

## 1. *\*-i*, *\*-ei*, old final elements of stems

The reconstruction of a locative singular ending *\*-i* and a dative singular one *\*-ei* is traditional. However, like other scholars,<sup>1</sup> I am of course of the opinion that dative and locative were not distinguished in Indo-European, and that the distinction in Hittite of a locative and a directive or terminative, insofar as it existed, is secondary, an intent that never managed to prevail at best. That is, that the distribution of *-i* and *-ei*, their use in the different languages, is also secondary. In any case, this does not take us to the heart of the matter for it is a question of one and the same ending in two different degrees of alternance.

The problem is as follows. It is well known that there are noticeable remains of athematic pure stems, which among other things, function as locatives or dative-locatives in different languages; alongside these forms, there are those others which add *\*-i* or *\*-ei* (or both things alternatively) to the stem. Where, then, do these *\*-i*, *\*-ei* endings come from?

There is a traditional thesis which states that it is an agglutination onto the stem of an adverbial or pronominal element. A similar explanation is usually given to endings in *\*-oi/\*-ei* and in *\*-ō* of nouns, too (second declension), whilst the dative singular in *\*-ōi* of said stems are habitually interpreted as derivatives of *\*-o-ei*.<sup>2</sup> According to this view, we are faced with postpositions which would later have been agglutinated.

I believe that this thesis has a series of drawbacks and that one can formulate another that enables us to explain simultaneously the cases of the athematic declension with *\*-i*, *\*-ei* as endings; cases of athematic inflexion in *\*-i* with non-desinential *\*-ēi*, *\*-ei*, these being part of the stem; cases of the second declension with *\*-ōi*, *\*-oi/\*-ei* and *\*-ō* (dative, locative, and instrumental, according to the usual classification); and finally, others of the inflexion in *\*-ā* either with

this form or with the form *\*-āi*, which, among others, performs the functions of dative-locative. In principle, an explanation that affects a maximum of problems at the same time and which is simpler, is also more plausible. The one I am going to put forward on the one hand affects several stems; on the other, it affects cases such as the dative, locative, and instrumental, regarding which there is a tendency today to consider them as secondary specializations on the basis of an old Indo-European case which was the fifth along with the nominative, vocative, accusative, and genitive, and which, either with a pure stem or with the above-mentioned forms, indicated several relationships of the local or adverbial type. If we manage to prove that the forms of these cases in the different stems and different languages are the result of secondary specifications on the basis of older unitarian forms, we shall doubtless have progressed along the course we have marked out.

My starting point is as follows. We could without doubt accept that *\*-i*, *\*-ei* is an agglutinated element in the athematic declensions except for that in *\*-i* (in forms such as *\*pod-ei*, *\*pod-i*) if it were not that a) it is the same element that appears as a thematic one precisely in stems in *\*-i* and, b) this theory is faced with problems when it is applied to thematic stems of the second declension. I shall explain this further.

a) As examples of *\*-i*, *\*-ei*, and also *\*-ēi*, in dative or locative, Greek forms such as *póli*, *pólei*, *pólēi*, can be put forward, the details of which I am not going to go into here, but which are sufficiently clear. Likewise, there are forms from other languages: OInd. *agnāy* (*-ī*), Goth. *anstai* (< *\*-ēi*), OCS *pōti*, *nošti*, Lat. *ouī*, etc. (< *\*-ei*), Lat. *oue* (< *\*-i*). One should add forms such as *šuppai*, *šuppi* in Hittite, as likewise parallels in other languages of Asia Minor. One should also explain that *šuppai* certainly comes from *\*-āi*, as perhaps does Goth. *anstai* and without doubt, *gasta* (from *gasts* < *\*ghostis*), see below. In all these cases, it is a question of forms with a pure stem, parallel to others in *-r*, *-n*, *-s*, etc., recently studied by Neu. Alongside these forms, others of the type of OInd. *agnāye* (< *\*-eī-ei*), *pátye*, *dhiyé*, Hitt. *šuppaia* (also forms in *-iḫa*) are obviously recharacterized forms: *-ei* was taken as an ending that was added to the diverse athematic stems and, finally, to the same stems in *-i*. The same should be thought of the *-a* of Hittite, most certainly derived from *\*-āi*: *šuppaia* from *\*-āi-ā(i)*.

My conclusion is therefore the following: the diverse endings with *-i* are originally final ones of pure stems in dative-locative singular use (and at times in other uses, too). Grammaticalized as endings, they later became widespread.

b) I add here that which concerns the stems in *\*-o*, which I shall attempt to explain briefly. In fact, there is no room here, even as a working hypothesis, to suggest the possibility of an agglutination. For forms of the types of *\*ped* or *\*pod* 'foot', *\*kuon* or *\*kun* 'dog', *\*nebhes*, *\*nebhos* 'cloud', were Indo-European words subject to the secondary addition of endings of whatever origin they might be; *\*egni* 'fire', *\*oui* 'sheep', *\*ghosti* 'guest' were also Indo-European words which from a certain date onwards were susceptible to usage either as pure stems or with the addition of endings. Yet *\*deiyo*, *\*ulko*, etc., were never Indo-European words.

What Specht and others had already deduced from diverse data — the recent nature of the Indo-European thematic inflexion — has been confirmed by the data of Anatolian. We know that a nominative singular in this language can be *keššar* or *keššaraš* 'hand', that in the accusative it was *keššar* or *keššaram*, etc.<sup>3</sup> The forms in *-o/-e* are mere abstractions and nothing else: As against oppositions of the type of nominative *-s*/vocative *-Ø* (*\*-is/\*-i*, *\*-ds/\*-d*, etc.) beside the nominative *-os*, a vocative *\*-o* was created (and *\*-e*, to attain greater characterization with the aid of vocalic alternance).

It is thus impossible to postulate a dative *\*-ōi* < *\*-o-ei* or a locative *\*-oi*, *\*-ei* < *\*-o-i*, *\*-e-i*: from forms which never existed. The authentically old forms are those in *\*-os* and in *\*-om*, of which lengthened forms *\*-ōs* and *\*-ōm* were used to secondarily characterize the nominative plural and genitive plural.<sup>4</sup>

Where then do the forms in *\*-ōi*, *\*-oi*, *\*-ō* come from? This latter could perhaps be considered as a form abstracted from the others, like that of the vocative, lengthened for the purpose of differentiation. Yet it is rather a variant of *\*-ōi*, secondarily classified as an instrumental: see what I say below on the variants *\*-āi/\*-ā*. We have, in fact, forms in *\*-i* preceded by the thematic vowel (*\*-ōi*, *\*-o/\*-ei*) which cannot be explained by either agglutination or by secondary extension of the *\*-i* to a pre-existent form: there was in fact no such form.



## 2. *\*-ā(i)*, an old thematic element: *\*-ōi*, analogical to same

My hypothesis is the following: *\*-ō(i)* is analogical to *\*-ā(i)*; there was, as is well known, all manner of reciprocal influence and interference between the two declensions in *\*-ā* and *\*-o* from an early date. As regards *\*-o/ei*, this is a second analogical form: in this ending, the usual short quantity of the thematic vowel prevailed (above all in the singular: *\*-os*, *\*-om*, *\*-e*); in *\*-ōi* the fact that the model had a long vowel prevailed. I have already said that *\*-ō* is simply a variant of *\*-ōi*.

I am not unaware that it is traditionally postulated that this is a case of three different forms, one for the dative, one for the locative, and another for the instrumental. Yet I have said that the dative and locative should be accepted as originally having one single form. Of course, certain languages tended to specialize *\*-ōi* as against *\*-oi* (and *\*-ei* as against *\*-i*) as the dative against the locative. But this is a secondary phenomenon.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, the instrumental in *\*-ō*, which is only to be found in thematic nouns and is doubtless analogical to the instrumental in *\*-ā* and *\*-ē* of stems with these long vowels.

In any case, the problem of the secondary distribution of the forms — their chronology, dialectal distribution, differences according to the stems — is not of particular interest to me here. What I am interested in is that just as I explain *\*-ei*, *\*-i* on the strength of the stems in *\*-i* because they are forms of some and not of the rest, I likewise explain *\*-o(i)*, *\*-o/ei* on the strength of *\*-ā(i)* (and stems in *\*-ē(i)*, *\*-ō(i)*, with a long vowel) because in these stems the forms in question are well explained, while those of the second declension are not.

In principle, the explanation of *\*-āi* could be sought along the lines of agglutination. Given that a root or stem in *\*-ā* (and *\*-ē*, *\*-ō*) was indeed at the same time an Indo-European word that could be used either with its pure stem or with endings, it could be postulated that *\*-āi* comes from *\*-ā-ei*: the traditional explanation, as is well known. If we accepted this theory, it would obviously be on the basis of asserting the origin of this *\*-ei* in *\*-i* stems.

But I do not think the explanation should be accepted. I believe that the forms in *\*-ā* and *\*-āi*, like those in *\*-a* and *\*-ai*, are simply

pure stems, later classified and specialized in several functions (nominative, dative-locative, and vocative singular above all, and also nominative-accusative-vocative plural neuter). In a form like *\*g<sup>n</sup>nāi* 'woman' or *\*potniāi* 'lady' the final *\*-āi* corresponded respectively to the root and the stem (neither more nor less than the *\*-ā* or *\*-a* of *\*g<sup>n</sup>nā* and *\*potnia*, derived from *\*potni<sup>o</sup>H* in certain languages, whilst others syllabized *\*potniH*, whence OInd. *patnī*). However, a desinential *\*-āi* was to be seen here which analogically, as I said above, gave rise to the forms *\*-ō(i)*, *\*-o/ei* mentioned above in the nouns of the second declension.

That *\*-āi* and *\*-ā* were, as I suggest, two variants of one originally identical form, presents not great problem. It would be a case of a fact parallel to the existence of variants *\*-ā/\*-āu*, *\*-ō/\*-ōu*, *\*-ē/\*-ēu*, a well-known fact, whatever the explanation given for it (of the type of OInd. *jajñā/jajñau*, *aṣṭā/aṣṭāu*, etc.). For example, it could be thought that in principle *\*-āi* and *\*-ā* (as in the parallel case I have just mentioned) were combinatory variants, the former before a vowel and the latter before a consonant: cf. Hitt. *šuppaia* with *-ai* before a vowel. But both were generalized later, thus in Hittite there is both *šuppa* and *šuppai*. Moreover, they were later reclassified to mark different functions. Neither is there any problem in the interpretation of the form with a short vowel, *\*-a*. On the other hand, some have an infrequent form *\*-āi*, see below.

The fact is that the stems in *\*-ā* (and those in *\*-ē* and in *\*-ō*) have highly noticeable connections. It is enough to recall that I have just quoted as a parallel to the *\*-āi/\*-ā* opposition that of Hittite forms of a stem in *\*-i*, *šuppi*. Now, it is well known that Hittite mixed up the two older declensions in *\*-os* and in *\*-ā* into one. A form *annaš* 'mother' may come from a stem in *\*-ā*, for example. On the other hand, as *\*a* and *\*o* are confused in Hittite *a*, either for phonetic or graphic reasons, we cannot find here any differences between original forms in *\*-ā(i)* and *\*-ō(i)*, and I think that this is one of the basic reasons for the fusion of the two declensions in one, for most forms coincide.<sup>6</sup>

However, regardless of the presence of forms with original *\*o* in certain words of the first Hittite (and Anatolian) declension, the fact is that in the dative-locative (also taking the forms of the so-called directive), we find both in nouns in *-aš* (beneath which those in *\*-ā* are concealed) and in those with a stem in *-i* and in *-ai* (including the neuters), dative-locative forms such as those mentioned above: that is, in *-i*, *-iā*, *-a*, *-ai*, *-aia*. It may be said that in

this respect there is no difference between these declensions. On the other hand, the very forms I have just mentioned went over to the dative — locative of the other declensions: as they are thematic forms (except for the *-a* of *-ija*, *-aja*, as I have said) in the declensions in *\*-ā* and *\*-i* and not so in the others, this confirms what I said before on the spreading of said forms, interpreted as endings. The attribution of diverse forms among these to different declensions is based on recent classifications, as well as on the kinship of the forms in question with others in *\*-a* and *\*-ai* of the nominative-accusative-vocative plural neuter and with abstracts in *-ati(t)* of Luwian and corresponding forms in other languages.<sup>7</sup>

To sum up, wherever it is a question of thematic elements, and, likewise, wherever there are desinential elements abstracted analogically from the former, we find forms with *\*-āi* or *\*-ā* alongside others with *\*-i*; obviously they must have been present also with *\*-ē(i)*, *\*-ō(i)* in words with stems in *\*H<sub>1</sub>* and *\*H<sub>3</sub>*, also in alternance with *\*-i* (of the type of Gk. *peithō(i)*, OInd. *rāyās* < *\*rēi-*), etc. The abstracting of a declension in *-i* without long vowel forms (except in the dative-locative in *\*-ēi*), is doubtless a recent phenomenon.

As a matter of fact, the old relationship between these stems has been examined several times, but has been lost from sight on many other occasions. To give an example, it is usual to postulate that forms of the Gothic dative-locative such as *anstai* (from *anstis*, fem.) or *gasta* (from *gasts*, masc.) come, respectively, from the analogy of the stems in *\*-a* (< *\*-os*) and in *\*-ō* (< *\*-ā*).<sup>8</sup> The only thing that is clear here is that both the old stems in *\*-ā* and those in *\*-i* have identical dative-locative with secondary distribution in the latter of the two complementary forms *\*-ai/-a* between the feminine and masculine. The form of the thematic ones doubtless comes from the analogical form *\*-ō(i)* which we already know. All this proves that the non-distinction of the above-mentioned inflexions, at least as far as the dative-locative is concerned, is not exclusive to Anatolian: it is an older phenomenon. Only that stage of Indo-European which I have called IE III or post-Anatolian carried out the separation of the inflexions with the aid of a greatly renovated system of vocalic alternances, and even then, not completely.

In any case, certain data should be added on the relationship between forms in *\*-ā* and forms in *\*-āi* in order to show that my attribution of a single origin for the nominative singular in *\*-ā* and the dative-locative in *\*-āi* is not arbitrary. On the one hand, as I

have already said, an older complementary distribution of  $*-\bar{a}$  and  $*-\bar{a}i$  can be postulated; that is, there is no phonetic problem. On the other, there is nothing strange about the fact that a pure stem should be specialized as either nominative or dative-locative (and also as vocative and as nominative-accusative-vocative plural neuter): This phenomenon is to be re-encountered in the athematic declensions. But it so happens that besides this, the identity of  $*-\bar{a}$  and  $*-\bar{a}i$  forms is not only shown indirectly through their alternance with  $*-ei$ ,  $*-i$  forms, as I have demonstrated so far. It is also an obvious and tangible fact.

### 3. $*-\bar{a}$ , $*-\bar{a}i$ , $*-a$ , $*-ai$ , $*ei-$ , $*-i$ as older variants

In fact, in the inflexion of the stems in  $*-\bar{a}$ , these forms are closely intermingled with those in  $*-a$  (there is no need to give examples), and also with those in  $*-\bar{a}i$  and those in  $*-ai$ . Among the former, one should not only count those which appear as variants of pure stems in  $*-\bar{a}$ , but also forms in which the stem is followed by an ending.

Thus, it is well known that in the Indian inflexion of the stems in  $-\bar{a}$ , we not only have forms of a pure stem in  $-\bar{a}$  (which function in this language also as instrumental) and others with  $-\bar{a}$  followed by a consonantal ending, but also forms in  $*-ay$  followed by a vocalic ending.

They are forms of the type of *prajay-ā* (and *-ai*, *-ās*, *-ām*, *-os*) which are obviously recharacterized forms to mark the different cases more clearly than with the mere pure stem in  $*-\bar{a}i$ . For this is a case of a pure stem in  $*-\bar{a}i$ ; that much is quite clear: the desinential elements in the above-mentioned forms are  $-\bar{a}$ ,  $-ai$ , etc., and not  $*-yā$ ,  $*-yai$ , etc. This is also shown by the fact that there are forms in  $*-\bar{a}i$  in diverse languages. There are also forms in  $*-ai$ : they are obviously pure stems in a relationship of vocalic alternance with the equally pure stems in  $*-\bar{a}i$  and have been grammaticalized either as vocative singular or as nominative-accusative-vocative dual (OInd. *práje* and *prajé* respectively).

This form which occurs in the stems in  $*-\bar{a}$  also occurs in the so-called roots in a long diphthong of the type of *rās* / *rāyās*. It has its parallel in data from other languages: within the declension in  $*-\bar{a}$ , cf. for example, OCS *ženojə*, Lith. *rañkoje*. We also find forms of a pure stem in  $*-ai$ , for example, in the duals (OCS

ženě, etc. and, some think in Gk. *khôrai*). Another noteworthy example is the Greek vocative *gúnai* from *guně* (cf. also the cases with *gunaik-*).

The following principle could be formulated: there are pure stems in *\*-ā*, in *\*-āi*, in *\*-a* or in *\*-ai*; and there is also the fact that when these pure stems have a consonantal ending added to them, they appear in the form of *\*-ā*, and when a vocalic ending is added, they appear in the form of *\*-āi*. I have elsewhere come to the subsequent conclusion that derivatives (nominals, adjectivals or verbals) with *\*-io/e* of stems in *\*-aha* must be interpreted as simple derivatives with *\*-o/e*, the thematic vowel: the yod is part of the nominal stem. Thus, in cases such / as Gk. *gunaîos*, *mna(i)omai* from the root *\*g<sup>h</sup>nā* / *\*g<sup>h</sup>nāi* or OInd. *dhyāyati*. Among numerous other examples we could point to Lithuanian nominal and adjectival stems in *-ājo*, *-ējo*, *-ōjo*, etc.<sup>10</sup> The opposition between Gk. *tīmāmi* and Aeolian Gk. *tima(i)ō* (and other similar ones in diverse languages) is thus to be explained by the mechanism studied above.

I do not wish to stress these data, which I have studied elsewhere. What I do wish to show here is that if the declension in *\*-ā* presents only forms with *\*-ā*, *\*-āi* or *\*-ai* and not with *\*-ei* or *\*-i*, and the declension in *\*-i* in turn presents, save rare exceptions, forms in *\*-i* or *\*-ei*, but not in *\*-ā*, etc., this cannot be interpreted unless it be as the result of a regularization. We have in fact found bridges between the two series in Anatolian languages and also in Gothic. These bridges are also to be found elsewhere, and in particular, in stems in *\*-ō* and in *\*-ē* which preserve alternances of the type of OInd. *sakhā* / *sakhāyam* / *sakhibhis* / *sakhye*, *pānthās* / *pānthibhis* (cf. OCS *pōtī*), Gk. *peithō* / *peithōūs* < *\*peithoios*, Lat. *nubēs* / *nubium*, *nubibus* (cf. *uates/uatis*, *uolpēs* and *uulpis*), Lith. *žvakė* (cf. Lat. *facēs*) / *-jū* (cf. also *bitīs* and *bitė*, *upis* and *ùpė*, etc.).

Examples such as these, which are perfectly comparable to others of similar alternances either in verbal inflexion, or in nominal and verbal derivation, confirm my idea of the close connection of stems in *\*-ā(i)*, *\*-ē(i)* and *\*-ō(i)*, and those in *\*-i*; and, of course, of the two series of endings which I am studying here: *\*-ā*, *\*-āi*, *\*-ā*, *\*-āi* (and parallel forms of other timbres); and *\*-i*, *\*-ei*. Both series, as I have said, were specialized in different stems: there are above all those in *\*-ā* (with a tendency to drop the final *\*-i* except in the dative-locative singular) and those in *\*-i*. But I have said that this specialization, which is absent from Hittite and presents lacunae here and there in other languages, looks very much as if it is recent.

On the other hand, even within the above-mentioned inflexions, the specializations in question are a recent phenomenon. We find *\*-ā* in the nominative singular, but also sometimes in other cases: in the instrumental singular of Vedic, in certain nominative-accusative-vocative plural neuters, in the so-called instrumentals of the type of Gk. *krúpha*. Their adscription to the feminine is, as is known, secondary.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, we have already seen that *\*-āi*, in principle present in the dative-locative singular, is the basis for a series of derived cases (and the same goes for *\*-ā*). In turn, *\*-a* appears in the nominative, accusative, and vocative of the stems in *\*-iā/ia*, but outside these it is to be found in the nominative and vocative singular, and in the nominative-accusative-vocative neuter plural, above all. As for *\*-ai*, we have found it in the vocative singular and in nominative-accusative-vocative dual. It is also found in the nominative-accusative-vocative of the neuter in the singular and plural (Hitt. *haštai*, etc.). Finally, the proposition that *\*-ei* was originally a dative ending and *\*-i* a locative one, cannot be upheld if, as there is a tendency to believe today, there was only one dative-locative case. The distribution of the two forms is secondary: either one or the other is chosen according to the stems and dialects, or else both are maintained and are opposed with diverse functions.

Naturally, the multiplicity of forms is better maintained in less regularized languages such as the Anatolian ones, in which, as we have seen, we find a dative-locative singular either in *-i* or in *-a* or *-ai* (plus the recharacterized form in *-aia*) and we find more or less the same forms in the nominative-accusative-vocative neuter plural and even elsewhere. Yet a distribution such as Greek makes between various dialects (*-ei*, *-i*, *-ēi*) presupposes a similar older stage; and recharacterized forms as in OInd. *agnaye* mean that they co-existed for a certain time alongside non-recharacterized forms (pure stems) of the *agne* type.

#### 4. The phonetic origin of the endings in question

So far, I have established the morphological origin of the endings we are dealing with here: they are the ends of pure stems which later, at times, became independent and were applied to other stems; sometimes they were even applied to the original one by means of the regularizations I have discussed. As far as *\*-ō(i)*, *\*-o/ei* in the



second declension are concerned, they represent a mere analogical imitation.

But let us now turn to the phonetics of the matter. Here, to judge by what we have seen so far, we may state the following:

a) *\*-ā/-āi* (and, we suppose, *\*-a/-ai*, *\*-ō/-ōi*, *\*-ē/-ēi*) may be considered, originally, as variants conditioned by syntactic phonetics, before a consonant and a vowel respectively. They would later have been distributed according to morphological criteria, becoming grammaticalized in different functions.

b) *\*-ā/-āi*, *\*-ō/-ōi*, *\*-ē/-ēi* should be considered as full grades of diverse stems, originally ending in laryngeals of the three timbres. As for *\*-a/-ai*, this may in principle be a zero degree corresponding to any of the former full degrees, but in practice it appears to respond always to *\*-ā/-āi*.

c) *\*-ei/-i* are in normal relation as full and zero grades.

The basic problem posed is, as may be seen, that of the original relationship of these two forms with the rest. It is not that there are no other problems: there are exceptional cases in which we have *-ā* before a consonant (OInd. *rās*) and *\*-āi* before a vowel (Hitt. *zahḫaiš*), there is the problem of the relationship of *\*-ā/-āi* and above all, there is the general problem of the relationship of the long diphthongs to the forms of the simple long vowel, which I believe I have shown elsewhere can only be solved with the aid of the laryngeal theory — a theory that takes into account palatal and labial laryngeals.

Here, I shall concentrate on the following problem: according to the timbres, we have *\*-ā(i)*, *\*-ō(i)*, *\*-ē(i)* in the full degrees, and uniformly, *\*-ei* (also *\*-oi*, cf. Gk. *\*peithojos* > *peithoús*). As I have said, in the Ø degrees we have either *\*-a*, *\*-ai* or *\*-i*. Naturally, there was a secondary distribution so that forms in *\*-ei*, *\*-i* correspond to a stem in *\*-i*, forms in *\*-a(i)* to a stem in *\*-ā*, etc. Yet I believe that it is quite clear that this is merely a secondary distribution. How, then, has this multiplicity of results come about? With the help of the theory of the long diphthongs, one may perhaps attempt to find a solution to the oppositions of the *\*-ā/-āi* type, although I have already said that I do not believe in this solution.

But neither with this hypothesis nor any other which starts from an original *\*-i* can the dualities I have just mentioned be explained.

I believe that only by resorting to the laryngeals with appendix, in this case with palatal appendix, can this question be solved. I have applied this solution in other publications, but I believe that in the present example, things are made much clearer. The solution, to exemplify with *\*H<sub>2</sub><sup>i</sup>* (the other cases are parallel), is as follows:

*\*-eH<sub>2</sub><sup>i</sup>* > *\*-ā(i)* / *\*-ei*: the first is a monosyllabic solution which in turn splits into two, usually according to a rule of syntactic phonetics already mentioned; the second is a disyllabic solution in which the timbre of the laryngeal does not color the preceding vowel and *\*H<sup>io</sup>* vocalizes in *\*i*.

*\*-H<sup>i</sup>* > *\*-ǣ* / *\*-ǣi* / *\*-i*: the three solutions depend on whether vocalization is anterior or anterior and posterior or just posterior: they are in general terms in relation to data of syntactic phonetics.

I am not going to go into the details of this theory here, but refer to two recent articles<sup>13</sup> besides my *Estudios sobre las sonantes y laringales indoeuropeas* mentioned above. However, I do wish to point out that, apart from the need to find a phonetic link between the above-mentioned endings, a link which I see no other way of establishing, there are even more data in favor of this theory.

These data are to be found in the forms in which, in Anatolian languages, the laryngeal before *\*-i* is still preserved, despite the fact, as is known, that the *\*h* was being dropped in these languages at the stage at which we know them.

From different points of view, I have elsewhere collected the data which concern us here.<sup>14</sup> These data are essentially as follows:

- a) Abstracts and collectives of Luwian in *-ahi(t)*, parallel to those in *-(a)-a-i* (with ending *-š*) in Hittite; in this language forms are also found in *-ahhi*, *-ahi*, and also, simply, forms in *-hi* of the declension in *-i*.
- b) Forms in *-a-ga* of the neuter plural in Palaic, obviously recharacterized forms with original *-ha*.
- c) Forms in Lycian in *-ahi* (and in *-ehi*, derived from these), which not only function as adjectives but above all as pure stems mainly



in the function of genitive singular, but also of genitive plural and other cases (nominative, dative, accusative singular; and there are others with agglutination). In the neuter plural there is *-aha*, corresponding to the form mentioned in b). In my above-mentioned work I believe I have made quite clear the nature of pure stems of these forms and their case function with the noun and the adjective. Lycian sometimes used the *-ahi/ai* opposition to distinguish cases (genitive and dative singular above all), according to a well-known procedure.

Yet this does not only occur in Anatolian. Old Indic forms such as *sakhibhis*, *pathibhis* and others preserve in their voiceless aspirant a trace of the old laryngeal, in much the same way as *taṣṭhimá* and other forms. Forms such as *sakhā*, etc., have taken over the voiceless aspirant.

I end with this. It seems obvious that in IE III outside Anatolian, the stems in *\*-ā* were widely developed, being reduced to an inflexion without *\*-s* in the nominative singular (as against the Hittite type in *-aiš*) and with only monosyllabic treatments of the vowel-plus-laryngeal group (*\*-ā*, not *\*-ei*).<sup>15</sup> Besides, in the case of the Ø degree of the vowel, the solutions *\*-ā* and *\*-āi* (*\*not -i*) were favored: a certain type of “rhyme” was created. Conversely, in other stems, the Ø degree *\*-i* was favored and in the full degree forms which “rhymed” with the former (*\*-ei*). As is said above, there is a previous stage in Anatolian at which these types of forms are mixed with a certain freedom. Sometimes, this mixture survived here and there in the stems in *\*-ē* and *\*-ō*.

The inflexion in *\*-ā* has hardly left any traces in Anatolian, except in forms in *\*-ā* of the nominative-accusative-vocative neuter plural (although at times singular). In the declension in *-aš* of Hittite, certain forms of this inflexion are to be found securely integrated: as *\*o* was altered to *a*, the two inflexions were confused, with the exception of the nominative singular with Ø ending. In any case, it is likely that the diffusion of the inflexion in *\*-ā* was post-Anatolian: above all because it is really a parallel to the thematic inflexion, which in Hittite still displays non-thematic forms (nominative and accusative singular with Ø ending, of the *kurur* type alongside *kururaš*, *kururan*; dative singular in *-i*; nominative plural in *-eš*). Of course, there was still no difference in this language between masculine and feminine. On the other hand, certain influences of the stems in *\*-ā* on those in *\*-o* and vice-versa already belong to IE

III: I shall not go into this matter here; but it indicates the recent nature of both formations, even though they began in IE II.

These are the arguments that can be put forward in favor of the thesis I summarize here.  $*-\bar{a}$ ,  $*-\bar{a}i$  and  $*-ei$  are originally endings of pure stems with a final full degree, stems in  $*-H_2^i$ : they were later grammaticalized and spread variously through several declensions. The same goes for the endings of pure stems in  $*-\bar{e}$  and  $*-\bar{o}$ , and could also be said for the corresponding forms in the  $\emptyset$  degree, that is,  $*-a$ ,  $*-ai$  and  $*-i$ , which originated from the stems which ended in any of the three laryngeals.  $*-\bar{o}$ ,  $*\bar{o}i$ ,  $*-o$ , finally, are analogical forms.

### Notes

1. Cf. recently, Francisco Villar, *Dativo y Locativo en el singular de la flexión nominal indoeuropea* (Salamanca 1981) and E. Neu, *Studien zum endungslosen "Lokativ" des Hethitischen* (Innsbruck 1980).
2. Cf. above all the bibliography and discussions in F. Villar (1981: 2012 ff.).
3. Cf. my interpretation of these data in "Some archaisms of the Hittite nominal inflection" forthcoming in the *festschrift* to Schwarz.
4. See the above-mentioned work.
5. Cf. my *Lingüística indoeuropea* (Madrid 1975), 462 ff.
6. The other reason is that in Anatolian there was still no masculine: feminine opposition which was later formalized above all on the basis of opposing  $*-os/$   $*\bar{a}$ : the existence of two independent inflexions was not indispensable. Lycian, with its inflexion in  $-a$  (of the type of *lada* 'woman'), I think unified the two inflexions in a different way (although it is usually assumed that  $*-s$  was lost).
7. Cf. on all these forms *Emerita* 49, 1981, 240 ff., and also "Some archaisms ..." (cf. fn. 3).
8. Cf. for example, H. Krahe, *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 1948), II: 26, 29.
9. Cf. for example, *Estudios sobre las sonantes y laringales indoeuropeas*<sup>2</sup> (Madrid 1973), 347 ff.
10. Cf. Jānis Endzelīns, *Comparative Phonology and Morphology of the Baltic Languages*, transl. by W. R. Schmalstieg and Benjamin Jegers (The Hague/Paris 1971), 92 ff.
11. Cf. *Estudios*, 341 ff.
12. See data in "Some archaisms ...".
13. "Further considerations on the Phonetics and Morphologizations of  $H^i$  and  $H^u$  in Indoeuropean", *Emerita* 49, 1981, pp. 231–271; "More on the Laryngeals with labial and palatal Appendices", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 2, 1981, pp. 191–235.
14. I refer to "Further considerations ...", 241 ff., and to "Some archaisms ...".
15. I mean that in  $*-eH_2^i$  the laryngeal communicated its timbre to the vowel as it went in the same syllable; in  $*-e-H^{io}$ , this was not the case.



# **On the mythological interpretation of the oldest runic inscriptions**

Elmer H. Antonsen

In his monograph on the splendid picture-stone, *Ardre VIII*, on Gotland, Ludwig Buisson (1976: 118) reaches the conclusion:

In der Zeit des Bildsteins *Ardre VIII* [i. e. 750–800] wird auf Gotland Walhall nicht mehr als Kriegerhalle oder grüne Kampfwiese unter der Erde oder als Halle in einem Berg verstanden, wie gotische literarische Zeugnisse des 4. Jahrhunderts, der alte Baldrmythos, die Sage von Hadings Niederstieg zum grünen Ort der Krieger, Saxo Grammaticus' Schilderung von Harald Kampfzahns Tod und noch spätere Zeugnisse aus Island und Schweden berichten, sondern als Halle einer hochliegenden Burg Odins. In diese zieht Odin auf Sleipnir mit König Harald Kampfzahn, den er selbst in der Schlacht erschlug, ein, wo König Jörmunrek mit seinem Feind Hamdir (und Sörli?) sie zu festlicher Tafel erwartet, die von Walküren gedeckt wird. Dieser starke Glauben an Odin durchzog schon die Runeninschriften des älteren Futhark im Norden und prägte auch den Skalden Bragi – "Sinnschmied Widurs (= Odins)", wie er sich nannte –, in dessen Schildgedicht die Feinde des Gotenkönigs Jörmunrek mit "Hergaut (= Odin)-Liebs (Jörd; Erde) herben Hartkugeln (= Steinen)" erschlagen werden.

Of particular interest to us here is the contention that the 'strong belief in Odin already permeated the runic inscriptions in the older futhork in the North', for a proper understanding of the history of Germanic religion and of the age of the myths depends of course on the proper interpretation of the sources used, which is not the case here in regard to the oldest runic inscriptions. I do not wish to question in any way the interpretation of nonrunic sources by Buisson and other historians of art, religion, and literature, but rather provide them with a more precise chronology insofar as that is possible on the basis of the runic evidence. In the case of written sources like the runic inscriptions in the older futhork, a strict

linguistic analysis must precede attempts at interpretation by mythologists and religious historians in order to provide a sound basis for their interpretations. Otherwise one sometimes constructs the most marvelous theories which are incapable of proof and actually hinder rather than further the progress of scholarship. First of all, then, we should review the oldest runic inscriptions cited by Buisson (1976: 13–31) as evidence for the supposed strong belief in Odin. I must point out here that the reading and interpretation of the various inscriptions are not the work of Buisson himself, but are taken almost exclusively from Krause (1966).

It is clear that the stone from Kylver (Krause 1966: no. 1) served as the cover for a stone-coffin, but it is questionable whether the inscription was executed for this particular use. Anders Bæksted (1952) demonstrated convincingly that none of the runestones from the oldest period was purposely buried, i.e., none from the time before the so-called transitional period, which begins ca. 500 A.D. and is characterized by the appearance of linguistic forms which can be definitely classified as peculiarly Scandinavian (Antonsen 1975a: § 8.4). On the other hand, we have definite proof that runestones which originally had stood upright in the open were destroyed or taken away from their original site to be used for other purposes. A certain example is the stone from Tørvika A (Krause 1966: no. 91), which was originally free-standing, but was then torn down and broken up to be used as one wall of a stone coffin (Bugge 1891–1903: no. 20; Bæksted 1952: 85). The warning-formulas (of a judicial nature; see Antonsen 1980a: 135) also present incontrovertible evidence that the runes themselves were not considered so magically powerful that they would ward off would-be vandals (cf. Düwel 1978).

The inscription on the stone from Kylver consists of the 24-rune fupark, a figure resembling an evergreen tree, and a palindrome: *sueus*. The tree-figure follows immediately upon the last rune of the fupark and may be a terminal sign or decoration. In any case, we have no idea what it could otherwise mean. It has been suggested that the palindrome was formed from Guthnic *eus* 'horse' (< PGmc. \*/ehwaz/), but such a form is linguistically impossible for the time (archeologically 350–475), as seen from the form *ehwu* 'mare' on bracteate 5 from Skåne (Antonsen 1975a: no. 57). The assumption that the form is East Germanic does not save this theory either, since Goth. *aihwatundi* 'bramble' (lit. 'horse-thorn') demonstrates that PGmc. \*/-hw-/ was not lost here either. We therefore have no

indication of any connection between the Kylver stone and an Odincult.

Krause's (1966: 13) hypothesis that the *fupark* on the Kylver stone 'soll vermutlich alle Runenkräfte insgesamt mobilisieren, um den Frieden des Grabes zu sichern, sei es gegen einen Störenfried nach außen, sei es gegen den etwaigen Wiedergänger', is an unfounded assumption of the sort which led Musset (1965: 142–143) to remark:

l'obsession magique de beaucoup de runologues s'explique plus par la psychologie des savants que par le contenu intrinsèque des inscriptions ... pour presque tous, l'*aura* de mystère qu'ils supposaient au *fupark* fut un attrait supplémentaire dans un labeur austère.

Le plus difficile, en cette affaire, est de garder la tête froide et de n'accepter jamais pour vrai que ce qui est évidemment démontré ou du moins hautement probable.

To this statement one can only add 'Amen' and point out the fact that among the oldest runic inscriptions (from before the transitional period) we have not a single one which mentions a god or which can be so interpreted that it was intended to ward off the deceased's ghost.

The inscription on the stone from Kalleby is supposedly one intended to keep the ghost in his grave or bring him back after breaking out (Buisson 1976: 16). It reads: *prawijan · haitinaz was///*, with the last rune directly on the edge of a break. Krause (1966: no. 61) translates this text with: 'sich zurückzusehnen (nach dem Grabe) war er (der etwaige Wiedergänger) geheißen'. The whole idea that this inscription concerns the banning of a ghost derives entirely from the interpretation of *prawijan* as an infinitive with the meaning 'to yearn to be back', which enables the magically inclined runologist to supply the subject 'he (the ghost)' for the subjectless verb *was...* '(I/he) was'. However, *prawijan* cannot be an infinitive, which would have to have the form *\*prawijana* (with retained final, originally nasalized, \*/-a/; Antonsen 1975a: § 5.4), but must be the weak genitive singular masculine (nom. sg. *\*Prawija*) of a proper name (as indicated by the following separation mark; Antonsen 1983: 39). Names in the genitive are attested on a number of runestones, where they indicate whose memorial the stone represents: Stenstad: *igijon halaz* 'Ingijō's (flat) stone' (Antonsen 1975a: no. 37); Bø: *hnabdas hlaiwa* 'Hnabdaz's grave' (Antonsen 1975a: no. 79); Belland: *kepan*

‘Kēpa’s [stone, monument]’ (Antonsen 1975a: no. 78); Tomstad: *///an* : *waruz* ‘...a’s monument’ (with separation mark after the incomplete name; Antonsen 1975a: no. 77); Saude: *wajaradas* ‘Wajarādaz’s [stone, monument]’ (Antonsen 1975a: no. 76, and Antonsen 1975b: 237–238). We can therefore interpret Kalleby’s *prawijan* as ‘Prawija’s [stone, monument]’. The other two words in the inscription, *haitinaz was///* ‘(I/He) was commanded/called ...’, represent a partial sentence, the rest of which is not preserved. There is therefore nothing in the inscription from Kalleby which would justify the assumption that it was intended to ward off a ghost.

The hypothesis of the runemaster as the runemagician is an old and widespread one, to which Buisson (1976: 17) subscribes:

Die Beherrschung der Runen gibt den Runenmeistern eine magische Macht, die sie in die Nähe der Götter selbst gerückt haben muß. Oft bleibt ihr Name verborgen, oft nennen sie sich mit ihrem bloßen Namen oder einer Odinsbezeichnung (Odinsheiti), wie sie auch in den Mythen der Edda gefunden werden. Die Runenmeister erscheinen so als Handelnde Odins selbst, der die Runen erfunden und ihnen magische Kraft verlieh. Dies bringt der ... Stein von Noleby (Västergötland, 6. Jh.) besonders deutlich zum Ausdruck, auf welchem sich der Runenmeister die Odinsheiti eines “Habichtsgleichen” zulegte. Ebenfalls als “das Wesen eines Habichts habend” erscheint der Runenmeister auf dem Stein von Vånga (Västergötland, um 500).

I have discussed elsewhere (Antonsen 1986) the consequences of the narrow view of previous runic scholarship which seeks to find only ‘Proto-Nordic’ forms (i. e., those which have reflexes in later Nordic sources and languages) in the oldest runic inscriptions rather than approaching them from a broader, Germanic and Indo-European perspective. The positing of a ‘bird-cult’ in Västergötland (Klingenberg 1973: 120–133) on the basis of these two names is a clear example. The names *hakupo* and *haukopuz* show superficial similarities, to be sure, and if one approaches them in the spirit of a game, all sorts of fascinating hypotheses can be set up, none of which, however, is based in fact or is verifiable. The connection posited for these names with an Odin-cult is based exclusively on the equation of both with ON *haukr* ‘hawk’ < PGmc. \*/habuk-/ , but such an equation treats the varying vocalism and the loss of \*/-b-/ very cavalierly. A strict linguistic analysis of these forms as they appear and without seeking specific Nordic forms produces



quite different results. As D. Hofmann (in Hauck 1970: 197) demonstrated, the name *haukopuz* = *Haukōpuz* is related to OIcel. *húka*, MHG *húchen* 'to crouch', OIcel. *hoka* 'to crawl', Lith. *káugė* 'haystack', Serb. *čúčati* 'to squat', and is a deverbative formed by means of the suffix PGmc. \*/-ōpu-/ < PIE \*/-ā-tw-/, so that we may posit the approximate meaning 'croucher' (cf. Latv. *kukša*, *kūkša* 'woman bent with age'). The name *hakupo* = *Hakupō* on the stone from Noleby, on the other hand, corresponds to OS *hacud*, OE *hacod* 'pike (fish)' (both with *d* by Verner's law) and derives from PGmc. \*/hak-u-p-aw-i/ 'crooked one (dat.)' (Antonsen 1975a: no. 46). Once again, there is no connection with an Odin-cult derivable from the inscriptions on the stones from Vånga and Noleby (on magic and the runes, see Antonsen 1980a).

The other names treated by Buisson can also be placed in a similar light: Rosseland: *wagigaz*, supposedly 'der stürmisch Dahinfahrende' (Krause 1966: no. 69), means simply 'the active one' (Antonsen 1975a: no. 39); Järsberg: *///ubaz*, supposedly 'der Tückische' (Krause 1966: no. 70), appears after a break in the stone and is undoubtedly incomplete (Jansson 1878: 37; Moltke 1981: 86, believes the name is complete and translates it as 'the combative one'; Antonsen 1983: 37–39); Barmen: *pirbijaz*, supposedly 'der Schlaffmacher' (Krause 1966: no. 64), but more likely 'one who makes strong' or even 'son of Þerbaz' (cf. Ger. *derb*; Antonsen 1975a: no. 33); Tune: *wiwaz*, supposedly 'the consecrated, the consecrating one' (Krause 1966: no. 72), but just as plausible from a linguistic point of view is a derivation from PGmc. \*/wīg-waz/ 'the darting-one' (Antonsen 1975a: no. 27), and in view of the striking frequency of names referring to movement in the oldest inscriptions, it is very likely that *Wīwaz* falls within this group.

Even *Wōdurīdaz*, the name of the deceased commemorated on the Tunestone, is connected with the worship of Odin by Krause (1966: 166): 'Wodurid war vermutlich ein hochgeachteter Priester (*gudja*) an einem Wodan-Heiligtum. Als Priester hatte er sich einen kennzeichnenden Beinamen seines Gottes zugelegt, gleichsam um sich mit der Gottheit zu identifizieren.' To this may be objected that *Wōdurīdaz* is explicitly referred to as *witadahalaiban* = *witandahlaiban* 'bread-ward', which is a secular title comparable to OE *hlāf-weard* 'lord' (lit. 'loaf-ward'). It is a bit daring to equate *Wōdurīdaz* with Odin simply because the name contains the same root (but not the same stem!) as that of the god. If the root /wōd-/ is an automatic indicator of a connection with Odin, then what are we



to make of the negated name *unwodz* = *Unwōdz* on the Gårdlösa clasp (Antonsen 1975a: no. 6)? Once again we find no evidence of a connection between this inscription and the worship of Odin.

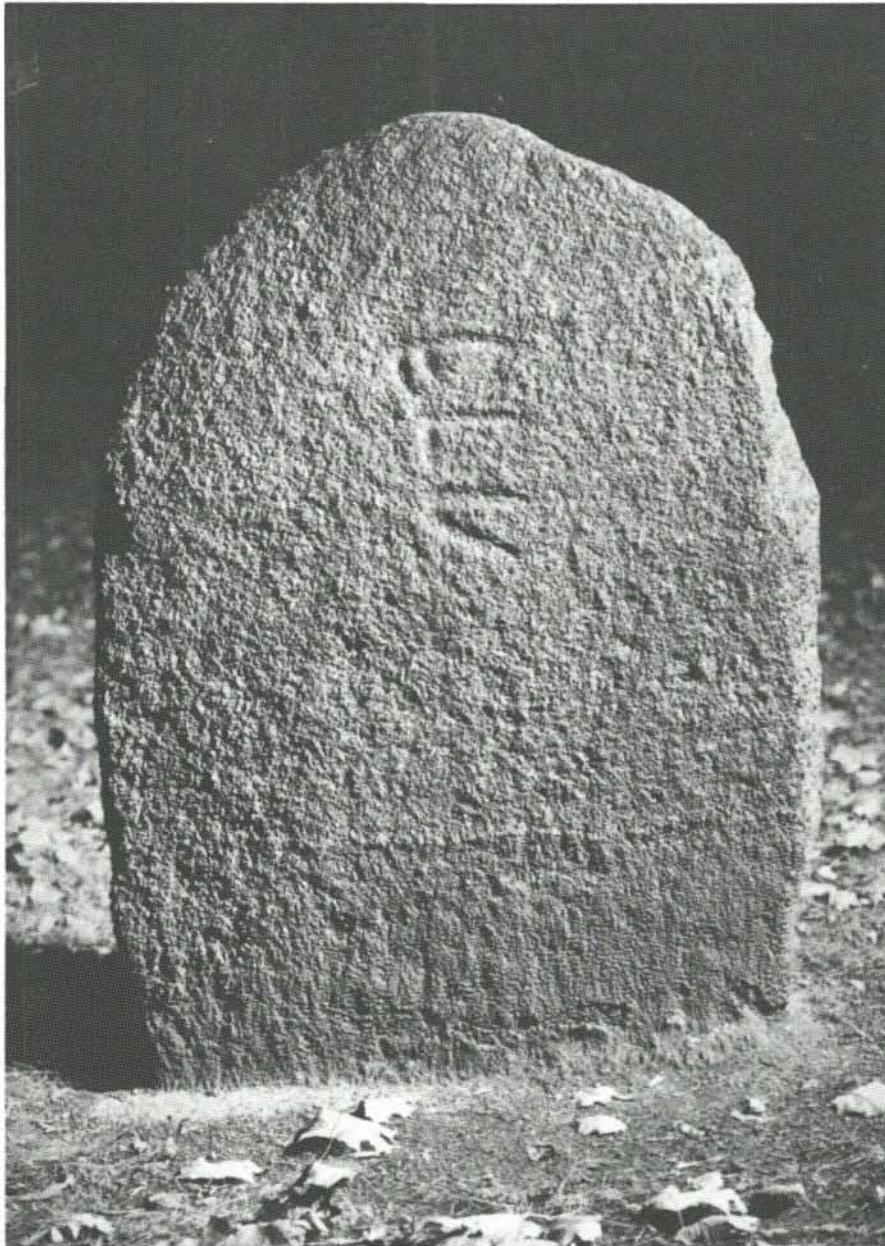
On the stone from Möjbro (Krause 1966: no. 99), we find a representation of a warrior on horseback and the inscription: *ana hahai slaginaz / frawaradaz* 'Slain on (his) steed, Frawarādaz' (Antonsen 1975a: no. 11, and Antonsen 1983: 29). Buisson (1976: 21) also gives as a possibility von Friesen's interpretation: 'Frawarādaz. — Åne the One-Eyed is slain', and even seems to prefer it, since he writes: 'Jedoch dürfte im Begriff "der Einäugige" dann eine Odins- heiti enthalten sein.' He explains the discrepancy in the readings by pointing out the absence of word-divisions, so that different combinations are supposedly possible. It is not possible, however, to interpret the inscription as von Friesen does for two reasons: first, the third singular present indicative of 'to be' is *ist* (Vetteland-stone, Krause 1966: no. 60; Antonsen 1975a: no. 18), not *\*is*; secondly, it is not possible to read *hahaislaginaz* = *hāha is (s)laginaz*, because, unlike the younger runic inscriptions, the oldest ones do not designate two consecutive identical sounds with a single rune when they are separated by open juncture (Antonsen 1975a: § 4.4). We have therefore found no evidence in the inscriptions from before the transitional period which would support the assumption of an Odin-cult or of the inherent magical powers of the runes. We must still consider, however, the phrase *runo ... raginakudo* on the stone from Noleby and the 'magic word' *alu*.

I have shown elsewhere (Antonsen 1980a: 136–139) that the first line of the Noleby inscription is to be read as a single sentence and that *fahi* cannot be a verb with the lost ending *-u* (Krause 1966: no. 67), but must represent an *i*-stem adjective, a feminine accusative singular, referring to *runo*, as does *raginakudo*. The whole line therefore reads *runo fahi raginakudo tojeka* = *rūnō fahi raginakundō tōj-eka* 'I prepare (a/the) suitable, divinely-descended rune [i.e. inscription, message]'. The second line of the inscription: *unapou : suhurah : susiehhwatīn*, does not lend itself to linguistic analysis and is therefore considered cryptic. From the first line, however, it is clear that this second line represents the 'rune [message]' referred to there, and that it is 'suitable' as well as 'divinely-descended'. In the third line is the proper name *Hakupuz* in the dative singular already discussed above. What mythological, religious, or cultural conclusions can be drawn from this state of affairs? In my opinion we can only conclude that we have before us a cultic-religious

inscription of some kind, but to what god(s) it might refer, and for what purpose, remains hidden from us, since *ragina-* merely means 'the ruling one(s)'. The assumption that this inscription, too, is intended to ban a ghost (Krause 1966: 151; Buisson 1976: 16) is pure speculation. From this inscription, however, it is clear that the word *runo* refers not to individual runic letters, but to a connected text of some kind, and it is this text, not the runic symbols, which is sacred.

From the foregoing, it would seem that we can establish absolutely no connection between the myths portrayed on the Gotland picture-stones and the oldest runic inscriptions. In my view, this is precisely the case, and this state of affairs was already noted almost fifty years ago by Philipsson (1938: 327), who pointed out that the oldest inscriptions refer to no particular cult. Furthermore, as we have seen, almost all of the oldest stone inscriptions are unreligious in content, although one may well want to ascribe to religious motives the very act of erecting a memorial stone (e. g., Düwel 1978: 237). We have to say 'almost all', because the inscription on the Noleby stone is clearly cultic-religious in nature, and in addition, there is the enigmatic stone from Elgesem.

The stone from Elgesem was found 'lying directly under the turf' during the excavation of a burial mound in Vestfold, Norway, in 1870 (Bugge 1891–1903: 160; Krause 1966: no. 57). It bears only the single word *alu*. Although *alu* occurs in a number of inscriptions from the oldest period, it occurs on a stone only here (cf. Krause 1966: 239; Høst Heyerdahl 1980). Some scholars, including Krause and Høst Heyerdahl, assume that the word *alu* is also to be found on the stones from Årstad and Kinneve (Krause 1966: nos. 58 and 52, respectively). On the Årstad stone, this assumption is surely erroneous, since the second line, *saralu*, cannot be analyzed as *sar* (an otherwise unattested adverb, supposedly meaning 'here') + *alu*, but must represent the feminine name *Sar<sup>a</sup>lū* (cf. the masculine equivalents: OHG *Saralo*, OE *Særla*, OIcel. *Sprli*). The whole inscription therefore consists of two proper names: *Hīwigaz* masc., and *Sar<sup>a</sup>lū* (cf. the stone from Berga: *Finnō* fem., and *Saligastiz* masc.; Antonsen 1975a: no. 74), and a third line: *ek winai///* 'I ... for my friend [i. e. spouse]', which clearly refers to the feminine name (Antonsen 1975a: no. 12; Antonsen 1980b: 8). The stone from Kinneve is broken off both before and after the preserved text: */// sizaluh///*. As Høst Heyerdahl (1980: 49) notes, '*alu* always comes at the end of an inscription, except when it is the first element in a



*Photo 1.* The stone from Elgesem (Universitetet i Oslo, Oldsaksamlingen).

name'. Therefore *aluh///* can be considered to represent the beginning of a name, and Elgesem is unique in being the only inscription on a stone containing *alu* itself, but no proper name, neither of the deceased, nor of the person responsible for erecting it. It is therefore a very strange gravestone. Although it is often claimed that the Elgesem stone was intentionally buried in the burial mound, it was not found in the mound, but on it 'lying directly under the turf'.

Its shape (see Photo 1) also indicates that it was intended to be erected (Bæksted 1952: 76–77).

The meaning of the word *alu* has been heatedly debated for nearly a century and a half (for a survey of views, see Høst Heyerdahl 1980: 38–43). The main theories have been: (1) it is related to OE *ealgian* ‘defend’ and Goth. *alhs* ‘temple’ and therefore means ‘protection, defense’; (2) it is related to OE *ealu*, ON *øl* ‘ale, beer’, and (3) it is related to Hitt. *alwanza-* ‘magic’. Of these three theories, the first can be rejected out of hand, since phonologically it would be impossible to explain the presence of /-u/ and the loss of \*/-h-/ (Bugge 1891–1903: 164 posited as the base form *aluh-* on the stone from Kinneve).

The correspondence of *alu* with Nordic *øl*, English *ale* is phonologically incontestable, but the possible semantic link with a supposed gravestone presents difficulties. Høst Heyerdahl (1980: 49) believes the occurrence of the word for ‘beer’ on a gravestone signifies that the burial feast (Norw. *gravølet*, lit. ‘grave-beer’) has taken place and the traditional ritual was followed according to the prescribed custom. It must be immediately apparent, however, that this interpretation leaves unexplained the fact that only on the Elgesem stone do we find such a supposed expression of conformity to the ritual code, while none of the other fairly numerous memorial stones contain anything comparable (on the interpretation of the Tune stone’s *arbij-* as ‘burial feast’, see Antonsen 1986). We must therefore agree with Musset’s (1965: 150) observation, ‘Phonétiquement, *alu* peut représenter le même mot que v. nor. *øl* “bière”; mais en dépit du rôle de la bière dans les libations cultuelles, ce sens n’est guère satisfaisant.’

A way out of this impasse is provided by Polomé (1954: 52), who proposes, ‘ne faut-il pas renverser le sens du rapport rétabli par Arntz [that *alu* derives from the Germanic word for ‘beer’], et la bière ne doit-elle pas son nom à son rôle primordial dans les usages magico-religieux?’ He then adds (Polomé 1954: 55), ‘Quoi que plus normal, dès lors, que de tirer le nom germanique de la bière de la terminologie de la sphère à laquelle ce breuvage appartient par excellence’, i.e., from the sphere of the cultic inducement of the mind-expanding ecstatic state so common in primitive religion. Polomé sees a particularly close relationship between *alu* and Hitt. *alwanza-* ‘cast a spell’, since both languages belong to the periphery of the Indo-European linguistic area. He derives both from an Indo-European verbal stem \*/al-w-/, to which he also relates Gk. *alúō* ‘I



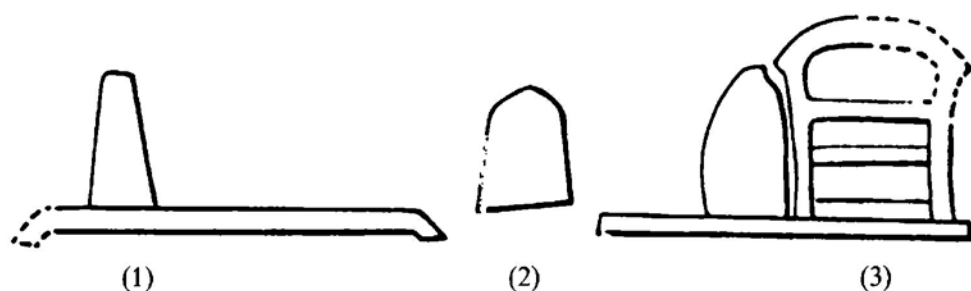


Figure 1. Depiction of cult-stones on Gotland picture-stones according to Hauck (1984): (1) Ardre VIII; (2) Lärbro Tängelgård IV; (3) Lärbro Stora Hammars I.

am beside myself' and Latv. *aluôt(iês)* 'wander to and fro', *āluôtiês* 'howl, behave in a crazed manner', and ascribes to *alu* the meaning 'charme (magique)'. It is true that Polomé's derivation of the Hittite forms has been contested (Neu 1974: 77, fn. 139), but I see no reason to doubt the basic correctness of his equation of the Hittite, Greek, Latvian, and Germanic forms. Nevertheless, the assumption that a gravestone might simply display a word meaning 'magical charm' remains questionable, particularly in light of the fact that none of the other oldest runic inscriptions on stone can be shown to contain magic formulae intended to ward off either ghosts or vandals.

In a study devoted to heathen altars, Hauck (1984) discusses their depiction on the Gotland picture-stones:

Vor allem aber kehrt auch hier auf erhöhtem Sockel die Altarzone mit einem Kultstein unter freiem Himmel wieder, wie in der Balderzeile von Ardre VIII. Ohne Sockel wird ein solcher Kultstein in der bisher nicht erkannten Libationsszene auf dem Stein Lärbro Tängelgård IV variiert. Auf Stora Hammars I befindet sich vor diesem Stein eine Art Opfertisch, der die 'Speermerkung' des Kindes mit der spitz ausbiegenden Speerblattseite erleichtert.

In somewhat schematic form, Hauck presents these cult-stones as seen in Fig. 1.

A comparison of these cult-stones with the stone from Elgesem, which is unusual among the oldest runestones in that it has been purposely shaped, demonstrates vividly their similarity. I therefore believe that the Elgesem stone is not a most unusual memorial stone, but rather a cult-stone of the type depicted on the Gotland picture-stones. If this assumption is correct, however, we must still

ask what purpose it would serve to inscribe on it a word meaning 'magical charm'.

If we review the material Polomé (1954: 50) has assembled, it would seem that we can relate Gk. *alúō* 'I am beside myself', *alússō* 'I am agitated', and (with the same root, but different stem) *aláomai* 'I wander to and fro', Latv. *aluôt(iês)* 'wander to and fro', *āļuotiês* 'howl, behave in a crazed manner', all of which he considers types of human behavior which can have supernatural causes, with Hitt. *alwanza-* 'cast a spell'. If PGmc. \*/alup/ 'beer' is derived from the same stem, as seems plausible, then it must originally have had the approximate meaning 'that which induces the ecstatic state', and *alu* would then have indicated the ecstatic state itself. On a cult-stone or other object, *alu* would indicate that the object has been consecrated, perhaps by being sprinkled with beer, as suggested by Høst Heyerdahl (1980: 45). There seems to be no doubt that *alu* represents a cult-word. Its appearance in the oldest runic inscriptions, however, even if also on a cult-stone similar to those depicted on the Gotland picture-stones from the 8th century, cannot be taken as an indication of the worship of Odin before 500 A. D., since libations and shamanistic trances it may refer to are nonspecific.

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# Der indogermanische Aorist und das germanische Präteritum

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1. In einem wohlfundierten Beitrag hat der Herr Jubilar (Polomé 1964) auch die Frage, ob im germanischen starken Präteritum Spuren des thematischen Aorists der Grundsprache zu erkennen seien, eingehend erörtert. In allen wesentlichen Punkten scheinen mir seine Ausführungen zutreffend. Ich möchte aber aus zwei Gründen die Fragestellung nochmals aufrollen. Zum einen zeigen einige neuere Veröffentlichungen, daß Polomé's Ansichten keineswegs die allgemeine Anerkennung gefunden haben, die sie verdienen. Zum anderen meine ich aber auch, daß eine gewisse Revision der Frage, ob Aoristformen der Grundsprache im Präteritalsystem des Germanischen fortleben, angebracht ist.

2. Daß das starke Präteritum des Germanischen in seinem Grundstock auf das indogermanische Perfekt zurückgeht, unterliegt keinem Zweifel. Sowohl die Gestaltung der Wurzel als auch Einzelheiten des Endungssatzes sprechen eindeutig für diese Herleitung. Ein Präteritum wie urg. *\*baid/bid-u-* > got. *baid/bid-u-m* ‚wartete, warteten‘ weist im Singular den Reflex der *o*-stufigen Wurzel auf, im Plural erscheint die Schwundstufe. Diese Ablautverteilung entspricht den Verhältnissen beim indogermanischen Perfekt (vgl. gr. *woida/widme* = ai. *veda/vidma* < idg. *\*woid-a/wid-me*). Auch der Endungssatz des Singulars ist problemlos von den grundsprachlichen Personalkennzeichen im Perfekt herleitbar: got. *gaf/gaft/gaf* ‚ich gab, du gabst, er gab‘ setzt die Endungen idg. *-a/-tha/-e* (vgl. gr. *woida/woistha/woide*) fort.<sup>1</sup> Aber in einer Reihe von wesentlichen Charakterzügen weicht das starke Präteritum des Germanischen sehr auffallend vom grundsprachlichen Perfekt ab. Hierher gehören der weitgehende Mangel der Reduplikation und jedenfalls einige Besonderheiten im Endungssatz. Eine dieser Besonderheiten soll zuerst erwähnt werden.

3. Für 2. Sg. des Perfekts wird die Endung urg. *\*-t(a)* klar durch das Gotische und Skandinavische erwiesen. Im Westgermanischen



findet sich diese Endung bei den Präteritopräsentien, die regelrecht auf das grundsprachliche Perfekt zurückgehen: ae. *scealt* ‚du sollst‘ = got. *skalt* etc. Im Paradigma des starken Präteritums tritt dagegen für 2. Sg. eine Form auf, die die Wurzelgestalt des Plurals versehen mit einer Endung *-i* aufweist: ahd. *zugi* = ae. *tuge* ‚du zogst‘ (gegenüber ahd. *ih zoh* = ae. *ic tēah*). Die Formen des Typs wgerm. *\*tug-i* (gegenüber got. *tauht* < urg. *\*tauhta* ‚du zogst‘) werden seit langem als aus dem Paradigma des thematischen Aorists stammend erklärt. Auf den ersten Blick besticht die Erklärung ohne jeden Zweifel.<sup>2</sup>

4. Im Griechischen und Arischen sind bekanntlich die thematischen Aoriste des Typs gr. *élipon* (< idg. *\*e-likʷ-o-*) weit verbreitet. Da im Germanischen das Augment auch sonst fehlt, könnte man annehmen, daß eine Vorform idg. *\*duk-e-s* (vgl. gr. *(e-)lipes* < *\*likʷ-e-s*) zu urg. *\*tug-i-z* geführt hätte. Wgerm. *\*tugi* ist der regelrechte Reflex von urg. *\*tugiz*. Diese Form wäre dann in das Präteritalparadigma integriert worden, wobei sicherlich die Tatsache eine Rolle spielte, daß durch Kontaktwirkungen die 2. Sg. des Präteritums häufig eine andere Wurzelgestalt aufwies als der Rest des Paradigmas, z. B. ae. *mæt/mæss* (> *mæst*?) bei der Wurzel *met-* ‚messen‘. In dieser Form kann die Erklärung von 2. Sg. *-i* im Westgermanischen jedoch auf keinen Fall zutreffen.<sup>3</sup>

5. Cardona (1960) hat nämlich unwiderleglich nachgewiesen, daß der thematische Aorist relativ spät, wahrscheinlich sogar erst in einzelsprachlicher Zeit entstanden ist. Da somit Formen des Typs idg. *\*duk-e-s* dem grundsprachlichen morphologischen System nicht angehören, dürfen sie zur Erklärung der westgermanischen Reflexe nicht verwendet werden. In neuerer Zeit sind zwei weitere Vorschläge zur Erklärung der westgermanischen Form vorgebracht worden.

6. Bech (1969) geht von der sicherlich richtigen Annahme aus, daß im Urgermanischen die 2. Sg. des Perfekts so wie im Gotischen und Skandinavischen auf *\*-t(a)* endete. Dann muß 2. Sg. *-i* im Westgermanischen ohne jeden Zweifel eine Neuerung darstellen. Nach Bech ist 2. Sg. *-i* gemäß der Proportion 1. Pl. (Prät.) *-um* (vgl. got. *gebum* ‚wir gaben‘) : X = 1. Pl. (Präs.) *-um* : 2. Sg. (Präs.) *-iz* entstanden. Diese Proportion erklärt problemlos das Auftreten der für den Plural charakteristischen Wurzelalternante in 2. Sg. Aber

die Proportion als solche ist nicht ohne weiteres annehmbar. 1. Pl. Präs. *-um* ist sicherlich eine Neuerung an Stelle von urg. *-am* (vgl. got. *bairam* ‚wir tragen‘).<sup>4</sup> Die Erklärung von *-um* in der 1. Pl. Präs. ist überaus schwierig. Es dürfte jedenfalls kaum gestattet sein, die 1. Pl. auf *-um* als Teil der analogen Proportion einzusetzen.

7. Wenn aber 2. Sg. wgerm. *-i* nicht aus dem indikativischen Perfektparadigma kommt, dann lohnt sich die Frage, ob das Modus-system als Ausgangspunkt dieser Form dienen kann. Polomé (1964: 879) hat dafür plädiert, daß in wgerm. *-i* der Reflex des Optativs des Perfekts gesehen werden soll. Diese Herleitung erscheint durchaus einleuchtend.

8. Wenn es sich bei wgerm. *\*tug-i* jedoch letztlich um den Optativ des Perfekts handelt, dann erhebt sich wiederum die Frage, warum die an sich für das Perfekt typische Reduplikation (2.) hier fehlt. Wenn man ferner bedenkt, daß jedenfalls im benachbarten Italisch und Keltisch ein neues Präteritalsystem durch Synkretismus von Perfekt und Aorist entstanden ist, dann wird man die Frage, ob auch im germanischen Präteritum Spuren des indogermanischen Aorists zu erkennen sind, einer ernsthaften Prüfung für wert halten. Dazu wäre in erster Linie eine umfassende Darstellung des grundsprachlichen Aoristsystems nötig. Dies kann im Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags nicht geleistet werden.

9. Einige knappe Andeutungen sind aber trotzdem möglich. Als sicherlich grundsprachlich kann der athematische Wurzelaorist des Typs *\*stā-t* gelten. Daß häufig sekundäre Überführung in die thematische Klasse stattfand, spricht eindeutig für den rezenten Charakter des thematischen Aorists. Der *s*-Aorist und der reduplizierte Aorist mögen in Keimen auf die Grundsprache zurückgehen, sie sind aber für die vorliegenden Zwecke nicht von großer Bedeutung. Wir haben in erster Linie die Frage zu untersuchen, ob der athematische Wurzelaorist im Germanischen ererbt wurde. Die Beweisführung kann hier naturgemäß nur indirekt erfolgen, da der athematische Wurzelaorist als produktive Kategorie im Germanischen fehlt. Einige Spuren kann man aber doch erkennen.

10. Einige Präsensformen des Germanischen lassen sich am ehesten auf den kurzvokalischen Konjunktiv von athematischen Wurzelaoristen zurückführen. Etwa urg. *\*kwem-a-* (> got. *qiman*) kann ohne

weiteres mit dem Konjunktiv idg. *\*g<sup>w</sup>em-o-* des im Vedischen klar bezeugten athematischen Wurzelaorists *\*g<sup>w</sup>em-* verknüpft werden.<sup>5</sup> Ich habe eine Reihe solcher Beispiele gesammelt (Bammesberger 1982a).

11. Man wird unter diesen Umständen fragen, ob sich vielleicht einige Formen des Aoristsystems im Präteritum des Germanischen erkennen lassen. Ich würde die Frage mit einem zurückhaltenden „ja“ beantworten. Mit aller gebotenen Vorsicht trage ich möglicherweise hierhergehöriges Material vor.

12. Eine der Wurzeln, die in der Grundsprache zweifellos einen athematischen Wurzelaorist aufwies, ist idg. *\*stā-*. Das germanische Verb für ‚stehen‘ gehört sicherlich zu dieser Wurzel, wenngleich die Stammbildung im einzelnen wenig klar ist. Es lohnt sich zu untersuchen, ob im Präteritum vielleicht ein Fortsetzer des grundsprachlichen athematischen Wurzelaorists zu erkennen ist. Die Frage, wie ein Wurzelaorist *stā-* im Paradigma ablautete, kann dabei unberücksichtigt bleiben, da jedenfalls im Germanischen mit Neuerungen zu rechnen ist. Es ist anzunehmen, daß die Hochstufe wenigstens teilweise in den Bereich der Schwundstufe eindrang. Im Singular sind auf jeden Fall für eine Vorstufe des Germanischen die Formen *\*stā-m*, *\*stā-s*, *\*stā-t* anzusetzen. Die lautgesetzliche Entwicklung dieser Formen läßt sich kaum mit Sicherheit bestimmen. Jedenfalls wäre *-s* in 2. Sg. erhalten geblieben, wobei mit Sonorisierung im Auslaut zu rechnen ist. Ob der auslautende Dental in 3. Sg. *\*stā-t* geschwunden wäre, läßt sich mangels eindeutiger Parallelfälle nicht entscheiden. Selbst wenn *-t* in *stāt* bei der Entwicklung ins Germanische lautgesetzlich gefallen wäre, so konnte nach dem Vorbild von *-s* (oder *-z*) in 2. Sg. *stōs/stōz* eine 3. Sg. *stōþ* gebildet werden. Es ist aber auch damit zu rechnen, daß urg. *\*stōþ* der lautgesetzliche Reflex von idg. *\*stāt* ist.

13. Eine Form 3. Sg. *stōþ* im Germanischen mußte wohl in das System der starken Präteritalformen integriert werden. Da 3. Sg. des auf das Perfekt zurückgehenden starken Präteritums im Urgermanischen wohl nach Abfall von idg. *-e* (vgl. idg. *\*woide* > urg. *wait*) endungslos war, konnte *stōþ* als aus einer „Wurzel“ *stōþ* + Endung Ø bestehend aufgefaßt werden. Nach dem Vorbild von Präteritalformen wie *fōr(-)* wurde *stōþ* sekundär im Paradigma verallgemeinert.

14. Zumindest versuchsweise kann eine solche Entwicklung bei einer weiteren Wurzel, die im Indogermanischen sicherlich einen athematischen Wurzelaorist aufwies, angenommen werden. Auch für idg. *\*gnō-* ist wohl anzunehmen, daß im grundsprachlichen Paradigma Ablaut zwischen Hochstufe *\*gnō-* und Schwundstufe *\*gnə-* auftrat. Wenn die schwundstufige Alternante durch das Aoristparadigma verallgemeinert wurde, dann kann etwa in 3. Sg. *\*gnə-t* > urg. *\*kunþ-* entstanden sein. Offensichtlich wurde 3. Sg. nicht als Grundlage eines „starken“ Präteritums interpretiert, wobei wohl der Mangel von Präteritalformen mit „schwundstufigem“ Vokalismus im Singular ausschlaggebend war. *\*kunþ-* diente als Grundlage eines „schwachen“ Präteritums: *\*kunþē-* folgte dem Vorbild von *skuldē-* ‚sollte‘. Das „Partizip“ urg. *\*kunþa-* (got. *kunþs*, ae. *cūð* etc.) weist die gleiche Stammgestalt auf, die ebenfalls von einer Ausgangsform idg. *\*gnə-tó-* her nicht erklärbar ist.

15. Noch eine dritte Wurzel, die grundsprachlich sicherlich einen athematischen Wurzelaorist aufwies, wurde ins Germanische ererbt. Freilich muß offen bleiben, wie zu idg. *\*dhē-* ‚setzen, stellen, legen‘ das athematische Präsens *\*dō-(mi)* im Germanischen entstehen konnte.<sup>6</sup> Daß aber das „schwache“ Präteritum mit Hilfe von Formen der Wurzel *\*dhē-* > urg. *\*dē-* aufgebaut wurde, ist wohl anzunehmen. Die Vielfalt der Probleme, die mit dem schwachen Präteritum verbunden sind, kann hier nicht erörtert werden. Aber nach den bisherigen Ausführungen ist immerhin damit zu rechnen, daß auf der Basis von 3. Sg. *\*dhē-t* > urg. *dēþ* eine „Präteritalform“ *dēþ/dēd* im Germanischen entwickelt wurde. Auf diesem Wege läßt sich die sonst so überaus schwierige Form got. *-dedum* (< *-dēd-*) im Plural des schwachen Präteritums (z. B. *nasidedum* ‚wir retteten‘) relativ leicht erklären. Daß eine Reihe von Fragen offen bleiben, soll natürlich nicht verschwiegen werden.

16. Nach den vorgebrachten Überlegungen besteht wohl wenigstens eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß der athematische Wurzelaorist für eine Frühstufe des Germanischen anzusetzen ist. Dann lohnt sich aber eine erneute Untersuchung der eingangs (2. – 3.) erwähnten Personalkennzeichen. Bei wgerm. *-i* für 2. Sg. dürfte die Verknüpfung mit dem Optativ unausweichlich sein. Aber es muß sich nicht um den Optativ des Perfekts handeln. Der Optativ des Wurzelaorists hätte zum gleichen Resultat geführt. Etwa idg. *\*duk-yē-* (Optativ eines Wurzelaorists *deuk/duk-*) ergab mit Durchführung der schwa-

chen Alternante des Optativmerkmals urg. \**tug-ī-*. 2. Sg. lautete urg. \**tug-ī-z*.

17. Vermutlich wurde auslautendes *-ī* nach dem Schwund von *-z* gekürzt. Die weitere Entwicklung im Westgermanischen ging in zwei Richtungen. Der produktive Optativ wurde im Deutschen und Englischen verschieden umgestaltet. Im Deutschen wurde nach den Formen mit erhaltenem *-ī-* dieses Merkmal als charakteristisch für den Optativ verallgemeinert. Im Englischen nahm der präteritale Optativ die Merkmale des Präsensoptativs an.<sup>7</sup> Die Form auf *-i* wurde sozusagen ‚funktionslos‘. Sie übernahm die Funktion des Indikativs.

18. In diesem Zusammenhang gehört auch die Behandlung der 3. Pl. auf *-un*. Die Erklärung dieser Form machte schon immer Schwierigkeiten. Aus dem Perfektsystem kann dieses Personalkennzeichen kaum stammen. Aber das Präsens/Aoristsystem scheint auch nicht unmittelbar eine brauchbare Anknüpfungsmöglichkeit zu bieten.

19. Für den athematischen Wurzelaorist ist in 3. Pl. die Endung *-ent* zu erwarten: idg. \**dyk-ent*, \**stə-ent* > \**stent*, \**də-ent* > \**dent* etc. Das *nt*-Partizip wurde mit Hilfe des ablautenden Suffixes *-ont/-nt-* gebildet: \**dyk-ont/-nt-*, \**stə-ont/-nt-*, \**də-ont/-nt-* etc. Im Germanischen sollten die Reflexe dieser Formen als (3. Pl.) \**-inþ* und (Part.) \**-anþ/-unþ* auftreten. Im Präsens bestand eine Entsprechung in der Morphemgestalt bei (3. Pl.) \**-anþi* und (Part.) \**-anþ*. Dementsprechend konnte im Aorist nach dem Part. \**-anþ/-unþ* auch die 3. Pl. zu \**-anþ/-unþ* umgestaltet werden. Daß *-anþ* für 3. Pl. im Präteritalsystem ausgeschieden wurde, wird mehrere Gründe haben. Man kann daran denken, daß der Anklang an präsentes *-anþ(i)* vermieden werden sollte. Auch beim Part. wurde *-anþ* im Präsenssystem verwendet, so daß *-unþ* für das Präteritum verfügbar war. Letztlich ist zu erwähnen, daß *-unþ(-)* beim Vokal des Suffixes für das aktive Perfektpartizip *-uz-*, das im Urgermanischen kategoriell bestand, Anklang fand. Von *-unþ(-)* aus wurde *-u-* dann auch in 1. Pl. *-u-m* (got. *gebum*), 2. Pl. (*gebup*) und im Dual (1. Du. *gebu* [-ū?], 2. Du. *gebuts*) eingeführt.

20. Spuren des athematischen Wurzelaorists lassen sich somit im germanischen Verbalsystem doch mit gewisser Wahrscheinlichkeit

nachweisen. Es ist daher wohl gestattet, die Kategorie des athematischen Wurzelaorists für eine Vor- oder Frühstufe des Germanischen zu postulieren. Bei der Erklärung des germanischen Präteritalsystems ist dann damit zu rechnen, daß Relikte dieser Kategorie mit Formen des ererbten Perfektsystems verschmolzen sind. Die Suche nach Spuren des athematischen Wurzelaorists im Germanischen dürfte sich weiterhin lohnen.

### Anmerkungen

1. Die Pluralendungen bereiten für die historische Einordnung große Schwierigkeiten. Leider ist aber die Rekonstruktion des Plurals bei indogermanischen Perfektparadigmata ebenfalls unklar.
2. Ohne auf Polomé zu verweisen, bringt etwa Austefjord (1979: 214) die alte Deutung, daß wgerm. *-i* in 2. Sg. aus dem Aoristparadigma stamme, vor.
3. Diese Herleitung wird etwa auch bei Meid (1971: 13 und Anm. 13) vertreten.
4. Über das Verhältnis von ahd. *nemamēs* zu *nemumēs* vgl. auch Mańczak (1978: 310).
5. Der Vorschlag, daß idg. *\*g<sup>w</sup>em-e-* > urg. *\*kwem-i-* als Konjunktiv des Wurzelaorists *\*g<sup>w</sup>em-* zu betrachten sei, findet sich bei Hoffmann (1955).
6. Zur Erklärung des problematischen Vokals *-ō-* bei urg. *\*dō-mi* 'ich tue' kann man auf das Perfekt idg. *\*dhe-dhō-* (> ai. *dadhau*) verweisen, dem der *o*-stufige Vokal regelrecht zukommt; möglicherweise basiert das neugeschaffene Präsens *\*dō-mi* auf dem Perfekt.
7. Die Entwicklung des athematischen Optativs im Altenglischen habe ich in meinem Aufsatz aus dem Jahre 1982 (= Bammesberger 1982b) nachzuzeichnen versucht.

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### *Postscriptum*

Seit Abschluß des hier vorgelegten Manuskripts ist die Frage, wie urg. *\*stop-* zu erklären ist, noch verschiedentlich erörtert worden; vgl. S. Nerup, „The problem of Gothic *standen*,“ *APILKU* (Arbejdspapirer udsendt af Institut for Lingvistik, Københavens Universitet) 3: 113–115 (1984); J. E. Rasmussen, „Editor’s Note: *Standan* and *gangan*,“ *ibid.* 116; Gernot Schmidt, „Got. *standan*, *gaggan*, *iddja*,“ *Sprachwissenschaft* 9: 211–230 (1984); Anders Austefjord, „Das präteritale *ō* der 6. Ablautreihe“, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 92: 168–171 (1987).



# **Low German as a literary language in Schleswig-Holstein in the seventeenth century: A poem by Anna Ovena Hoyers**

Barbara Becker-Cantarino

During the course of the seventeenth century Low German, the *lingua franca* of the once powerful Hanseatic League, disappeared almost completely as a written language in all parts of Northern Germany, its traditional homeland. However, Low German continued to be spoken by the middle and lower classes, and by wealthy landowners and patricians, though no longer by the ruling nobility. Low German was replaced first at the courts, then in all classes of official documents, finally also in the schools, the church and as a literary language, by High German, i. e., the language of the East Central German basin or Upper Saxony. This displacement of Low German as a written language, which had already begun in the sixteenth century and had come to a conclusion approximately with the end of the Thirty Years War, is reflected in the life and works of Anna Ovena Hoyers (1584–1655), a native of the region of Eiderstedt (Schleswig-Holstein).

Hoyers lived and wrote in Koldenbüttel, Tönning, and Husum before emigrating to Sweden during the 1630s for religious reasons. Her representative collection of High German verses, *Geistliche und Weltliche Poemata* published in Amsterdam at Elzeviers in 1650 contains two pieces in Low German, a dramatic satire set in a country inn and an occasional poem. Both pieces show Hoyers' roots in the Low German linguistic and literary tradition; they are also important documents for Low German as a literary language during the crucial period of language change. In the following, I shall briefly review pertinent facts pertaining to the displacement of Low German as a written language, then discuss Hoyers' Low German works with special attention to her occasional poem "Peer/ Nielß sin Söhn tho Westerwydk/ Kam' dit tho handen gantz fründtlick" of 1633, which has so far escaped notice by scholars of Low German.<sup>1</sup>

The change from Low German to High German occurred chronologically and geographically from the South to the North, leaving



Schleswig-Holstein one of the last areas for the displacement. It was the nobility, the politically and culturally dominant upper classes, who pioneered the change by considering Low German an uncultured and inadequate language. Low German was considered “*horrida, inculta et imperfecta*”, the Rostock professor Chytraeus lamented in 1582 (Sanders 1982: 155). During the course of the seventeenth century the Dutch word “*Platt*” became current for Low German and with it the pejorative meaning of a “plain, low-class” language prevailed. By then, the North German nobility had switched to High German, not only when writing but also when speaking; but the peasants, laborers, and servants continued to use only Low German. Since these lower classes were mostly unable (and unwilling) to speak or even understand High German, the ruling nobility at North German courts often needed some sort of an interpreter to communicate with their subjects or staff (Schnath 1979: 280). But the literate, educated, wealthy, land-owning or urban middle class (farmers, city and native court officials, patricians, professionals with a university education) continued to retain an active command of Low German in speaking and often also in writing alongside the more fashionable and socially more acceptable High German. Anna Ovena Hoyers belonged to this literate, wealthy middle class and her command and usage of both, High German and Low German, is characteristic of this class in early seventeenth century Schleswig-Holstein.

The daughter of a well-to-do landowner, Anna Ovena Hoyers was married in 1599 at the age of fifteen to the “*Staller*” (governor, highest administrative official) of the region of Eiderstadt Hermann Hoyer, whose father had been in the service of King Frederik I of Denmark and had received the privileges of a nobleman (exemption from taxation, hunting and fishing rights, exemption from local jurisdiction). As a wealthy farmer’s daughter and regional governor’s wife, Anna belonged to the upper class in Schleswig-Holstein, but not to courtly circles or the nobility; she grew up in the region of Eiderstedt, lived at the country estate Hoyersworth (on the outskirts of Tönning) until 1603, in the governor’s mansion in the regional capital Tönning until 1621, and as a widow again at Hoyersworth, next in the city of Husum from 1626 until about 1632, when she emigrated to Sweden. As a widow in Husum, Anna enjoyed the protection of the Duchess Augusta, the widow of Duke Johann Adolf of Gottorp who had died in 1616. From childhood on, Anna heard and spoke Low German in her family, with the

maids, farm-hands, craftsmen, but apparently also with the clergy and town officials. An anecdote reports her as leaving once the major Husum church (where she and her family members owned special seating in the front pews) with the indignant words "de Düwel schall in de Husumer Kark kamen." While we have no explicit testimony about her spoken language, references to what she said are always in Low German. It is from her surroundings and her daily life that she became thoroughly acquainted with Low German.

Yet all written documents concerning Anna Ovena Hoyers are in High German. After her husband's death in 1622, Anna Ovena Hoyers fought for her children's inheritance and her economic survival (Hermann Hoyers had left huge debts as well as political enemies as a legacy for his widow and her six children who were then still minors). From about 1624 on, Anna also got into trouble with the powerful orthodox Lutheran ministers and church officials because of her support of, and association with, sectarian preachers. All written documents about her legal and religious fights dating from as early as 1622 are in High German. This situation reflects the displacement of Low German as the official written language in Schleswig-Holstein which had already occurred in the late sixteenth century; the city chanceries in Husum had switched between 1585 and 1608, those in Schleswig around 1600 (Sodmann 1973: 118).

Yet for schools and the church the displacement came later, with the region of Eiderstedt being one of the last pockets where Low German remained in use. The school-regulations (*Schulordnung*) of Koldenbüttel of 1624 is the last official document of this nature in Low German; it remained in use apparently until 1656 when it was replaced by the Eiderstedt school-regulations which were written in High German (Gabrielsson 1932–1933: 70). In Schleswig-Holstein teachers as well as preachers continued to use their native Low German in schools and churches during the first decades of the seventeenth century.

Though Anna Ovena Hoyers hardly received much schooling beyond the elementary education in "reading and praying" (*Schriftscholen*<sup>2</sup> for girls restricted their teaching to these skills, yet instruction was in Low German), she read avidly religious tracts and devotional literature. This literature was mostly in High German and Dutch, as her references to the works of Luther, Melancthon, Caspar Schwenckfeld, Paul Felgenhauer, Valentin Weigel,

Menno Simons, David Joris, Melchior Hofman, and Johann Arndt indicate. Judging by her allusions to, and quotes from, these authors in her *Geistliche und Weltliche Poemata*, she read a wide range of protestant religious works, orthodox as well as sectarian ones, especially Mennonite and Anabaptist texts.<sup>3</sup>

The content and the linguistic level of her writings is influenced, if not determined, by these models. Her verses in High German range from instructional, didactic poems to satiric, anti-clerical (i. e., anti-orthodox, not anti-religious) and devotional works, including religious songs in the Protestant tradition. These verses are written in a polished, expressive, and colorful High German, reminiscent of the sixteenth-century penchant for directness and ardor found in Reformation literature; her verses (*Knittelverse*, to be sure, and not alexandrines with regular alternation) and her High German style are as yet untouched by the refinement of Martin Opitz' verse reforms and the French, Dutch, and Neo-Latin models he cultivated and propagated for German Baroque poetry.

Anna Ovena Hoyer's Low German verses also exhibit these stylistic features: directness, satire, scathing invective at times, subtle irony on other occasions. They continue the Low German literary tradition in their realistic portrayal of peasants and everyday life. The dramatic satire "De Denische Dörp-Pape", written in 1630 and probably circulated in manuscript form as well as in a printed version,<sup>4</sup> pokes fun at the uneducated and irresponsible country parsons and their naive peasant subjects. The scene is set at an inn where the Reverend Hannß, who is dancing with the maid and drinking with the peasants, is joined by his colleague, the Reverend Hack. Instead of preparing their Sunday sermon, they get drunk, and a fight with the equally vulgar and intoxicated peasants is narrowly avoided. Abusive language and crude scenes show the ministers' total lack of manners and refinement and their disregard for their religious calling and duties in office. The satire is directed against the clergy who are no better than the simple peasants they are supposed to enlighten and educate. Hoyers' satiric drama adapts the Low German tradition of peasant comedies to her goal, to ridicule her opponents, the orthodox Lutheran clergy.<sup>5</sup> Her use of Low German for this anti-clerical, satirical drama did not imply a low regard for Low German as a language; it was an attempt at realism, to portray the clergy as they spoke and acted, and at didacticism, to reach a wide audience including peasants and the uneducated, illiterate population (the satire was well-suited to oral

recitation), who were misled, in Anna's opinion, by the immoral, irresponsible clergy. A few years after the publication of these disrespectful, derisive verses, Anna had to emigrate — for reasons not altogether clear — to Sweden. Surely, this satire and similar verses in High German played a role in her emigration. She was then almost 50 years old, a widow with five as yet minor children to take care of.

Anna Ovena Hoyers' second Low German work is an occasional poem dated 1633. She was then already in Sweden living in Västervik, then a small fishing town at the Baltic Sea. She apparently supported herself and her family by running a farm and selling dairy products (dairy farming had been the source of her family's wealth in Schleswig-Holstein; it provided also the livelihood for the Mennonites and other sectarians who had emigrated from the Netherlands and settled in Schleswig-Holstein, in Eastern Germany, and all along the Baltic coast, improving and introducing new farming methods in these areas). Anna wrote this poem in Low German in order to be understood by the addressee, the Västervik mayor (or minister?) Peer Nielsson. Low German was then fairly well understood in Sweden (as well as in the Netherlands), while High German was much less readily intelligible to either group. Anna's use of Low German was pragmatic, she chose the language more appropriate for communication.

The occasion for the poem appears to have been as follows: Peer Nielsson, an official in this small town, perhaps a minister or mayor,<sup>6</sup> had taken or intercepted Anna's butter shipment designated for the organist's wife, without paying for it. The intent of this occasional poem is to receive payment for her ware. Anna uses subtle irony and a veiled psychological threat — as a foreign settler she was at best tolerated — to reach her goal. She first inquires if Nielsson indeed enjoyed the butter and might want some more. In that case, she requests he return the cloth bag to the organist's wife for whom the butter was designated in the first place. Since Nielsson pays other people for such merchandise, he cannot really expect to simply take it from her. Anna asks the rhetorical question, if taking things from "widows, orphans, and strangers" — a reference to her station as a widow and immigrant — is really the Västervik way, a way she disapproves of. She reminds Nielsson now very directly of her letter of protection which he had apparently also signed along with other town officials; she insists in the written proof she has and appeals to his honesty to keep his word. Having presented the

moral argument in part one, Anna then addresses Nielsson's physical well-being in the second part (starting with line 25, of 50 lines). She tells the story of her "old dog" who stole butter, ate it without any bread, and then died. Thus her words are a warning to Nielsson lest he likewise may die — a not-too-subtle psychological hint and perhaps a veiled curse. In the concluding lines Anna offers her other products, such as eggs from large chicken, and announces that a Jurgen Guldenstern will bring him wine as well as collect the money he owes for the butter.

This occasional poem is much more subtle, ironic, and refined than her satiric, anti-clerical drama. After all, Anna Ovena Hoyers is dealing with a dignitary or official of the town in which she resides as a foreigner needing protection. Her ability at versification in Low German came in handy for collecting a debt (later she would use High German verses to write religious songs and occasional verses for Queen Christina and her mother and receive a small farm on Maria Eleonora's widow's estate). Low German was still an expressive literary language in the first half of the seventeenth century for those who spoke and understood it.

Peer/ Nielß sin Söhn tho Westerwyck/  
Kam' dit tho handen gantz fründtlick.

- Leve Peer Nielßon latet me weten/  
Mög' gy so gern Blickhems Botter eten?  
Wille gy hebben noch ein halff punt mehr/  
So sendet den Linnen Büdel wedder her/  
5 Edder tho Juwes Organisten Fruw/  
Ick gaff er de Botter darin/ nich Juw:  
Doch wiel jy so verleckert darup wehrn  
Günne ick se Juw ock van herten gern.  
Leet ist my dat dar nich ein gantz punt was.  
10 Wo recht idel wol komt et Juw tho paß/  
Dat gy so fry von uns möget halen/  
Andern mött gy solck wahr betalen?  
De Wedwen/ Weysen un Frembden dwingen/  
Ehnen affnehmen / nist wedder bringen/  
15 Iß sülckes der Westerwycker wise?  
So iß et ein arth de ick nich prise.  
Gy hebben den Breef mit unterschreven

- Den my Hinrich Hanßen hefft gegeben/  
 Van wegen des wolgebarnen Herren/  
 20 Dat my nemand schall molesteren.  
 Ick kan bewisen met Juw egen hant;  
 Wo gy wort holden/ dat iß Juw bekant.  
 Doch wat gy dhon/ dat moth syn wolgedahn;  
 Ick wilt ock nu so darby laten stahn.  
 25 Gott lath Juw de Botter wol bekamen/  
 Etet Brot tho/ denn dat hört thosamen.  
 Botter schlicken ohn Brot/ iß nich gesunt/  
 Dat sach ich lest an minen olden Hunt;  
 De nam ock ein stück Botter van der banck/  
 30 Und fratt ohn Brot/ de arm schelm ward so kranck.  
 Wiel nu ein Hunt dit nicht kan verdragen/  
 De doch sonst hefft einen starcken magen/  
 Wat scholde denn eine Börger edder Buhr  
 Alß gy/ de nich so starck iß van natur?  
 35 Dit hebb' ick willen thor warnung schriven/  
 Dat gy mögen in gesuntheit bliven.  
 Störve gy henn/ so trurd de gantze Stadt/  
 O welck ein jammer un schade wehr dat!  
 Darum wahr't Juw/ seht wol tho wat gy dhon/  
 40 Up dat gy nehn Naruw kriget tho lohn.  
 Iß hir up Blickhem woll wat leckers mehr/  
 Dat gy begehren schicket einen her;  
 Lath halen dorch Johann Höen Juwen knecht  
 All' unse Eyer/ de hir sint gelecht.  
 45 Hir gahn kücken gröter alß ein Heister/  
 De recht sind vor sölcken Borgemeister.  
 Wenn wilt Gott komt Herr Jurgen Guldenstern/  
 Wert sin gnad Juw den Wien dar tho vor ehrn/  
 Und bethaling vör de Botter halen.  
 50 Dissem Herren syt hirmit befahlen.

Den 10. 7bris an 1633  
 [September anno]  
 A. O. H.

(*Geistliche und Weltliche Poemata*, 74–75)

*kam'* (optative) = komme; may it come

1 *weten* = wissen; know

2 *gy* = ihr; you

- 4 *Büdel* = Beutel; bag  
 5 *edder* = oder; or  
*Juwes* = eures; your  
 6 *gaff* = gab; gave  
*er* = ihr; her  
 7 *verleckert* = lecker; desirous  
*wehrn* = waret; were  
 9 *leet ist my* = es tut mir leid; I'm sorry  
 10 *idel* = eitel; vain  
 11 *halen* = holen; get  
 13 *Wedwen* = Witwen; widows  
 14 *nist* = nicht; not  
 17 *Breef* = Brief; letter  
 19 *wolgebarnen* = wohlgeboren; noble  
 21 *egen* = eigen; own  
 26 *tho* = dazu; with it  
*thosamen* = zusammen; together  
 30 *fratt* = fraß; ate  
 33 *scholde* = gebührte; would happen to  
 36 *bliven* = bleiben; remain  
 37 *Störve* = stürbe (subjunct.); would die  
 39 *Wahrt Juw* = nehmt euch in acht; be careful  
 40 *nehn Naruw* = keine Nachreue; no regrets  
 43 *lath* = lasset; let  
 45 *Heister* = Elster; magpie  
 46 *sölcken* = solchen; such a  
*Borgemeister* = Bürgermeister; mayor, or: a master in borrowing  
 (and not repaying)  
 48 *vor ehrn* = verehren; present  
 49 *bethaling* = Bezahlung; pay  
 50 *syt* = said (imper.); be

## Notes

1. C. Borchling und B. Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800* (1931–1937), Nachdruck: Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1976, vol. 2, no. 3366. The poem is not mentioned by Stammler (1928), Rettler (1949), and Sanders (1982) who draw on the same limited number of texts for an assessment of Low German literature in the seventeenth century.



2. In contrast to numerous Latin schools in Southern Germany, Northern Germany had mostly "German Schools" (*Schriftscholen*) which taught reading and writing in Low German; e. g., towards the end of the sixteenth century Lübeck had some sixty licensed German schools, not counting dozens of unlicensed "Klipp-oder Winkelscholen", and only one Latin school (Gabrielsson 1932–1933: 3).
3. Whatever she read of secular literature cannot be ascertained. An early literary attempt is Anna's verse paraphrase of Niclas von Wyle's *Euryolus and Lucretia*, a prose translation from Enea Silvio Piccolomini, which she wrote perhaps as early as 1617. It has not survived in print, but the Stockholm manuscript of Hoyers' poems contains an 18-line fragment (Royal Library Stockholm, Vitterhet Tysk Vu. 76, part II, 24a–25b); cf. my "Die Stockholmer Liederhandschrift der Anna Ovena Hoyers," in: Martin Bircher (ed.), *Barocker Lustspiegel. Festschrift für Blake Lee Spahr* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), 329–344.
4. A separate printing has not survived; it was included in the *Geistliche und Weltliche Poemata* (1650), 247–262.
5. An example of a similar drinking scene at an inn can be found in: "De Historie van Slennerhinke" in Hermann Jellinghaus (ed.), *Niederdeutsche Bauernkomödien des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins 147) (Tübingen 1880), 13–52. This and other Low German peasant dramas or interludes in High German dramas by Rist are in prose form.
6. In line 5 Anna refers to "your organist's wife". This might indicate that Nielsson is a minister; in line 46 she calls him a "Borgemeister", this could stand for "Börgermester" (mayor) or mean "one who likes to borrow (borgen) and doesn't return things," an expression still used today in Low German.

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# The origin of the Indo-European pronominal inflection

Robert S. P. Beekes

- |                                       |                                      |                                 |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>-i-, -e-, and -o-</i><br>stems  | 4. The genitive<br>singular feminine | 8. The instrumental<br>singular |
| 2. The nominative<br>singular         | 5. The genitive plural               | 9. The plural                   |
| 3. The genitive<br>singular masculine | 6. Forms with <i>-sm-</i>            | 10. Conclusion                  |
|                                       | 7. Forms with <i>-si-</i>            | 11. The stems                   |

## 0. Introduction

The inflection of the Proto-Indo-European pronouns presents many difficulties, but I think that the main outlines can now be explained. The paradigm of *\*k<sup>w</sup>i-* as given by Szemerényi (1970: 192) may illustrate the pronominal inflection as reconstructed up to now (I add *-esmōd* which Szemerényi gives on p. 191).

	masc./ fem.	neuter	masc./ fem.	neuter
nom. sg.	<i>k<sup>w</sup>is</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>id</i>	pl. <i>k<sup>w</sup>eyes</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ī</i>
acc.	<i>k<sup>w</sup>im</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>id</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ins</i>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ī</i>
gen.	<i>k<sup>w</sup>esyō</i>		<i>k<sup>w</sup>eisōm</i>	
abl.	<i>k<sup>w</sup>esmōd</i>			
dat.	<i>k<sup>w</sup>esmei</i>		<i>k<sup>w</sup>eibh(y)os</i>	
loc.	<i>k<sup>w</sup>esmi</i>		<i>k<sup>w</sup>eisu</i>	
instr.	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ī</i>			

## 1. *i-, e- and o-*stems

One of the remarkable things is that some pronouns present stems in *-i-, -e-, and -o-*. The first question is which stem belongs where.

It is generally assumed that there were parallel forms with *-i* and *-o*. Thus there would have been *k<sup>w</sup>o-* beside *k<sup>w</sup>i-*. There seems also to be no difficulty in the function of these two stems: the *o*-forms were adjectives (Rix 1976: 188).<sup>1</sup>

In most handbooks it is assumed that the *e*-stem belonged with the *o*-stem. I think this is not correct.

There is one instance where we have part of an old system, the nominative and genitive singular neuter of *k<sup>w</sup>i-*. Here OCS *čъto*, *česo*, Gk. *tí*, *téo* point to *\*k<sup>w</sup>id*, gen. *\*k<sup>w</sup>eso*. (OHG *hwes*, PGmc. *\*hwes*, is not reliable as *-e-* was generalized in Germanic.) Here we have (part of) an old system, and I think the only one for which it is probable that it is old, where *-e-* belongs with *-i-*, and not with *-o-*.

This is confirmed by the pronoun that lives on in Lat. *is ea id*. It is generally accepted that to this pronoun beside ntr. *\*id*, acc. sg. masc. *\*im*, belonged a dative *\*esmei* (U. *esmei*). Here again *-e-* belongs with *-i-*. This connection becomes even more clear through Kortlandt's reconstruction of the nom. sg. masc. as *\*e* (i. e., *\*h<sub>1</sub>e*) (apud Beekes 1983): *\*e* belongs with *\*id*, *im*.

The connection of *-e-* with *-o-* was probably assumed because it was generally accepted that the *o*-stem nouns had *e-* and *o*-stem forms side-by-side in the inflection. In my *Origins* (Beekes 1985: 184 ff.) I have tried to show that this is not correct: the nouns had only forms with *-o*. However, we cannot draw a direct conclusion from this for the pronouns, as their inflection was of a quite different type.

Recently the oblique cases with *-e-* have been considered as neuter only: Rix (1976: 187). This seems based on Av. *cahyā*. Rix gives these forms as neuter. They are found Y 48.9a and 50.1a. In the first instance, however, it is clearly masculine, and in the latter it is so taken by both Humbach and Insler. Here one might take *cahyā* *avanhō* as 'some help', with *cahyā* as neuter adjective, but the context, notably the immediately following *ká...?* 'who...?', strongly suggests that it is masculine. It appears that both forms are indefinite. This is also true of *cahmāi* Yt 13,3 and *cahmi* FrD 3,3. That this is the distribution (*ka-* interrogative, *ci-* indefinite) in both Avestan and Sanskrit was long ago recognized (cf. n. 1). — (The form *cayas* Y 45.5c, earlier considered as the plural of *k<sup>w</sup>i-*, is now generally taken as the neuter substantive 'regard'.)

Note that the result of this assumption (*-e-* is neuter only) is that the masculine had *\*k<sup>w</sup>is*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>os(i)o*, with *i-* and *o*-stems in one

paradigm, which is quite improbable (as there is no certain evidence anywhere for such a system).

We conclude, then, that the pronouns had *i-/e-*stems beside *o-*stems, the latter being adjectives.

## 2. The nominative singular

The nominative singular masculine of some pronouns is remarkable because of the absence of an *-s*. Thus we have *\*so*. Lat. *hic*, too, had no *-s*, nor did Skt. *asáu*. Skt. *ayám* points to a form *\*ei*. Kortlandt reconstructed the original form as *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)e* (apud Beekes 1983). Lat. *qui* < *\*k<sup>w</sup>oi* points to an original *\*k<sup>w</sup>o*. It is generally accepted that *\*k<sup>w</sup>o* is the oldest form. This is clear because it is easily understandable that an *-s* was added, whereas it is not understandable why an *-s* would have been removed. Nevertheless this fact is mostly not integrated.

A form that has not been accounted for is the Celtic form of the last-mentioned pronoun. OIr. *cia*, W. *pwy*, C. *pyw*, Br. *piou* all point to a form *\*k<sup>w</sup>ei* (Pedersen 1909.2: 198; Jackson 1953: 657). The *e*-vocalism cannot be explained except as an archaism. Now Kortlandt reconstructed the nominative of Lat. *is* as *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)e*, it is clear that the Celtic form points to an original nom. *\*k<sup>w</sup>e*. Thus *k<sup>w</sup>e*, *k<sup>w</sup>id*, *k<sup>w</sup>im*, *k<sup>w</sup>eso* is entirely parallel to *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)e*, *id*, *im*, *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)eso*.

It is sometimes assumed that forms like the Celtic one show a full grade *i*-stem (in the singular; on the plural see below). This is not correct in my opinion. For Lat. *qui* < *\*k<sup>w</sup>oi* it would be quite improbable to accept beside *\*k<sup>w</sup>o-* a stem *\*k<sup>w</sup>oi-*. For *\*e* there is evidence for forms without *-i* (Beekes 1983). Also *ei/i* would not solve the problem of *e-* in the oblique cases. (Szemerényi's explanation [1970: 193] does not work as the forms must be reconstructed differently, as we shall see.) I think that the explanation of the *-i* as the deictic particle is acceptable.

## 3. The genitive singular masculine

The only (partial) system that has a good chance to be old is *\*k<sup>w</sup>id*, gen. *\*k<sup>w</sup>eso*. This gives *\*-so* as the pronominal genitive ending. This

ending is mostly considered together with that of the *o*-stem nouns. Here we have evidence for *\*-osio*, *\*-eso* and *\*-oso*. It is now clear that *\*-osio* belonged to the *o*-stem nouns. As it originated here from the addition of *io* to the original genitive in *-os*, there is no place for this ending with the pronouns (cf. Beekes 1985: 185–186). Therefore *\*-eso* and *\*-oso* remain as pronominal endings. This agrees with the form *\*k<sup>w</sup>eso*. *\*-oso* may be expected for *\*to-* and *\*k<sup>w</sup>o-*. Therefore both forms, *\*-eso* and *\*-oso*, may come from the pronouns, if we assume that *\*so* was added to the stem in *\*-e* or *\*-o* found in the nominative.

It has been assumed that this *\*so* was identical with the (nominative singular) pronoun *\*so* (Møller 1920: 225; Knobloch 1950: 143). I cannot go into this question, but it should be noted that both *so* and *io* were added to make a genitive (though *-os* already was a genitive itself).

#### 4. The genitive singular feminine

If the genitive singular masculine was formed with a particle *so*, there is no reason to expect that there was a special feminine form (though one might think of a feminine *\*sā*, *\*seh<sub>2</sub>*, if *\*so* was the pronoun). The form *\*to-so* can easily have been transformed later into *\*tosā(s)*. From this form the Germanic *\*-s-* in the feminine (throughout) instead of *\*-si-* can be explained.

Older handbooks say that you have *-s-* and *-si-* side by side in Germanic, without explanation (Streitberg 1896: 272; Meillet 1937: 332; thus also Guxman et al. 1962–1966.III: 353). At present it is mostly stated that the *-s-* was taken from the genitive plural. This seems easy for Old Icelandic, which has sg. *þeirar*, pl. *þeira* from *\*tois-*. But Goth. *þizos*, *þizo* has the stem of the singular brought to the plural. This suggests that they differed only in the vocalism. In general, if the singular had *\*tosyās*, *\*-āi* and the plural (only) *\*(tā)-som*, it would be hard to understand why *\*-si-* was replaced by *\*-s-*. Old English has gen. = dat. *þære* < *\*-syās*, *\*-syāi* beside *þāre* < *\*-sās*, *\*-sāi*. It seems evident that one of these two forms had *\*-s-*, the other *\*-si-*. Prokosch (1938: 269–270) gives the most instructive comment. He posits *\*tesās* “probably an extension of *\*teso*” and adds that for OE *\*þaizjōz* “must theoretically be recon-

structed to account for the umlaut", without further comment. On the dative, however, he says that Old English requires *\*-syāi*, but because there also is *pāre* < *\*-sāi*, he supposes that it (i. e., *\*-syāi*) was caused by analogy with the genitive (if I understand him correctly). This contradicts his comment on the genitive, where he posited *\*tesās*. I conclude that for Germanic the most probable reconstruction is *\*tesās*, *\*tesiāi*. It was apparently because of the authority of Sanskrit that one did not dare to posit this, but Skt. *tasyās* can be easily analogical after *tasyai*, *tasyām* (with influence of masc. *tasya*, which got the genitive ending of the *o*-stem nouns). It is clear that the old dilemma *-s/-si-* must be solved in this way that one form belonged to one case, the other to another.

## 5. The genitive plural

For the genitive plural, masc. *\*toisom*, fem. *\*tāsom* are reconstructed. The *-s-* of this form, which is not found in other plural forms, has been explained from *\*tāsom*, which would be the nom. pl. fem. *\*tās* with the gen. pl. ending *\*-om* added. In this form *\*-som* was considered as the ending, which was then added to *\*toi* (Hermann 1924: 217–219; Laroche 1966: 41). This explanation is quite improbable. First it assumes that the feminine imposed its form on the masculine, and it does not mention what the masculine form was and why it disappeared. Second, the nom. pl. *\*tās* has the nominal plural ending *\*-es*, so this form is probably a younger form. Then, it is hard to understand why here *\*-om* was added after the nominative plural ending, for which there is no parallel (i. e., no model) in the *ā*-stems (where the genitive plural was *-h<sub>2</sub>om*, later often replaced by *-eh<sub>2</sub>om*) or other feminines. Lastly it is not clear why *\*tāsom* was analyzed as containing an ending *-som* for which there was no parallel.

It is essential that OCS m. f. *těxŭ* shows that the feminine had *\*toisom*, as the feminine form cannot be analogical in Slavic.

It is much simpler to assume that this enigmatic *\*-s-* is the same as that of the genitive singular. Then *\*toisom* was a reshaping of *\*toi-so* after the nominal ending *\*-om*. *\*toi-so* would be the nominative plural (or the plural stem, see below) to which the same *\*so* was added as in the singular (this shows that *\*so* was unchangeable,

so a feminine *\*sā* in the genitive singular feminine is improbable). Note that there is no difficulty in assuming that here *\*so* was added to the nominative plural, because this happened also in the singular, and because we find *\*toi* in all plural forms (except the accusative).

This explanation was already given by Specht (1944: 367).

It should be stressed that the pronominal genitive plural ending *\*-som* confirms that the pronominal genitive singular ending was *\*-so*, not *\*-sio*. Thus the reconstructions and explanations confirm each other.

## 6. The forms with *-sm-*

The masculine forms have *-sm-* in the ablative, dative, locative; on the instrumental see below. The forms had *-smed*, *-smei*, *-smi* respectively added to *\*to-*, *\*h<sub>1</sub>e-*, *k<sup>w</sup>e-*. (The forms in *-ōd*, *-ōi* are of course younger than those in *-ed*, *-ei*; to be corrected in Beekes 1983: 209.)

The dat. *\*k<sup>w</sup>esmei* looks as if it consisted of *\*k<sup>w</sup>e* followed by the dative of *\*sem-* 'one'.<sup>2</sup> In Beekes (1983) I hesitated between proterodynamic inflection, but in the animate forms one would expect hysterodynamic inflection (see Beekes 1985: 167 ff.), which is also indicated by the nom. *\*sō(m)*. The dat. in *\*-ei* is found in Myc. *eme* /*hemei*/ (cf. Beekes 1985: 117 ff., where I wrongly thought that the word was proterodynamic; hysterodynamic inflection confirms the theory which I presented there).

Ingerid Dal (1938: 186–218) discussed the Germanic, especially Old High German, material which shows that the neuter did not have *\*-sm-* when it was used substantively with 'abstract' deixis, i.e., "wenn es sich nicht auf einen bestimmten Gegenstand oder auf ein Einzelwort (...) bezieht". (Cf. Behaghel 1923–1928.1: 271.) She found traces of it also in Sanskrit. Especially the adverbs show these forms without *-sm-* (Skt. *āt*, *tāt*, *yāt*, Gmc. *pe*, *hwe* etc.). Thus *\*-sm-* has "‘individuelle’ oder ‘konkrete’ Deixis". She concluded that *\*-sm-* is cognate with Skt. *sma*, Gk. *homós* or *\*sem-* 'one'. (Specht 1944: 383, objected that OHG *diu* in most examples had a clear instrumental function. He assumed that *diu* was simply the instrumental and *hwamma* (etc.) the old dative in *-ōi*, from a side form in *-ō*. For the latter form there is no evidence elsewhere, but

decisive are the forms like Goth. *hwammeh*, which show that this form was undoubtedly an instrumental.)

That the pronominal element *\*-sm-* contained the root of 'one' was clearly supposed by J. Schmidt (1900: 39 ff.), as appears from his explanation of the feminine *\*-si-* (see below). Later Prokosch (1938: 267) suggested that it contained the word for 'some'. This word, however, had a laryngeal after the *m* (cf. Beekes 1983: 202–203), which is absent in the pronouns. Also the meaning seems inadequate for the demonstratives (*\*tosmei*, etc.). Lane (1961: 469–475) took up the idea. He suggested that *\*-sm-* was 'one', fem. *\*-si-* the pronoun *\*syo-*, and the pronominal *\*-s-* the pronoun *\*so*. The fact that three different elements are assumed without an explanation of their distribution, especially that the masculine had an element 'one' and the (parallel) feminine a deictic pronoun, was probably the reason why it was not accepted. It is decisive that there was no pronoun *\*syo-*, as I demonstrated in Beekes (1983: 215 ff.). Szemerényi (1970: 189) accepted 'one' for *\*-sm-*. So the critical point is the explanation of fem. *\*-si-*, to which we shall turn now.

## 7. The forms with *\*-si-*

The feminine forms with *\*-si-* are often explained from the genitive ending with *\*-si-*. Thus a form *\*tosiās*, based on masc. *\*tosio*, would have been the starting point for the other cases. Thus Specht (1944: 365), recently Burrow (1955: 270). This is improbable. First, it is not clear why the other cases were built on the genitive rather than on the (masculine) forms with *\*-sm-*, but this is not impossible. The essential fact is that, as we saw, the Germanic forms require a form with *\*-s-*, not *\*-si-*, which must have been the genitive singular (for otherwise which form would have had single *\*-s-*?). And we saw above that the genitive singular of the pronouns had *\*-so*, not *\*-sio*. Therefore the explanation is impossible.

Joh. Schmidt (1900: 391) explained *\*-si-* from *\*-smi-* in the feminine of *\*sem-*: *\*smiāi* > *\*siāi*, but this was rejected because a group *\*-smi-* before vowel is quite acceptable in Proto-Indo-European and was not reduced. I think we can now explain the feminine forms in a way that confirms the interpretation of *\*-sm-*.



The nominative of the element gen. *\*-siās* will have been *\*sih<sub>2</sub>*. When we are looking for a fem. *\*sih<sub>2</sub>* 'one', Gk. *ía* comes to mind. It is strange that scholars explained the pronominal element from *\*smiās*, and that they also explained Gk. *ía* from *\*smiās* (below), but that nobody as far as I know assumed a direct relation between the two.

*ía* is found in Homer, Iliad nine times (*ía, iês, iêi*), Od. once (*ían*), in the three Thessalian dialects (see below) and Hippocrates, Morb. 4.37. Homer also has a neuter *iôi* in Z 422. Other forms from *io-* are found in the Gortyn inscription, and in Messenia (Andania, IG V 1. 1390, l. 126, Schwyzler 1923: 74.126) from the first century BC. It is generally assumed that the Homeric form is artificial. Of the last inscription Frisk suggested that it was coined after the Homeric form. This is not very probable. These forms are partly or wholly considered as pronouns, in which case they are mostly derived from PIE *\*i-*, seen in Lat. *is, ea, id*. Lee (1966: 25–43, esp. 36 ff.) argued that in all instances *io-* means 'one, alone' and never 'ekeînos' or 'is, idem' (accepted by Rüdiger Schmitt 1977: 52 nr. 16). The view that all (four!) forms belonged to the well-established numeral *ía* seems to me preferable to the one that assumes that some or all of them belong to an otherwise unknown pronoun. For Lee there is no problem: if you have *ía* you have *ios*. But as the *-a* is short, the stem cannot have been *\*io-*. So the conclusion must be that Gk. *ios* was based on *ía*, which is attested much better and earlier (see also below). However, *ios* was a linguistic reality (and Z 422 may have been so as well). We must assume that *ía* with (or without) *io-* remained in use beside *hen-*, *mía*, probably with a specific meaning ('one and the same', 'alone?').

The Hesych gloss *ítton· hén. Krêtes* evidently made after *dittós, trittós* would be based on *io-* 'one'. But perhaps *heís, hen-* could be at the basis as well.

It has been supposed that *ía* was formed by removing the *m-* of *mía* to adapt it to the other forms of *heís*. Such a process is not impossible, but it is very rare. The agreement between the resulting forms was not yet very great. The other forms had a stem *hen-*, so if one wanted to adapt *mía* to them, one would have formed *\*\*hemía, henía*, or in an earlier phase *\*\*henya > \*\*heina*. The only thing that *mía* had in common with *hen-* was the nasal, so it is very improbable that that would have been removed. We have no certain evidence that *mía* was ever changed or replaced. The form still exists, so apparently the form, though aberrant, was very strong.

If the existence of *ia* outside Aeolic is shown by Cretan *ios*, it is improbable that more dialects independently created *ia* from *mía*, the more so as Cretan had *mía* too. Therefore *ia* must be old.

*ia* was explained by Joh. Schmidt from *\*smiās*, of which we saw above that it was untenable. The explanations from the stem *i-* in Lat. *is*, or from *oi-* in *oíos* (see Schwyzler 1939: 588) all have the problem that *\*io-* would have lost its *\*i-* in Greek.

It is generally assumed that Hom. *ia* was an Aeolism. It is interesting to see what forms of the numeral 'one' are found in the Aeolic dialect inscriptions. Blümel (1982: 271) gives (B[oeot.], L[esb.], T[hessal.]):

nom.	<i>eis</i> L	<i>mēdeia</i> L	<i>en</i> T
acc.	<i>ena</i> B	<i>ian</i> LT	
gen.		<i>ias</i> B	<i>enos</i> B

This shows that the Aeolic system was *eis*, *ia*, *en*. Now we are looking, in order to explain the pronominal element *\*-sy-*, for a fem. *\*sih<sub>2</sub>* 'one' beside masc. *\*sem-*. The coincidence is too perfect to be accidental. It is evident, to my mind, that Aeol. *ia* originated from *\*sih<sub>2</sub>*.<sup>3</sup> The absence of aspiration is explained by the Aeolic (Lesbian) psilosis.

Thus I reconstruct for PIE:

	masc.	fem.	neuter
nom.	<i>*sō(m)</i>	<i>*sih<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>*sm?</i>
acc.	<i>*sem-m</i>	<i>*sih<sub>2</sub>-m</i>	<i>*sm?</i>
gen.	<i>*sm-ós</i>	<i>*siéh<sub>2</sub>-s</i>	<i>*sém-s?</i>
dat.	<i>*sm-éi</i>	<i>*siéh<sub>2</sub>-i</i>	<i>*sém-i?</i>
loc.	<i>*sém-i</i>	<i>*siéh<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>*sēm</i>

That the feminine is derived from another stem is known from cases like Skt. *pāti-*, *patnī-*; *pīvan-*, *pīvarī-*. (Note that synchronically, Gk. *heís*, *hen-*: *mía* also has a different stem for the feminine.)

One might further ask whether there is a relation with the mysterious pronoun *\*sī* = *\*siH* 'she'. In Beekes (1983: 212 ff.) I assumed that it was *\*(H)ih<sub>2</sub>*, the feminine of the pronoun found in Lat. *is*, *ea*, *id*, with *s-* taken from *\*so*. I cannot discuss this point further here.

## 8. The instrumental singular

Sanskrit has no *\*sm*-forms for the instrumental (m. *téna*, f. *táyā*, the latter of which is compared with OCS *tojǫ*), but Germanic points to *\*tosmeh<sub>1</sub>*, etc. This form can be an analogical formation, but Skt. *téna* must continue an old form as it cannot be explained from Sanskrit. There can be little doubt that it contained (loc.) *\*toi* with a particle.

The Germanic forms like Goth. *þe*, *hwe*, will continue *\*k<sup>w</sup>e* with the instrumental ending *-h<sub>1</sub>* added.

A form in *-ih<sub>1</sub>* is supposed by Av. *cī*, Lat. *quī*. This form may be old. Note that the instrumental is typically a case of the neuter.

## 9. The plural

The nominative plural had *-i*. This was of course the plural marker, as was supposed long ago by Joh. Schmidt (1881: 6). (An ending *-i* was recently assumed by Kortlandt in the 3 pl. ending *\*-nti*, with which he compared Uralic forms; see his contribution to the FS Hoenigswald.)

The fact that we find *\*toi*, etc., in all plural forms (except the accusative), just as we find *\*to*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>e*, etc. in all singular forms, shows clearly, to my mind, that the inflection is recent. That explains why we find *\*toi* in all forms: as there was only one form, the endings (of the noun) were simply added. Thus we get *\*toi-mus*, *\*-bhi*, *\*-su*, abl. *\*toios* (from *\*toi-ios?*). The gen. *\*toi-som* was discussed above.

The accusative plural does not have the *-i*. This agrees with the fact that the singular too has a specific, probably old, accusative form.

The plural forms were not, of course, combined with *\*sm*- 'one'.

## 10. Conclusion

Thus we arrive at the following inflection:

	masc.	fem.	neuter	masc./fem.	neuter
sg. nom.	*so		*tod	*k <sup>w</sup> e	*k <sup>w</sup> id
acc.	*tom		*tod	*k <sup>w</sup> im	*k <sup>w</sup> id
gen.	*to-so			*k <sup>w</sup> e-so	
abl.	*to-smed		*tōd	*k <sup>w</sup> e-smed	
dat.	*to-smei	*to-sieh <sub>2</sub> -i		*k <sup>w</sup> e-smei	
loc.	*to-smi	*to-sieh <sub>2</sub>		*k <sup>w</sup> e-smi	*k <sup>w</sup> ei
ins.	*toh <sub>1</sub> , *toi(-)?		*toh <sub>1</sub> , *toi?		*k <sup>w</sup> eh <sub>1</sub> , *k <sup>w</sup> ih <sub>1</sub> ?

	masculine/feminine	masculine/feminine
pl. nom.	*toi	*k <sup>w</sup> ei
acc.	*tons	*k <sup>w</sup> ins
gen.	*toi-so(m)	*k <sup>w</sup> ei-so(m)
abl.	*toios	*k <sup>w</sup> eios
dat.	*toi-mus	*k <sup>w</sup> ei-mus
loc.	*toi-su	*k <sup>w</sup> ei-su
ins.	*toi-bhi	*k <sup>w</sup> ei-bhi

Genitive singular: Gmc. *\*pes* must have its *\*-e-* from the other pronouns.

Ablative singular: A form with *\*-ed* may be assumed, which is found in *-ōd* < *\*-o-ed* of the *o*-stem nouns, and in the personal pronouns.

Locative singular: I would expect *\*sem(i)*, but *\*-sm(i)* will soon have replaced it. In the feminine I would expect *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>* (with no lengthening before laryngeal).

Accusative plural: Parallel to acc. sg. *\*k<sup>w</sup>im* we might expect pl. *\*k<sup>w</sup>ins* rather than *\*k<sup>w</sup>ens*.

## 11. The stems

The relation between *e*- and *i*-stems has not yet been clarified. We have found:

<i>*h<sub>1</sub>e</i>	<i>*(h<sub>1</sub>)id</i>	<i>*k<sup>w</sup>e</i>	<i>*k<sup>w</sup>id</i>	<i>*so</i>	<i>*tod</i>
<i>*(h<sub>1</sub>)im</i>	<i>*(h<sub>2</sub>)id</i>	<i>*k<sup>w</sup>im</i>	<i>*k<sup>w</sup>,id</i>	<i>*tom</i>	<i>*tod</i>
<i>*h<sub>1</sub>e-</i>		<i>*k<sup>w</sup>e-</i>		<i>*to-</i>	

What strikes us most in the first two systems is that the accusative masculine has the same stem (in *-i*) as the neuter, whereas all other forms have the stem in *-e*. The solution is evident: the neuter and the accusative masculine go back on a *casus absolutivus* of an ergative system. It will have ended originally in *\*-i*, and got *\*-d* (or *\*-t*) and *\*-m* later. For the background I refer to Beekes (1985: 172 ff.).

We find the same distribution with *\*so* *\*tod*. A difference is that the stem of the nominative (= ergative) serves as a basis for the other cases in the first two stem systems, whereas in the last system the stem of the absolute case (*to-*) is found in the oblique cases. Perhaps *\*soi* 'to him' is a dative-locative of *\*so*. In this way we explain this completely isolated form.

Thus I arrive at an older system:

erg.	<i>*h<sub>1</sub>e</i>	<i>*k<sup>w</sup>e</i>	<i>*so</i>
abs.	<i>*(h<sub>1</sub>)i</i>	<i>*k<sup>w</sup>i</i>	<i>*to</i>

It has been supposed that the neuter pronoun *\*to* is the origin of the neuter ending *-t* (*-d*).

Addendum: See now Beekes (1986) and Beekes (forthcoming).

### Notes

1. Tedesco (1945: 128–141) argued that Proto-Indo-European had an original system masc. *\*k<sup>w</sup>os*, ntr. *\*k<sup>w</sup>id* (or it would be dialectal, of the satem group, but that would mean that it was an innovation of this group). He argues that Middle West Iranian points to the system found in OP *kasciy*, ntr. *cišciy*, and compares

OCS *кѣто*, *ѣто* and Arm. *ov*, *z-i*. When he says that four languages, Slavic, Armenian, Iranian, and Indic point to *\*k<sup>w</sup>os*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>id* (1945: 132), this is not correct, as he admits himself: both Avestan and Vedic have interrogative *\*kas*, *\*kat* and indefinite *ci-*. This is a quite different system. Tedesco says that this system must be “a matter of secondary differentiation” (1945: 135). There is, then, no agreement between Indo-Iranian and the other two languages. If the Middle Iranian languages point to a development as in Slavic and Armenian, the system of Old Indian and Iranian proves that these are independent innovations.

Tedesco thinks that the Skt. ntr. *kim* is a Middle Indic form (where all neuters end in *-m*). I am not convinced that this is correct. (The other instances of Middle Indic morphology in the Rigveda he adduces, sections 12–14, rather make it improbable that a pronoun was borrowed.) I would rather think that, as Tedesco assumes for Avestan ntr. *ciš*, *cīm*, *i*-forms (that were not indefinite) were considered as neuters. But why *kim* would have supplanted *\*kit*, I cannot explain. (That *cit* became a particle seems not sufficient.)

2. My colleague R. Smeets draws my attention to the Kabardian emphatic pronoun for the third person dingular *ye.zə*, of which *-zə* is identical with the word for ‘one’. However, he thinks that the form originated from an older *\*ye.re* (in which *-ré* was not the word for ‘one’), which became (phonetically?) *-zə* and which was then identified with *zə* ‘one’.
3. There is a problem with the development of *\*sih<sub>2</sub>* in Greek. M. Peters expects *\*(h)ijā* (1980: 102), but I don’t see why (*mia* will be a Sievers’ form). On the basis of Megar. *sa* < *\*k<sup>w</sup>ih<sub>2</sub>* I would expect *\*hya* > *\*ha*. Relevant may be the pronoun Gk. *hi*, given by grammarians, who cite Sophocles fr. 471 (see Kühner–Blass 1890.1: 595–596). This form is mostly explained from *\*sī*, i. e. *\*sih<sub>2</sub>*, ‘she’, but (1) some grammarians say that the *i* is short; (2) it is not explicitly given as feminine; (3) Peters points out that it is often written without aspiration. Ad (1): The Sophocles fragment as we have it does not give a known metre: ἡ μὲν ὥς ἰ θάσσον(α), ἡ δ’ ὥς ἰ τέκοι παῖδα. ‘One (mother thought) that *she*, the other that *she* had born the swiftest son.’ Cobet’s emendation to *tétoke* is unacceptable. S. Radt (Trag. Gr. Frr 4, Göttingen 1977) puts *paída* at the beginning; this gives a good line, but it is not an evident emendation on which we can base further conclusions. I suggest to start a new line with *paĩd(a)*, the first line missing the first word; the *i* is then long. I think that grammarians’ statement that it was short may have been wrongly inferred from a line like that of Sophocles. Ad (2) and (3): Peters thinks that the aspiration can come from the reflexive *hé*, *hoû*, *hoî*, either as a linguistic development or merely as a notation. But several grammarians say it was aspirated, and I think that the aspiration is exactly the reason why it was used as an indirect reflexive (though we have just one occurrence!). Taking (2) and (3) together, Peters suggests that masc. *\*i* was created on the basis of *\*im*. However, in that case Greek would have made it *\*is*. It remains most probable, then, that it was indeed */hī/* ‘she’ from PIE *\*sih<sub>2</sub>*. — I would not exclude a development *\*sih<sub>2</sub>* > *hī* (in a monosyllable?) (with analogical *\*hia*, after the accusative *\*hian*, in the case of *ia* ‘one’). There is no other evidence for *-iH* > *-ī* in Greek (nor for *-uH* > *-ū*); the dat. *-ī* from instrumental *-i-h<sub>1</sub>* is far from certain, cf. Peters (1980: 128 n. 75). The particle *-ī* (*houtosí*, *nuní*) may not go back to *-iH* but to an expressive lengthening (probably post-Proto-Indo-European, though we find the length also in OIr. *-ī*).

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## Meaning and prehistory of OIr. *lúan láith*

Enrico Campanile

In the Irish heroic tradition, we are sometimes faced with warriors or princes who, at least in particular circumstances, are characterized by a prodigious and superhuman sign: a ray or a halo of light springing from, or lying above, their heads.

The most common name for this kind of light is *lúan láith*, which is usually interpreted as “warrior’s moon” (cp. Thurneysen 1921: 130), an interpretation which in my opinion is far from convincing, for it is highly probable that neither in pre-documentary times nor in the ancient texts at our disposal *lúan* ever meant “moon”.

As far as its etymology is concerned, *lúan* can be traced back to *\*louksno-* “luminous” (and, as a noun, “luminosity, bright object”), a word that only in single languages and through unconnected developments received the new meaning of “moon”; as far as its actual meaning in ancient Irish texts is concerned, the editors of *Contr.* (L,223) are of the opinion that *lúan* perhaps can be interpreted as “moon” in three or four passages, but this interpretation is rather improbable and an unprejudiced analysis of the concerned texts can easily show that in all of them *lúan* preserves its etymological value of “luminosity, light”:

- a) In MD 3,460,3 and 462,34 the compound *find-lúan* is an epitheton of “autumn” and, respectively, “Sliab Fémín”; as any hint at the white moon would be here rather out of place, Gwynn (1913) translated this epitheton with the adjective “radiant” in both passages;
- b) Another instance of *lúan* “moon” should be represented by *samlúan* which in *Contr.* is analyzed as the antonym of *samgrían* “summer-sun” and consequently given the meaning “summer-moon”. In reality neither texts nor contexts allow us to see any connection between these compounds: *samgrían*, used several times, is an epithet of the Blessed Virgin and means “as splendid and beautiful as the sun in summer time”; on the contrary *samlúan* appears (only once) in the “Colloquy of the two Sages” (Stokes 1905), a difficult text written in a cryptic language, in a passage where a poet, Ferchétne, asks another poet, Néde, what

path he has followed; and the latter answers: “(I came) on a king’s beard, on a wood of age, on the back of the ploughing-ox, on the light of a summer-moon (*for soilsi samluain*), and so on”. But there is no cogent reason for translating *for soilsi samluain* with “on the radiance of a summer-moon”; equally well we could say “on the radiance of summer-light”: in reality nothing certain can be deduced from so obscure and isolated a passage;

- c) *luanlus* “moonwort” (Hog. Luibhl.) proves nothing for the ancient period.

The only strong argument for supposing that once *luan* meant “moon” is the fact that *día luain* is the Old Irish name of Monday and that it should be the translation of Lat. *lunae dies*; but, as *luan* nowhere means “moon”, the most probable explanation is that it was no real translation of *lunae*: it was, as Pedersen (1909: 207) suggested, “ein einheimisches Wort, das an die Stelle des ähnlich klingenden lat. Lehnwortes getreten ist”. Only through this apparent identity of *día luain* with *lunae dies* could a new meaning “moon” sometimes later be given to *luan* (cp. Dinneen 1927, s. v.).

Our conclusion is that *luan láith* should in all probability be interpreted as “warrior’s light” (or “radiance” or something of this kind).

This *luan láith* is principally typical for Cúchulainn: “The *luan láith* sprang up from his forehead, as long and thick as a soldier’s whetstone, so that it was as long as his nose” (Táin 1912, 1956 f.). As far as the comparison with his nose is concerned, we must remember that the whole body of Cúchulainn was at that moment subject to a monstrous disfigurement: therefore his *luan láith* was anything but short.

However, this light is not necessarily connected with the hero’s physical disfigurement, for it appears even in his most normal moments. Prophetess Feidelm, for instance, describes Cúchulainn as a beautiful and charming youth (“his face is the fairest; he amazes womenfolk, a young lad of handsome countenance”, Táin 1967: 242 – 243) but, notwithstanding this, “the *luan láith* is on his brow” (ibid. 236).

Apart from Cúchulainn, the warrior’s light characterizes other heroes too; in the Fled Bricrend, for instance, it concerns Loegaire and Conall Cernach: “Thus did the men in the hall behave on having heard the laudatory address of the women — to wit, Loigaire

and Conall; each sprang into his *luán láith*" (Henderson 1899: 31); elsewhere this light touches another hero, Find mac Cumail: "Find hurled his stone into the ford what time his *luán láith* came upon him" (Gwynn 1924: 43).

Beside *luán láith* the synonymical syntagm *luán laeich* "soldier's light" is in usage too; for instance, "his *lónn láoich* sprang up from his head and his forehead, as long and thick as a soldier's whetstone" (van Hamel 1968: 103).

Another, and much more enigmatic, name for this wonderful light is *én gaile* "bird of war-fury"; for instance, "'Twas then the royal *fian*-chief came to the hosts of the 'pillars', and his spirits grew high and his courage rose and he quickened his hands and he plied his blows, so that his *én gaile* arose over the breath of the royal warrior" (Meyer 1910: 95). Analogously in the Irish Aeneid, 1.2567 (Calder 1907).

This image, which finds no explication within Irish culture, will be given its real explication later on.

From this set of data (and others of the same kind could be added) a notable incoherence results in the description of this light, an incoherence which actually depends on the fact that this cultural element is an extremely archaic one which in historical times has become a merely formular and stereotyped ingredient in the description of great warriors. Therefore this light sometimes concerns the warrior's skull, sometimes his forehead, sometimes his whole head; it comes sometimes from the outside, sometimes from the inside. The only clear and constant element is the correlation between this light and a hero either in the dramatic moment of fight or for the purpose of underlining that he is destined for great achievements. From this point of view it does not matter that some texts quoted here are not very ancient or that some passages may be interpolated (cp. Sjoestedt-Jonval 1936), for all of them equally testify to a cultural tradition which goes back to a pre-historic age because it finds evident analogy in other Indo-European cultures. This is the main point which we should like to emphasize: the Irish *luán láith* is of Indo-European heritage.

From the most ancient history of Rome, Livy has handed down to posterity the memory of the miraculous fire that enveloped the head of a boy destined for a glorious future, Servius Tullius: "At that time there happened in the house of the king a portent which was remarkably alike in its manifestation and in its outcome. The story is that while a child named Servius Tullius lay sleeping, his

head burst into flames in the sight of many. The general outcry which so great a miracle called forth brought the king and queen to the place. One of the servants fetched water to quench the fire, but was checked by the queen, who stilled the uproar and commanded that the boy should not be disturbed until he awoke of himself. Soon afterwards sleep left him, and with it disappeared the flames. Then, taking her husband aside, Tanaquil said: 'Do you see this child whom we are bringing up in so humble a fashion? Be assured he will one day be a lamp to our dubious fortunes' (1,39; transl. by B. Foster).

This legend, as some scholars have already noticed (cp. Duchesne-Guillemin 1963), presents a strict similarity with the Iranian tradition, according to which Pāpak dreamt that a sun was shining from Sasan's head; in both cases this light is both presage and guaranty of a kingly destiny: it is the "royal *x'arənah*".

An analogous legend is preserved in the Aeneid (2,679 f.) concerning Aeneas's little son, Iulus; he too was destined to become a king: "Loudly she cried these words, and filled the house with her crying. Just then a miracle happened, a wonderful miracle. Imagine it! — our hands and our sad eyes were upon Ascanius, when we beheld a feathery tongue of flame luminously alight on his head, licking the soft curls with fire that harmed them not, and playing about his temples" (transl. by C. Day Lewis).

But neither Livy nor Vergil were any more fully aware of the real and original meaning of this miraculous light and consequently they interpreted it as a merely generic lucky omen.

This emerges from the words queen Tanaquil (an Etruscan woman, skilled in interpreting divine signs) uttered when seeing the fire around the head of Servius: "Be assured he will one day be a lamp to our dubious fortunes". With these words a banal equation between "flame" and "lamp" (= help, assistance) is established, and the boy's future kingship is forgotten totally. Vergil, too, did not understand the tradition about Iulus that he relates in the lines we have quoted above. Before that fire the onlookers behave in the most banal way and only Anchises feels that there is something prophetic in the occurrence, but he too analyzes it as a generic good omen.

The inadequate understanding of the heroic and/or kingly character of this sign led Vergil to bestow it on Lavinia, too, who, being a woman, could not receive presages typical of manly activities ("Moreover, while with hallowed torch he kindles the altars, and

at her father's side stands the maiden Lavinia, she was seen — O horror! — to catch fire in her long tresses and burn with crackling flame in all her headgear" 7,71 f.). This passage confirms that in late Roman culture the originary meaning of the *lúan láith* was effaced to the extent that a poet could even image it shining on a woman's head.

In ancient Greek culture, too, traces of the *lúan láith* are to be found: suffice it here to remember how Achilles is pictured when entering battle (Il. 18,206 and 225).

Whilst in Latin and Greek culture the *lúan láith* leaves few traces and its meaning soon sinks into oblivion, it underwent a further development in Iran in the form of the *x<sup>v</sup>arənah*.

*X<sup>v</sup>arənah* is an important concept in Mazdaic theology and, therefore, it is not surprising that it has given occasion for divergent interpretations and countless controversies. But what we are concerned with here is not its late and complex development; we should like only to clarify what it referred to in the most ancient periods we can trace.

From the etymological point of view, *x<sup>v</sup>arənah* corresponds to OInd. *\*svarṇas-* "sunshine" (presupposed by the adjective *svarṇara-* "provided with sunshine, luminous", Lüders 1959); both *x<sup>v</sup>arənah* and *\*svarṇas-* are derived from the name of the sun.

In Avestan culture this luminosity is a gift granted by God to his most eminent believers and represents a clear presage that they will achieve victory and prosperity. From the Gathic texts we can quote Y. 51,18 where *x<sup>v</sup>arənah* and *xšaθra-* "imperium" are what a noble neophyte will receive through his conversion; in other words: promise and fulfilment.

The same words appear together in a hymn that englobes a notable quantity of ancient materials (Yt. 10,16): here the god Mithra is given the epithets of both "giver of *x<sup>v</sup>arənah*" and "giver of kingship".

The *x<sup>v</sup>arənah* is usually imagined as a radiance around the head of the man in possession of it (probably the halo in Christian iconography has its origins in this image); but in the hymn to Yima we find a very particular representation of it which corresponds perfectly to an Irish one.

In Yt. 19 the story of Yima is told, who, having done great deeds, thought he was a god and wanted to be adored; but "when he had this false and deceitful thought, the *x<sup>v</sup>arənah* was seen to fly away from him in a bird's form". This representation corresponds well

with the Irish term *én gaile* “bird of war-fury” which is sometimes used instead of *luan láith*. We may suppose that in the prehistoric age the miraculous radiance which granted success was conceived in the form of a light-bird descending to, or going away from, the head of the person concerned; thus the concordance between the Irish *én gaile* and what is told in Yima’s story can be convincingly explained.

To sum up. In several Indo-European cultures — Irish, Latin, Greek and Iranic, but further research will perhaps reveal others, too — the belief existed that a particular radiance, sent by God, issued from the heads of warriors and princes when they were engaged in battle or for the purpose of presaging a glorious destiny for them. In both cases it is a sign of divine benevolence and benign predestination.

The culture that retained the original characters of this credence most faithfully is the Irish culture. In Greece and at Rome only faint traces of it survived, and in Iran this sign became a privilege reserved for the adepts of the “true” religion, to wit Zarathustra’s religion.

But apart from the new character it was to develop in some cultures and in spite of the fact that in the course of centuries it was to vanish entirely from other cultures, the deep roots of this belief are clearly of Indo-European origin.

With some hesitancy I submit these few pages on the meaning and prehistory of an Irish styleme to so competent a judge as Edgar Polomé whose admirable and far-reaching studies in ancient Indo-European cultures have always been a model for me when working in this difficult field.

Therefore my contribution to this Festschrift is primarily intended to be a public token of gratitude for all that I have received and, no doubt, shall still receive from his exemplary scholarship.

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## Gothic *saihw* and *sai*, with some notes on imperative interjections in Germanic<sup>1</sup>

René Derolez and Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenbergen

One of the innumerable decisions which Wulfila had to take when translating the Bible from the Greek was what to do about the numerous instances of ἰδοὺ and ἴδε in his source text. These two aorist imperatives, medial and active respectively, had long ago become separated from the paradigm of the verb \**weid-* ‘to see’ (if one can talk of the paradigm of a verb which only survives as part of the highly suppletive ὁράω). In his study of the imperative in the Greek Gospels and its renderings in the Gothic, Armenian and Old Slavonic translations, Cuendet (1924: 31) discusses only ἴδε, besides the regular ‘see’ imperatives, ὄρα and βλέπε. (It is not clear why he did not examine the renderings of ἰδοὺ, which is far more frequent in the New Testament text.) He points out that ἴδε is an imperative when it governs an accusative or when it is coordinated with another imperative; but in some twenty instances ἴδε is an “exclamation”, often followed by a nominative. This ἴδε, he claims, is rendered by an adverb — but the example he quotes shows a Gothic accusative direct object after *sai*:

Mk. 16.6 ἴδε ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτόν: *sai þana stap þarei galagidedun ina*

Although Cuendet’s claim holds in other instances, the situation proves to be rather more complicated, especially if ἰδοὺ and its Gothic equivalents are also taken into account. It may be worthwhile, then, briefly to survey these renderings before we examine the relationship between *sai* and *saihw*.

As far as the surviving parts of the Gothic translation go, i.e., mainly the New Testament, it appears that there were a few passages where Wulfila decided not to render the Greek words by means of a form of the Gothic verb *saihwan* ‘to see’, or a similar form, but resorted to the adverbs *þar* or *þan* + enclitic *-uh*, e.g.:

Mt. 9.2 καὶ ἰδοὺ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παραλυτικὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης βεβλημένον: *þanuh atberun du imma usliþan ana ligra ligandan*

Mt. 9.3 καὶ ἰδοὺ τινες τῶν γραμματέων εἶπον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς: *paruh sumai þize bokarje gefun in sis silbam*

(*paruh* also Mt. 9.18, Lc. 2.25; Mt. 27.51 has *jah þan*). In the vast majority of cases, however, he used either *saihw*, the regular imperative singular of *saihwān*, or, far more frequently, the interjection *sai*. The former is on the whole very rare indeed: it occurs twice to render ἴδε in Jo., one instance being duplicated in a Skeireins quotation:

Jo. 7.52 ἐρεύνησον καὶ ἴδε ὅτι προφήτης ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας οὐκ ἐγείρεται: *ussokei jah saihw þatei praufetus us Galeilaia ni urreisip* (= Sk. 8.27; cp. also Jo. 11.34)

For the rest *saihw* renders the “regular” Greek imperatives ὄρα or βλέπε, e. g.:

Mt. 8.4 ὄρα μηδενὶ εἰπῆς: *saihw ei mann ni qipais*

Col. 4.17 βλέπε τὴν διακονίαν ἣν παρέλαβες ἐν κυρίῳ: *saihw þata andbahti þatei andnamt in frauþin*

(*saihw* for ὄρα also Mk. 1.44 and 2 Cor. 7.14, where *saihw* is the reading of Ambrosianus B, the Codex Argenteus having *saihwā*, with final *a* apparently anticipating the *a* of the following word *auk*). One may note in passing that ὄρα Mt. 8.4 is not a *verbum sentiendi* but means ‘take care’, a sense which both ὁράω and βλέπω have in a number of constructions. The prohibition at Mt. 8.4 is expressed by μή + aorist subjunctive, the Gothic equivalent being *ei* + *ni* + optative (a similar example is found at Mk. 1.44, cp. Cuendet 1924: 41).

By far the most common equivalent of ἴδε and ἰδοὺ is Gothic *sai*, e. g.:

Mt. 8.2 καὶ ἰδοὺ λεπρὸς προσελθὼν προσεκύνει αὐτῷ λέγων: *jah sai manna þrutsfill habands durinnands inwait ina qipands*

Jo. 7.26 καὶ ἴδε παρρησίᾳ λαλεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ λέγουσιν: *jah sai andaugiba rodeip jah waiht du imma ni qipand*

It is used once to render the plural imperative ἴδετε (the latter is usually translated by the regular plural *saihwip*)

Gal. 6.11 ἴδετε πηλίκους ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί: *sai hwileikaim bokom gamelida izwis meinai handau*

Occasionally, *sai* will appear when there is no obvious equivalent in the Greek, e. g.:

- Jo. 7.48 μή τις ἐκ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπίστευσεν εἰς αὐτόν: *sai jau ainshun þize reike galaubidedi imma* (cp. Sk. 8.14)  
 Mk. 10.23 πῶς δυσκόλως οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελεύσονται: *sai hwaiwa agluba þai faiho gahabandans in þiudangardja gudis galeipand* (cp. also Mc. 1.12)

But more often it is combined with *nu* to translate Greek νῦν or νυνί in the Pauline Epistles, e. g.:

- Rom. 7.6 νυνὶ δὲ κατηργήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου: *ip nu sai and-bundanai waurþum af witoda*

(also 2 Cor. 8.11,22; Gal. 4.9; Eph. 2.13).

So far for the Gothic evidence, which leaves wide open the questions of the status of *sai* and of the relationship between *saihw* and *sai*.

Cuendet remains vague on the status of *sai*. Having first used the term “interjection” (see p. 31: ‘L’impératif de certains verbes revient à tout instant dans le langage affectif; on observe alors une diminution du sens concret de ces verbes et un renforcement de leur valeur expressive; le résultat est une interjection associée à une idée verbale’), he further on talks about “grammatical words”, while on the next page he refers to Gothic *sai* as an adverb (p. 32) following it up with the example from Mk. 16.6 quoted above. He then points out that, while the Gothic text consistently uses the “adverb” to translate exclamative ἴδε, the Armenian and Slavonic texts have imperative forms in some places, but in others the translators interpreted ἴδε as an “exclamation”. As we intend to examine the syntactic position of *sai* and other early Germanic renderings of ἴδε, ἰδοῦ and *ecce* elsewhere, we can concentrate here on the relationship between *sai* and *saihw*. For this relationship, three solutions have been proposed so far, none of which seems to have had any chance of being generally accepted. The, at first sight, most obvious explanation, which derives *sai* from *saihw* through apocopation of the final consonant, was first proposed by Jacob Grimm (1840: 93 and note 1) and has since been advocated by Fernand Mossé (1956: 310) and Wolfgang Krause (1968: 86) in their Gothic handbooks. Isolated apocopation is never an attractive proposition, but the main obstacle to the acceptance of the derivation of *sai* from *saihw* must have been the existence of Old High German *sē* ‘look!’, whose long *ē* was taken to reflect Gmc. *\*ai* (e. g., Penzl 1946: 177), which German verb *sehan* ‘to see’ (e. g., Braune-Eggers 1975: 43). The

length of the vowel in *sē* is vouchsafed by the spelling <ee> in a few texts like the *Benediktinerregel*, the *Isidor*, and the *Monsee Fragments*. An (archaic) Swabian interjection *sē* ‘here, take this’ is quoted as a survival of OHG *sē* by Feist, who denies any relationship between this *sē* and the Swabian form of the verb ‘to see’, *sēn* (1939: 403 s. v. *sai*). It will be appropriate, then, also to have a closer look at the Old High German evidence.

There can be no doubt about the length of the Old High German vowel in the texts mentioned above. Here are just a few of their many instances with <ee>:

in the *Isidor* (Eggers 1964: 25, 1.220 f.):

*Quia ecce leuabo manum meam super eos:*

*See bidhiu ih hepfu mina hant ubar sie*

the *Monsee Fragments* (Hench 1891: 3):

*Et ecce offerebant ei paralyticum iacentem in lecto:*

*Enti see saar butun imo bifora laman liechentan in baru*

the *Benediktinerregel* (Daab 1959: 10):

*Ecce, pietate sua demonstrat nobis dominus viam vitae:*

*See dera gnada sua keaugit uns truhtin uuec des libes*

but here <se> also occurs:

*Ecce, adsum: Se, azpim*

The spelling with single *e* seems to be the rule when *se* is combined with *nu* (Graff 1842: col. 113 f.), and although grammarians mention only the shortening of *u* in this combination (e. g., Braune-Eggers 1975: 42), some scholars will also allow for the *e* being shortened in such instances (e. g., Schützeichel 1974: 162 s. v. *senū*). But the evidence of the double spellings has mostly been considered to be conclusive, and the derivation of OHG *sē* from \**sai*, whatever the latter may be, seems to have been codified in Old High German grammars.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, this derivation is not satisfactory either, since Gmc. \**ai* becomes OHG *ei*, except before *r*, *w* and *h*. The grammarians know of two exceptions to this rule, viz., our *se* and the interjection *wē* ‘woe!’. The latter is unique in that it is an “international” interjection: its Gothic congener *wai* corresponds to Greek οὐαί (New Testament; also οὐᾶ, which, however, expresses both distaste or pain, and approval; and older οἶά), Latin *vae*. It will be safer, then, not to rely on it for etymological purposes; even if Gothic *wajamerjan* ‘to blaspheme, to revile’ shows *wai* to be well integrated in the morphophonological system, it can hardly serve to prove that Goth. *sai* or OHG *se* must go back to a Gmc.

diphthong. Nor does it seem advisable to separate *se* from the verb *sehan*, the regular imperative *sih* notwithstanding. Those who, like Osthoff, propose a separate origin for Goth. *sai* and OHG *se* must anyway envisage the possibility of *se* having been drawn into the semantic orbit of *sehan* through “popular etymology” or otherwise. Of course the whole idea that Goth. *sai* and OHG *se* could mutually support each other’s doubtful etymology goes back to the days when Goth. ⟨ai⟩ was supposed to stand for a diphthong, besides acting as the equivalent of Greek ε and η.<sup>3</sup> Among the etymologies, some, like Grienberger’s (1900: 177 f.), take *sai* to be a locative of the pronoun *sa*; others, like Meyer’s (1819: 155, 692) explain *sai* as consisting of the same *sa* + a deictic particle *i*, or, like Osthoff’s, derive *sai* from *\*so-id* ‘this one here’ (for fuller references see Feist 1939: 403). Needless to say, none of these proposals has been favourably accepted, except as a *pis aller*. Actually, we shall see that there are good reasons for not attaching undue importance to the vowel quantity of OHG *se*, and for assuming that it may have been unsystemic.

Similar problems of vowel quantity have arisen in the discussion of Old Icelandic *se* as described in the *First Grammatical Treatise* (FGT: Haugen 1972). In this twelfth-century survey of Old Icelandic phonology the anonymous author contrasts *seþo*, i. e., *se þu* ‘look thou’, and *séþo*, i. e., *séþu* ‘they fastened’:

*seþo* (MS. *seþu*) *hvé vel þeir séþo* (MS. *seðv*) *er fyr saum forinni réðu* ‘Look thou how well they fastened the boards, those who were in charge of the shipbuilding’ (Haugen 1972: 18 f.)

The problem posed by the shortness of the vowel in *se[þo]* has been examined at some length in another context (Derolez 1982–1983: 73 ff.), and so we may confine ourselves here to the bare essentials. The regular imperative sg. of the verb *séa*, *siá* ‘to see, to look’ is *sé*, with a long vowel after the loss of the final consonant (*séa* < *\*sehan*) (Noreen 1923: 167 f., 365). In the case that interests us here, the manuscript evidence may not seem to be entirely satisfactory at first sight. The scribe to whom we owe the unique copy of the FGT (written around 1360) did not follow the author’s instruction but a system of his own. Whereas the former wanted to ‘mark the long [vowels] with a stroke to distinguish them from the short’, the latter usually placed dots over the short and no marks over the long of each pair (Haugen 1972: 17 ff.). However, in the passage in question damage to the parchment has resulted in the loss of the tops of some letters of the first

member, as well as the superscript dot that may have been there. But since there is an acute above the *e* of the second member (*séðu*, as the author himself would have written), there can be no doubt about the author's intention and meaning. It is on other grounds that Hreinn Benediktsson has expressed doubts about the author's reliability and/or competence as a descriptive linguist (1961: 254 f.). He doubted whether shortening of *sé* to *se* can really have taken place, since there are no comparable cases of shortening. He first suggested that the contrast between *seþo* and *séþo* was 'not one of quantity, but one of presence vs. absence of internal juncture' (Benediktsson 1964: 77). Later he formulated this as a case of dephonemicization of vowel quantity, *inter alia* in word-final position (Benediktsson 1970: 135). Neither Goth. *sai* nor OHG *se* seem to have played a decisive part in the debate around OIcel. *se* vs. *sé*; but before we proceed with our exploration it may be worthwhile to focus briefly on that protean "part of speech", the interjection, which has received very little attention in modern linguistics (the coming of pragmatics may change that).

The main difficulty seems to lie in the heterogeneity of what is commonly gathered under this label: it ranges from the morphologically transparent like *for heaven's sake* ... or *my goodness!* to such "monsters" (from the point of view of English phonology) as [ɱɱ], [ø], [pø:] or [ɿ], which are rendered more or less adequately in spelling by <hem>, <phew>, <pshaw> or <tut> respectively (Jones-Gimson 1979: 237, 377, 399, 511). For our present purpose, however, we may confine ourselves to the categories set up by Henry Sweet almost a century ago (Sweet 1951: 151 ff.). He distinguished between "primary interjections", which are 'mostly reproductions of the sounds we make involuntarily when under the influence of various emotions', and "secondary interjections", i. e., 'ordinary processes of isolation' (Sweet 1951: 152). What we are dealing with here is a separate category in Sweet's classification, viz., interjections 'of more definite meaning ... instead of merely expressing the emotion of the speaker': this subcategory he aptly termed "imperative interjections". The only example he quotes of this type will prove especially significant in the present context: 'instead of the imperatives *look!*, *behold!*, we may in writing use the interjection *lo!*' (Sweet 1951: 151 f.).

The observation that interjections, especially the primary ones, are not subject to the same rules as the rest of the language is of course not new — it was not even in Sweet's time. Latin grammarians regularly point out that interjections, being pronounced *voce*



*incondita* 'with an unruléd voice', are not subject to the rules of accentuation (e. g., Keil: 1855 – 1880 III 91, 528; IV 366, 420, etc.).<sup>4</sup> There is an even more suggestive statement in the chapter on interjections in Ælfric's *Latin Grammar*:

*heora sweg byð hwilon gescyrt and hwilon gelencged be ðæs modes styrunge* 'their sound is sometimes shortened and sometimes lengthened, according to the stirring of the mind' (Zupitza 1880: 280).

If we can agree, then, that interjections are not subject to the phonological constraints of the language, neither the varying quantity of OHG *se* nor the shortness of OIcel. *se* need cause misgivings anymore; moreover there is no need to set out from an awkward Germanic form \**sai*.

For those who still may doubt the possibility of a non-systemic "imperative interjection" [se], we can now add some evidence from a living Germanic language, represented here by a West Flemish (WFl.) dialect, viz., that of Blankenberge.<sup>5</sup> We must leave it to our dialectologists to record the various forms of the interjections in question, and to determine their geographical distribution. Here we will concentrate on the phonological and morphological features of one set of forms, of which WFl. [se] (or [sɛ]) is one. This [se] stands in the same relation to the verb 'to see', [zi:n] or [ziən], as OIcel. *se* to *séa*, *siá*, at least as far as the vowels are concerned. The West Flemish initial consonant does not show the laxing/voicing of spirants that is regular in Flemish dialects (as in southern English). More important for our purpose is the fact that WFl. *se* belongs to a small class of imperative interjections which are related to normal verbs and can probably be derived from them by special rules. Here is the evidence as far as we have been able to establish it without a fresh examination on the spot (Standard Netherlandic [SNeth.] forms have been added for easy identification):

- (1) [nɛ] 'here, take this!', used when offering or giving up something, often reluctantly, or expressing displeasure; also used to express surprise ('look who's coming there.'). The *n* of [nɛ] is tense. Related to [ne:mm]; imper. [nem(t)] with regular shortening of the vowel (Devos-Taeldeman 1974); SNeth. *nemen*, *neem*! 'to take; take!'. In the dialect under examination this verb is often replaced by [pakɲ] 'to take'.
- (2) [se] 'look!'. The related verb [zi:n], [ziən] 'to see' has [zi:(t)] as its regular imperative; SNeth. *zien*, *zie*! 'to see, to look; look!'.



The unvoicing/tensing of the initial consonant is also found in (1) and (3).

- (3) [tu] 'go ahead, do it!' is a very common hortative, probably related to the verb [du:n] 'to do', regular imperative with vowel shortening [du(t)]; SNeth. *doen*, *doe!* 'to do; do!'. This is the only item in the present set of interjections that is also used regularly in Standard Netherlandic, viz., as *toe*.<sup>6</sup> For the unvoicing/tensing of the initial consonant, cp. (1) and (2).
- (4) [we] '(you) know', also [wejə] with suffixed 2nd person pronoun [jə], cp. ON. *seþo!*. Related to [we:tn], imperative [wet] with regular vowel shortening, cp. (1); SNeth. *weten*, *weet* 'to know; know!'.<sup>7</sup>

Without going into details, we may characterize these West Flemish imperative interjections as follows:

- (1) The lax initial consonants of the full-verb cognates tend to be tense/unvoiced, a feature clearly discernible in [se] and [tu] and often audible in [nɛ].
- (2) The long tense stem-vowels of the cognate verbs appear shortened and occasionally lax in [se], [nɛ], [tu], and [we].
- (3) The stem-final consonants are apocopated, which causes the short, more or less lax vowels to appear in otherwise rare final positions.

We do not claim that the above list of West Flemish imperative interjections with these special morphophonological features is complete; still less would we want to suggest that this dialect is unique among living Germanic languages or dialects in possessing them. For when one starts casting about for comparable material, one will find stray items left and right, but hardly anything approaching a systematic treatment. We have already quoted Sweet's lone example *lo!*, whose vowel [əʊ], as the *OED*<sup>7</sup> points out, poses a problem: the verb from which the interjection is supposed to derive, *look*, has [u] from long *ō* in OE *locian*. There is no need to separate the two, though some measure of contamination from another interjection, OE *lā* 'O! Oh!', has been suspected. The *OED* quotes two dialectal parallels to *lo*, viz., *ma* and *ta*, related to the verbs *make* and *take* respectively. Other examples will be found e.g. in such much neglected hold-alls like Wilhelm Horn's *Sprachkörper und Sprachfunktion* (1923). Stimulating though Horn's book still is, it is too much a 'Beobachtung einzelner Spracherscheinungen' (Horn 1923: 3) to provide a basis for a coherent systematization;

however, it does supply us with a short but suggestive list of imperative interjections: Italian *te* = *tene*; Swiss German *lue* = *lueg*; Latin *va* = *vade*; Greek *pheû* = *pheûge* (Horn 1923: 34–36).

There seems to be good evidence, then, for a wide-spread occurrence of imperative interjections of the C + V type, with, at least in Netherlandic and English, shortened stemvowels. The traditionally laconic Icelfander of the saga age may not have indulged in interjections, but an occasional *se* will not have been deemed unbecoming; which may also suggest an answer to another question, viz., why is our evidence for imperative interjections so meagre? This cannot be due only to the more or less anomalous phonological shape of many interjections, which causes transcription problems and makes it difficult to capture them within the rules of conventional spelling. The extra-linguistic aspect of interjections may well be more important. Although, e. g., the sociolinguistics of the use of interjections remains largely unexplored, there can be little doubt that some societies, or some classes in some societies, are more averse than others to such uncontrolled expressions of emotions; and if they allow them, it may well be on the tacit or explicit understanding that they are “off the record”. Icelandic society as depicted in the sagas was definitely not free from strong emotions, but in the surviving records interjections seem to be less frequent than manslaughter. It should not be too difficult to find other instances of institutionalized linguistic self-control, of the cult of the “stiff upper lip”, and the like. Even more widespread will be the feeling that a high frequency of interjections, as Sigfus Blöndal (1920–1924: 733 s. v. *skóða*) noted, marks a lack of education. Without dragging the sociolinguistics of restricted code into the debate, let us admit with John Horne Tooke (1829: I, 61) that “the dominion of speech is erected on the downfall of Interjections” — yet hope that even this will be a good reason for having a closer look at the latter.

### Notes

1. The authors thank Professors Gilbert De Smet and Roger Thibau, and Dr. Johan Taeldeman, for some useful hints, and Mrs. Jeannine D’hondt for precious help with the bibliography.
2. The circularity of much of the ensuing argument seems to have passed unnoticed.
3. The latter equivalence is apparently often overlooked in the present context: cp. *Aileisabaiþ*: Ἐλισάβετ and (gen.) *Hairodiadins*: Ἡρωδίας.

4. An instructive instance may be found in Fries (1952: 52), where the author points out that "these utterance units did not appear in any of the mechanically recorded material examined for this study". Those he noted incidentally were not directed to a listener, so he classified them as "noncommunicative utterance units", which of course hardly needed play a part in his analysis. However, two of his observations are of some value for our present discussion (1) "they are usually short and heavily stressed"; (2) "frequently they are uttered without vibration of the vocal cords" (ibid.).
5. I.e., H3 on the grid of the Netherlandic dialect atlases, cp. Pée (1946). The morphophonology of the Blankenberge dialect has been studied in detail in Van Huele (1978). The variety to which I refer may be somewhat more archaic than that described by Miss Van Huele; my transcription is phonemic rather than phonetic.
6. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford 1933, repr. 1961), Vol. VI, p. 367 s. v. *lo* points out that "the evidence of rimes in ME poetry shows that the spelling *lo* or *loo* represents two distinct words. (1) ME *lō*: — OE *lā!*, an exclamation indicating surprise, grief, or joy ... (2) ME *lo* with close *ō*, prob. a shortened form of *loke* (OE *lóca*), imperative of LOOK vb.". Some evidence for the shortening of the vowel in Dobson (1957: II,515), and Horn-Lehnert (1954: I,273 ff.).
7. See, e.g., Van Dale *Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal* (10th ed. by C. Kruyskamp: 's Gravenhage 1976), p. 2512 s. v. III *toe*, tw. = tussenwerpsel "interjection". Other dictionaries regard this *toe* as a variant of *te*, and implicitly deny the link between the interjection (if they mention it at all as such): see J. A. N. Knuttel *et al.*, *Woordenboek der nederlandsche Taal*, Vol. 17 ('s Gravenhage-Leiden 1941 ff.), col. 380 ff. s. v. *toe* (II), where the interjection is identified with the adverb *toe* (I) = *te*; Franck-Van Wijk, *Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* ('s Gravenhage 1912, repr. 1949), p. 699 s. v. *Toe*: ref. to *te*, as also in Jan de Vries, *Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek* (Leiden 1963), p. 738. Neither etymological dictionary mentions the interjection.

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## Pāṇini and the Northwestern dialect: Some suggestions on Sūtra 3.3.10

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1. In a paper presented to the 1979 meeting of the American Oriental Society (“Infinitival Affixes in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*”), Ann Wehmeyer offered an interesting problem concerning some of Pāṇini’s rules. She focussed her attention on the following rules in his grammar:

- P.3.3.10 *tumun-ṇvulau kriyāyām kriyārthāyām*
- P.3.3.158 *samāna-karṭrkeṣu tumun*
- P.3.4.21 *samāna-karṭrkayoḥ pūrvakāle*
- P.3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmanāḥ samāna-karṭrkād icchāyām vā*

P.3.3.10 deals with the derivation of infinitive constructions in the sense of purpose. P.3.3.158 deals with infinitive constructions with main verbs meaning ‘to desire’. P.3.4.21 deals with Sanskrit absolutive constructions, and P.3.1.7 deals with the derivation of Sanskrit desideratives. Excepting P.3.3.10, which deals with the infinitive *-tum* in the sense of purpose, the remaining three rules explicitly require that in each of those constructions, the two actions involved must be *samāna-karṭrka* ‘with the same agent’. Therefore, according to Pāṇini’s stated intentions, we can have the following constructions:

E(1): *rāmaḥ gantum icchati* ‘Rama wants to go (himself)’.

E(2): *rāmaḥ grhaṁ gatvā svapiti* ‘Having gone home Rama sleeps’.

E(3): *rāmaḥ jigamiṣati* ‘Rama wants to go (himself)’.

The condition *samāna-karṭrka* ‘with the same agent’ disallows the use of an infinitive to say ‘X wants Y to go’, the use of an absolutive to say ‘X having gone home, Y ate his apple’, and the use of a desiderative form to say ‘X wants Y to go’. Though there are some rare examples in Sanskrit literature<sup>1</sup> which violate the constraint on the infinitive with the main verb of desire and the absolutives, we have no doubt about the intention of Pāṇini’s grammar. His grammar would not consider such constructions to be grammatically acceptable. This is, however, not the case with P.3.3.10 which



deals with infinitive constructions in the sense of purpose. Pāṇini does not put the condition *samānakarṭṛka* ‘with the same agent’ in this rule, and this has led to a long debate spanning the ancient, medieval, and modern periods of Pāṇinian scholarship.

2. In Deshpande (1980: 33–46), I had extensively dealt with this problem. Before I deviate from the conclusions set forth in that study, I will briefly outline this earlier discussion. The first period of Pāṇinian interpretation includes Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Neither of these two commentators have any explicit comments on P.3.3.10, but we can infer their views from discussions on other rules. From Kātyāyana’s comments on P.3.4.26, one can conclude that at least when the main verb is in the active voice (i.e., in Pāṇinian terms: ‘denotes the agent’), the infinitive must have the same agent. Similarly, Kātyāyana proposes that one need not mention the condition *samāna-karṭṛkā* in the rule deriving Sanskrit desideratives, i.e., P.3.1.7, because of *anabhidhāna* ‘non-usage, or non-expression’. This is to say that a desiderative affix after a root can never express the desire of one person for another person to do something, and hence this form is absolutely never used to express this notion involving two different agents. Thus, Kātyāyana sees no reason to put the restriction *samāna-karṭṛkā* in this rule to prevent something that can never be found in the object language. One may then extend this logic and argue that Kātyāyana would have probably approved of the absence of the condition *samāna-karṭṛka* in P.3.3.10, if he felt that this condition invariably holds in the usage. But he has no direct comments on this rule. We basically get the same conclusions from Patañjali’s discussions. But, more importantly, we find that in the entire text of Patañjali’s *Mahābhāṣya*, there is not even one usage of the *-tum* infinitive of purpose with an agent different from that of the main verb. Thus, whatever may have been the usage in the days of Pāṇini, it is clear that infinitive constructions with different agents did not exist in Patañjali’s standard Sanskrit. Assuming our inferences about the notion of *anabhidhāna* in the works of Kātyāyana and Patañjali are correct, we may conclude that in all probability they approved the absence of this condition in P.3.3.10 because they felt that it was not needed to prevent constructions of which there was no possibility whatsoever in the object language.

3. In some ways, Patañjali sets the norm for the later grammarians. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa, and even the

Navya-Nyāya authors like Gadādharaḥaṭṭa concur on the point that the infinitive of purpose is in fact constrained by the condition *samāna-karṭṛka*, though Pāṇini does not explicitly state this condition. (For details of these debates, see Deshpande 1980: 43–44.) The differences in their discussions only indicate procedural differences on how to incorporate this condition in the rule, but they all agree on what the standard usage ought to be. After quoting a few deviant usages from the Classical Sanskrit works, Charudeva Shastri (1976: 49–51) asserts that these usages do not constitute the norm and that they have been rejected by the tradition of grammarians (he reports that Śṛṣṭidhara, a commentator of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, is the only grammarian in the tradition who believes that P.3.3.10 is intended to allow the derivation of *bhinnakarṭṛka* usages of *-tum*). Louis Renou (1937: 54) also discusses the views of these older commentators.

Assuming that the traditional argument in terms of *anabhidhāna* ‘non-expression, non-usage’ is valid for Pāṇini, one still faces many important problems. The main problem is that of possible descriptive inconsistency. If Pāṇini himself believed in the notion of *anabhidhāna* and if for this reason he did not put the condition *samāna-karṭṛka* in P.3.3.10, then how can one explain his use of this term in other rules? Were these other rules not subject to the conditions of *anabhidhāna*? Thus, on the face of it, the *anabhidhāna* notion appears to have been contradicted by Pāṇini’s use of the condition *samāna-karṭṛka* in a number of rules, where according to the logic of the notion of *anabhidhāna* he should not have used it. In Deshpande (1980: 45–46), I had proposed many alternative possibilities ranging from a built-in inconsistency, and borrowing from different sources, to a possibility that P.3.3.10 may have allowed infinitive constructions with different agents. But while I had stated the last possibility as an alternative, I had categorically said that ‘it is absolutely unlikely that Pāṇini actually intended to derive usages of *-tumUN* by P.3.3.10 and P.3.4.65 involving different agents for the infinitive and the main verb’ (ibid, p. 45). In terms of the linguistic evidence known to me at that time, I had to reject this possibility, and concentrate on other possibilities. Even these other possibilities were not quite convincing and I had to state: ‘In any event, this requires more extensive research into the principles underlying Pāṇini’s rule-formation’ (ibid, p. 46).

4. Kiparsky (1982: 18) reviews the conclusions of Deshpande (1980) on this subject, but somewhat erroneously states that ‘Deshpande

... after rejecting a number of other explanations finally concludes that the grammar is inconsistent and suggests that the inconsistency may be due to pre-Pāṇinian elements in the grammar'. This was certainly not the "final conclusion" of Deshpande (1980), but be that as it may, Kiparsky (1982) rejects both the notion of possible inconsistency and the possibility of Pāṇini borrowing from other sources which may have conflicting meta-grammatical principles. Clearly, both of these possibilities always exist when we discuss Pāṇini, and many scholars have pointed out cases of inconsistency as well as those of borrowing. Thus, I do not agree with Kiparsky when he rejects these possibilities in principle. After rejecting these possibilities, Kiparsky (1982: 19) offers advice: 'Keeping the question open is always better than closing it prematurely with a specious answer'. After debating many possibilities, Deshpande (1980: 46) had precisely suggested that same.

Kiparsky's own solution to this problem, however, runs contrary to the one possibility which was labelled "absolutely unlikely" in Deshpande (1980: 45). Kiparsky (1982: 19) asserts: 'In the present case, however, there is a better solution which preserves the consistency of the grammar. The reason Pāṇini did not impose a condition of identity of Agents on the infinitive of purpose (3.3.10) is that he *intended* to derive sentences where the Agent of the infinitive is controlled by the Goal of the main clause'. He then supports his claim with ten attested examples from Classical Sanskrit texts (*Vikramacarita* 1, *Kathāsaritsāgara* 2, *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* 5, *Mudrārākṣasa* 1, and *Śiśupālavadha* 1). On these examples, Kiparsky (1982: 20) comments: 'I do not think such sentences can be discounted as solecisms on a par with those mentioned in fn. 28. For one thing, they are not merely found in epics, but in generally careful and correct literary Sanskrit. Moreover, infinitives of purpose with non-identical agents go back as far as Vedic — where they of course have one of the Vedic infinitive endings (P.3.4.9) instead of *-tum*'. To the attested examples listed by Kiparsky, we may also add those few listed by Charudeva Shastri and others (see note 1).

5. The evidence cited above and the conclusion based on it raise some important questions — more questions than the one which was supposedly answered. As Kiparsky himself agrees, while these are attested examples, they are all from late classical literature. While Kiparski does not show his willingness to call them solecisms,

they are indeed solecisms. Two examples in a voluminous text like *Kathāsaritsāgara* do not prove that it was a quite common construction in the language of that text. It is this paucity of attested examples which led all the medieval commentators and their modern successors like Charudeva Shastri to consider these examples as not indicating the norm of the classical language. They do not even consider them to be *durghaṭa* 'proper, but difficult to derive' examples. These are considered to be outright *asādhū* 'incorrect' by the tradition. Thus, on the basis of the same few examples, Kiparsky draws a conclusion which is quite to the contrary of what all the Sanskrit commentators do. Secondly, these are all from literature which was written many centuries after Pāṇini, and as such these examples cannot be used to draw any conclusions about Pāṇini's grammar. It has been shown by many scholars that there was notable linguistic change from Pāṇini to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and that many of the grammatical doctrines proposed by these two early commentators have to be explained by taking recourse to linguistic change. A good example of syntactic change during this early period is that of the cases governed by the word *namaḥ*. This has been discussed by Cardona (1980) who concludes: 'To later Pāṇinīyas for whom Sanskrit is no longer a mother tongue, this grammar constitutes a code that is to account for all usage deemed correct Sanskrit, viewed as perennial and the correctness of which is established precisely by adherence to Pāṇinian grammar. The metarule *upapadavibhakteḥ* ... could be brought into play by such scholars to have the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* take account of two constructions, (2) and (27), one of which did not yet occur in the Sanskrit described by Pāṇini' (p. 48). The significance of Cardona's comment is that one must not lose sight of the fact that Pāṇini did not know the language that developed after him, and hence the examples offered by Kiparsky, even though attested, are not sufficient to prove anything about Pāṇini's possible intention. To assert on these grounds that Pāṇini "*intended*" (Kiparsky's emphasis) to derive such sentences is to open oneself to the charge of using wrong evidence. I would have to say the same about his reference to Vedic infinitives. Whatever the syntactic features of the Vedic infinitives, they prove nothing about Pāṇini's notions about the syntax of *-tum*. What we ideally need, to use Cardona's words, is to find examples which in all likelihood occurred in "Sanskrit described by Pāṇini". To interpret Pāṇini in the spirit of Albert Schweitzer's *The quest of the historical Jesus*, we should try to go as close to Pāṇini's time and

place as possible to find our evidence. Kiparsky's own recent investigation of Pāṇini's option-terms on the basis of the linguistic usage of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself provides perhaps one of the best attempts in this direction (Kiparsky 1979). Unfortunately, Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* does not contain usages to illustrate all of its own rules, and the infinitive constructions fall in this category.

6. While I have said that Kiparsky uses the "wrong" kind of evidence, I now agree with his conclusions. Where is the "right" kind of evidence? When I had given up the hope of finding any such "right" evidence, I came upon it by pure accident. The credit goes to a severe stomach illness in the year 1983 when I started reading Āyurveda texts to find out if these had anything to say about my symptoms. I could not find very much about my illness, but I hit upon a treasure of unique infinitive constructions.

Briefly, the oldest of the known Āyurveda texts are connected directly or indirectly with the northwestern part of the south Asian subcontinent. The oldest parts of the *Caraka-Saṁhitā* and the *Bhela-Saṁhitā* represent a consolidation of the teachings of the sage Ātreya Punarvasu who, according to the historians of Āyurveda (Atrideva Vidyalamkara 1960: 163, 190; Vidyalamkara 1964: 27), lived sometime around the sixth century B. C. and was reportedly the personal physician of the king Nagnajit of Gāndhāra. The *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayavastu* also refers to an Ātreya and makes him the teacher of the famous Jīvaka, the personal physician of the Buddha, and connects him with the region of Takṣaśilā. The consolidator of Ātreya's teaching, Caraka, is also associated by the tradition with the northwestern region, and it is claimed that the *Caraka-Saṁhitā* exhibits a close familiarity with the northwestern region. The Buddhist text *Saṁyuktaratnapīṭakasūtra*, which is now found only in a Chinese translation, reports that Caraka treated an illness of Kaniṣka's queen. The *Bhela-Saṁhitā* is ascribed to Bhela who is counted among the direct disciples of Ātreya, and seems to be older than most of the presently available *Caraka-Saṁhitā*. Thus, particularly in the case of the *Bhela-Saṁhitā* and the older portions of the *Caraka-Saṁhitā*, the circumstantial evidence points to a strong regional connection with the northwest, and the legends about Ātreya Punarvasu take him very close to Pāṇini's time and region. The *bhinna-karṭṛka* 'with different agents' constructions involving the infinitive of purpose found in these texts are listed below.

[A] Usages in the *Caraka-Saṁhitā*

1. *pātum asmai prayacchet* (p. 259): 'One should give him something to drink'.
2. *krimikoṣṭhāya bhakṣayitum prayacchet* (p. 259): 'One should give the patient with worms in his stomach something to eat'.
3. *anannāya pātum prayacchet* (p. 260): 'To one who has not eaten any food, one should give something to drink'.
4. *krimikoṣṭhine leḍhum prayacchet* (p. 260): 'One should give (this medicine) to a patient with worms in his stomach to lick'.
5. *pātum prayacchet* (p. 160) = No. 1.
6. *atha asyai dadyāt cūrṇam upaghrātum* (p. 347): 'Then one should give her the powder to smell'.
7. *madhusarpiṣī prāsitum dadyāt* (p. 349): 'One should give (someone) honey and ghee to drink'.
8. *stanam dakṣiṇam pātum prayacchet* (p. 349): '(She) should offer her right breast (to the child) to drink'.
9. *dadyāt pātum pipāsave* (p. 588): 'One should give (something) to the thirsty person to drink'.
10. *dadyāt bahūdakam pātum* (p. 589): 'One should give a lot of water (to someone) to drink'.
11. *dadyāt drākṣā-rasam pātum* (p. 589): 'One should give grape-juice (to someone) to drink'.

[B] Usages in the *Bhela-Saṁhitā*

1. *utpalam ghrātum asmai pradāpayet* (p. 228): 'One should arrange to give him a lotus to smell'.
2. *puṣpāṇi ghrātum asmai pradāpayet* (p. 228): 'One should arrange to give him flowers to smell'.
3. *ghrātum madyam pradāpayet* (p. 228): 'One should arrange to give (him) wine to smell'.

[C] Usages in the *Suśruta-Saṁhitā*

1. *kṣata-kaṇṭhāya madhu-sarpiṣī leḍhum prayacchet* (p. 107): 'One should give honey and ghee to a person with hurt throat to lick'.
2. *yavāgūṁ cāsmāi prayacchet kaṣāyāṇi vā pātum* (p. 437): 'One should give him either rice-gruel or decoctions to drink'.
3. *tailasya vā ghr̥tasya vā mātrām pātum prayacchet* (p. 507): 'One should give (the patient) a measure of either oil or ghee to drink'.



4. *asmai auṣadhamātrām pātum prayacchet* (p. 516): 'One should give him a measure of the medicine to drink'.
5. *priyaṅv-ādi cāsmāi taṇḍulāmbunā pātum prayacchet* (p. 521): 'One should give him Priyangu etc. with rice-water to drink'.

7. It seems clear from an extensive reading of the Āyurveda texts that these usages are restricted only to a certain stratum of these texts and they are not to be found in other strata. For instance, a large portion of the extant *Caraka-Saṁhitā* is the supplementary work of the late author Dṛḍhabala (3rd or 4th century A. D.). These sections are clearly marked by distinct colophons, and it is interesting to note that not one of these usages is found in this later stratum. I have also read through other later texts of Āyurveda such as *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* and *Aṣṭāṅgaḥṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa, *Śārṅgadharaśaṁhitā* and *Mādhavanidāna*. In these massive texts, one finds not a single usage of the *bhinnakartṛka -tum* infinitive. The massive text of the *Kāśyapaśaṁhitā* has possibly one such usage *tathaiva upaharet pātum* (p. 137) 'similarly, one should offer (that to the patient) to drink'.

Let us see the qualitative difference between the evidence presented by Kiparsky and the above evidence from the Āyurveda texts. Looking at his examples, only the *Vetālapañcaviṁśati* has five such usages and one may be probably right in saying that this may have been part of the author's peculiar Sanskrit. All the other texts have either one or two instances each, and this certainly does not prove the existence of a norm. This at best could be a vernacular Sanskrit usage of some sort, based on the continuation of the Old Indian dative infinitives through Prakrits and the modern Indo-Aryan languages. However, the evidence from the Āyurveda texts is of a different order. The occurrence of eleven instances in the older portions of the *Caraka-Saṁhitā* and its total absence in the later additions seems to indicate the presence and the absence of a certain norm in Sanskrit dialects of different times and regions. To this we may add the probable connection of the northwestern region for these older Āyurveda texts.

8. The evidence presented above enables us to say that in all likelihood there was a dialect of Sanskrit closer to Pāṇini's time and region in which there existed *bhinnakartṛka* usages of the *-tum* infinitive. This peculiarity did not exist in most other dialects of Sanskrit. This explains why Pāṇini most probably left his rule

P.3.3.10 wide enough to account for these usages. But it is equally important to keep in mind that most of the known Classical Sanskrit does not exhibit this usage, except in the rare instances listed by Kiparsky and others. Certainly the classical and medieval commentators on the works of Sanskrit authors were aware of these few “deviant” usages, but the extreme paucity of these rare deviant usages was never strong enough to force these later grammarians to accept this as a normal construction. Therefore, I agree with Kiparsky’s conclusion that Pāṇini *intended* to derive the *bhinnak-artṛka* usages of the *-tum* infinitive, but I disagree with the reasons given by him. My own reasons I have already outlined above.

The above discussion points to the fact that the dialect of Sanskrit which formed the core of the language described by Pāṇini was in many respects markedly different from what we commonly know by the term Classical Sanskrit. I have reached the same conclusion in some of my other published work (Deshpande 1983a, b). One may speculate on the historical dimensions of this peculiar dialectal feature and try to see where it fits in the general evolution of the infinitive *-tum*. In the concluding chapter of Deshpande (1980: 126), I pointed out that ‘the use of *-tum* infinitives in early Sanskrit was more common with verbs of desire, ability etc. and that it perhaps predates the use in the sense of purpose. ... It is in this (former) use of infinitives that one would expect to find the condition that the infinitive must have the same agent as that of the main verb. ... In post-Vedic times, the older accusative infinitive gradually replaced the older dative infinitives; but in this process of expansion of a frozen accusative form to cover the dative contexts, this frozen form carried with itself the condition of having the same agent as that of the main verb.’ I had the norm of the standard classical Sanskrit language before me while writing these remarks. Looking at Pāṇini’s dialect as described in this paper, one would have to say that Pāṇini’s dialect represents a transitional phase between the late Vedic and the later standard Classical Sanskrit language. In Pāṇini’s dialect, where *-tum* does retain its older non-purpose contexts, but acquires the entire realm of the older dative infinitives, the syntactic features of the older dative infinitives such as the possibility of two different agents are carried over into the *-tum* constructions which replace them. One can profitably compare the Vedic construction *indrāya somam pātave* ‘(Press) Soma for Indra to drink’ with the *Caraka-Saṁhitā* construction *pātum asmai prayacchet* ‘One should give him something to drink’. Here it is clear that the *-tum* infinitive



has morphologically replaced the older dative infinitives such as *pātave*, but that the same “dative syntactic pattern” has been retained. However, there must have been a competition between the older “accusative syntactic pattern” inherited by the *-tum* infinitive from its older non-purpose contexts and the “dative syntactic pattern” which the *-tum* infinitive had to assume by being a replacement for the older dative infinitives. In Pāṇini’s dialect of Sanskrit, this competition has not reached a point where one of these patterns would drive the other out, but that is what seems to have happened in the history of the later Sanskrit language. In the later standard classical Sanskrit language, the “accusative syntactic pattern” proved to be more dominant than the “dative syntactic pattern”, and the former seems to have completely taken over. It is this process which seems to be reflected in the works of the later Sanskrit grammarians who discount the few attested *bhinnakartṛka* usages of *-tum* as deviant usages and insist that whether Pāṇini’s rule contains the term *samānakartṛka* or not does not alter the “fact” that there are no such usages accepted by the standard speakers of Sanskrit. Thus the statements of these later grammarians concerning this peculiar usage contain more historical value than has been acknowledged by previous research on the subject.

### Notes

1. For earlier discussions of and references to *bhinnakartṛka* usages of the *-tum* infinitive, see: Hoefer (1840: 75, 77–78, 113, 122–123); Wilhelmus (1873: 64–65, 73–74, 76, 81–82); Herzog (1873: 23); Jolly (1873: 254–255); Böhtlingk (1887: 188–189); Böhtlingk (1889: 60); Speijer (1886: 307); Speijer (1896: 67); Vale (1948: 258–260); Charudeva Shastri (1976: 49–51); Hook (1980: 81 ff.); Wolff (1906: 411 ff.); Kiparsky (1982: 19–20).

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## Post-script, errata, varia

Jacques Duchesne-Guillemain

Le volume d'hommage à mon collègue, compatriote et ami Edgar Polomé me fournit l'occasion de lui soumettre, en toute naïveté, quelques observations ou questions qui me paraissent autant, sinon plus, de son ressort que du mien. Mais, d'abord, je voudrais ajouter un post-scriptum à chacun de deux articles intitulés, l'un, « Pour l'étude de Hafiz », <sup>1</sup> l'autre « Cor de Yima et trompette d'Israfil: de la cosmologie mazdéenne à l'eschatologie musulmane ». <sup>2</sup>

Quand j'ai écrit le premier, deux travaux au moins avaient échappé à mon attention. Tous deux traitent du délicat problème de l'unité dans les ghazals de Hafiz. L'unité formelle ne saurait faire de doute: unité de mètre et unité de la rime, d'un bout à l'autre du court poème. Quant au fond, le reproche d'incohérence ne date pas d'hier, même s'il fallait douter de l'authenticité de l'anecdote, souvent rappelée, selon laquelle le prince Shoja' fit un jour remarquer au poète que, si chacun de ses vers était excellent et formait un tout, leur enchaînement n'apparaissait pas clairement. A quoi Hafiz se borna à répondre que ses poèmes, contrairement à ceux de ses concurrents, étaient connus de la Méditerranée à l'Inde. Ce qui n'était, on en conviendra, qu'une dérobade. C'est dans la ligne du reproche de Shoja' que de nos jours un Bausani, un Arberry parlent d'un « faisceau de motifs teliés lâchement les uns aux autres », ou d'« orient pearls at random strung ». <sup>3</sup>

Arberry a pris comme exemple, pour sa démonstration, le célèbre ghazal *Agar 'ān Tork-e Shirāzi...* C'est ce même poème qu'examine en grand détail, pour arriver à une conclusion tout opposée, R. M. Rehder dans un gros article intitulé « The unity of the ghazals of Hafiz », <sup>4</sup> qui n'est qu'un extrait d'une thèse soutenue à Princeton en 1970 sous le titre de *Hafiz: an introduction*. Or, un autre érudit américain, Michael Hillman, en un ouvrage intitulé *Unity in the ghazals of Hafiz* et paru en 1976, reprend la même question, et le même poème figure parmi les seize qu'il a examinés et classés en cinq catégories, selon que l'unité en est plus ou moins saisissable. Mais il y apparaît comme, de tous, le moins cohérent. (Il ne devrait sa réputation, dans le public de langue anglaise, qu'à la traduction

qu'en fit Sir William Jones!) On voit combien les critères invoqués en faveur de l'unité sont discutables — ce qui ne veut pas dire que la thèse soit fausse, mais qu'on n'en a pas fini de s'interroger sur Hafiz. L'un des mérites du livre de Hillman réside dans l'abondante bibliographie qu'il donne d'articles ou de livres parus sur Hafiz, tant en Iran qu'en Europe ou en Amérique.

Quant à l'article cité ici de Rehder, même si on lui donne raison et que l'on conclue avec lui, après tout, à l'unité du poème considéré, il faut remarquer, au bénéfice de lecteurs futurs, que la transcription donnée p. 67 est, en plusieurs endroits, fautive pour le mètre.<sup>5</sup>

Un lecteur attentif — et lettré — m'a signalé un lapsus dans ma citation de Hugo. Il faut lire, non pas *Quel moissonneur pensif...*, mais

*Quel dieu, quel moissonneur de l'éternel été  
Avait, en s'en allant, négligemment jeté  
Cette faucille d'or dans le champ des étoiles.*

Cela n'a peut-être guère d'importance, mais ce qui en a davantage, c'est le parallèle trouvé en chinois par Etiemble et qu'il a publié dans son volume *Poètes ou faiseurs?*<sup>6</sup> Un poète du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle, Li Yu, avait déjà comparé la lune à une faucille. Au siècle suivant, un poète persan, Asadi, écrivait: *La nouvelle lune semblait un maillet d'argent recourbé*. «Trois poètes que le temps séparait», commente Etiemble, «que l'espace éloignait, qui ne se sont point lus, point vus, ont déchiffré au ciel nocturne la même image.» Hafiz fait le quatrième — sans compter Louis Bouilhet. Il reste cependant que la ressemblance est bien plus grande entre Hafiz, Bouilhet et Hugo — la faucille et le champ moissonné — qu'avec Li Yu et surtout Asadi; assez grande peut-être pour imposer l'interdépendance, la filiation Hafiz-Bouilhet-Hugo.

Dans ma communication sur le Cor de Yima, j'ai proposé une étymologie du nom persan, *sūrnāy*, du hautbois. On s'accorde à voir dans ce mot un composé, dont le second terme, *nāy* «flûte», répond à véd. *nāḍa-* de même sens. Concernant le premier terme, *sūr*, j'ai signalé en note deux étymologies peu convaincantes par le nom de la fête et par celui de la Syrie. J'ignorais que la question venait d'être traitée par Ilya Gershevitch *apud* Laurens Picken, *Folk musical instruments of Turkey*, 1975, p. 485, et déjà par Anthony Baines dans le *Galpin Society Journal*, XXIII, 1970, p. 160sq.<sup>7</sup> Celui-ci voit dans le premier terme de *sūrnāy* l'arabe *ṣūr* «trompette du

Jugement», ce qui est bien près de ce que j'ai moi-même proposé, mais n'explique pas l'origine du terme arabe. Mais Gershevitch suggère, *loc. cit.*, un hypothétique iranien \**sru* «horn», puis une hypothétique métathèse de *sru* en *sur*, puis, troisième hypothèse, un allongement de *sur* en *sūr*, soit sous l'influence d'ar. *ṣūr*, soit par étymologie populaire d'après *sūr* «fête». C'est beaucoup d'hypothèses, et cela n'explique pas non plus l'arabe *ṣūr*. Je ne vois donc rien à changer à mon interprétation par av. *suṣrā-* «cor (de Yima)», d'où pahl. *sūr*, qui d'une part passe dans l'arabe *ṣūr* «trompette (du Jugement dernier)» (avec changement banal de *s* en *ṣ*) et d'autre part donne le dérivé pahl. *sūrācīk*, nom d'un instrument de musique, et entre en composition avec *nāy* pour donner *sūr-nāy*, littéralement «trompette-flûte», ce qui n'est pas une mauvaise définition du hautbois.<sup>8</sup>

T. Burrow, sous le titre «Sanskrit *mā-* 'to ascertain'»<sup>9</sup> veut poser cette racine séparément de l'homonyme *mā-* «mesurer» afin de rendre compte d'*anumāna-* «inference», *pramāṇa-* «authority for correct knowledge, means of proof». Il ne voit pas de lien sémantique entre «to measure» et «to ascertain». Mais, tout en posant deux racines distinctes, il est bien obligé de reconnaître qu'elles sont confondues dans la morphologie sanskrite. Rien dans le verbe ne les distingue l'une de l'autre, ni dans les dérivés. *mā-* signifie, selon le contexte, tantôt «to measure», tantôt «to show, display, infer», etc.; de même *anumā-* signifie d'une part «to be behind in measure; to equal», et d'autre part «to infer, conclude, guess, conjecture»; de même encore, *pramā-* veut dire tantôt «to measure, mete out, estimate», tantôt «to form a correct notion of, understand, know», et *pramāṇa-* tantôt «measure», tantôt «means of proof», etc. Burrow trouve qu'il n'est pas aisé de voir «by what secondary developments of the root *mā-* 'to measure'» les sens indiqués ci-dessus en second lieu auraient pu être produits. Il me semble au contraire que le lien sémantique n'est pas difficile à apercevoir. «In operating with means of proof, such as inference», écrit Burrow, «no measurement is as a rule involved». Mais justement, le mot même dont il se sert pour définir sa seconde racine *mā-*, «to ascertain», ne contient-il pas lat. *certus*, qui étymologiquement, à en juger par son correspondant grec *kritós* «trié, choisi; décidé, sûr», a dû signifier «séparé»? Séparer, cerner, distinguer, délimiter, action qui est à la base de lat. *cerno*, lequel finit par signifier «voir», et de *krínō*, n'est ce pas, de certaines façons, appliquer une mesure? On peut alléguer

des développements analogues en sémitique. La racine arabe *qys* «mesurer» signifie aussi «to compare, correlate» et son dérivé *qiyās* dénote non seulement la mesure, la dimension, mais aussi la relation, la comparaison, l'analogie, la déduction, l'inférence. De même, de la racine *byn* «séparer» se tirent des verbes pour montrer, apparaître; et la même racine donne en hébreu non seulement *bayin* «entre», mais *bīnāh* «comprehension, understanding», etc.

Pour nous en tenir à l'indo-européen, souvenons-nous, outre *cerno* et *krinō* cités ci-dessus, de l'anglais *to size up* et, en passant à la quantité discrète, des couples formés par gr. *légō* et *lógos*, par all. *zahlen* et angl. *to tell*, par *rechnen* et *to reckon* en certains de ses emplois; ou des deux sens de fr. *compter-conter* (artificiellement séparés par l'orthographe). Quant aux sens pris par la racine en iranien, dans pahl. *nimāy*, *nimūdan* «montrer, etc.», ils sortent de «mesurer» aussi naturellement que *légō* «dire» sort de *légō* «choisir, trier, énumérer»; et si *pramā-*, attesté dès l'avestique (comme le rappelle Burrow, p. 140) au sens de «to ordain», qui subsiste jusqu'à nos jours dans pers. *farmūdan* «commander», devait être séparé de *mā-* «mesurer», ne faudrait-il pas, alors, séparer de même en deux le français *ordonner* à cause des deux sens qu'il a de «mettre en ordre» et de «commander»? Et quand nous parlons de *prendre des mesures*, de *tomar medidas*, de *take measures*, est-il nécessaire que soit impliqué un measurement?

Ne multiplions pas sans nécessité les êtres, selon l'adage scolastique. Reconnaissons que la racine indo-ir. *mā-*, et déjà l'indo-eur. *\*mē-*, pouvait aboutir, par le biais de nuances telles que «délimiter, cerner», aux sens plus abstraits d'«ascertain», etc.

Les inscriptions achéménides en vieux perse commencent souvent par le verbe *Gātiy* «il déclare», suivi de son sujet, le nom du roi. Cette tournure n'est pas normale en vieux perse — ni en avestique, ni en sanskrit. Elle est au contraire de rigueur en arabe. Mais la distance est trop grande pour qu'on puisse penser à un emprunt. C'est sur un cas analogue, dans des langues d'Europe, que je voudrais attirer l'attention.

On peut dire en italien: *Ha dichiarato il Primo Ministro...*; ou *M'ha detto il nostro amico...*. L'équivalent s'en trouve non dans une langue étroitement apparentée, comme le français, ni dans une langue voisine, comme l'allemand, mais en anglais. On lit par exemple: *Says a Kremlin specialist on American affairs*. En français et en allemand cette inversion n'est pas possible en début de phrase,



bien qu'elle le soit — et même obligatoire — après une première citation (c'est du style écrit). Par exemple: « *Je m'y opposerai* », a déclaré le ministre des Affaires Etrangères... De même en allemand.

La coïncidence relevée entre l'italien et l'anglais pourrait résulter de développements parallèles et indépendants: de part et d'autre se serait étendue au début de phrase une tournure d'abord réservée à la seconde position. Mais, en y regardant de plus près, on observe que les deux phénomènes ne sont pas exactement homologues: alors qu'en italien, la tournure est courante, elle est réservée, en anglais, au style écrit, voire à l'*American journalese*.<sup>10</sup> Mais la tournure, quoique rare en anglais, n'y est pas totalement inconnue. Ainsi, dans Boswell, *Life of Dr. Johnson*: « Drinking one day at Garrick's ... as to Shakespeare; said Garrick: « I doubt he is a little of an infidel ». » Elle s'expliquerait, dans ce cas, comme proposé ci-dessus; dans le cas de l'italien, au contraire, on aurait un héritage du latin. Un usage analogue s'observe dans la Bible de Luther, mais il est plus restreint encore qu'en anglais: il est limité aux cas où le sujet est long, étant par exemple déterminé par une relative. Ex. *Spricht zu ihm einer seiner Jünger, Andreas, der Bruder des Simon Petrus* (Joh. 6,8), ou *Spricht zu ihnen Nikodemus, der, etc.* (Joh. 7, 50).

Une autre coïncidence s'observe entre l'usage anglais et l'usage italien. C'est un cas de prolepse. On lit par exemple dans *Little Dorrit*: *Theirs is not a very comfortable lodging*; dans *Adam Bede*, *But Hetty's was not a nature to face difficulties*; dans *Vanity Fair*, *For many years, his was the only kindness she ever knew*. De même en italien, dans Michelaccio d'Ant. Baldini: *La nostra è stata un'amizizia tutta di strada, di taverna e giuoco del pallone*. Et dans une lettre de Mussolini à Clara Petacci (2-10-40): *Oggi è giornata degli Angeli Custodi. Che essi aggiungano la loro alla protezione che ti viene dal mio amore*.

Ni l'allemand ni le français n'admettent semblable prolepse. Sa présence en anglais et en italien semble une coïncidence fortuite.

En un article intitulé « Un trait de syntaxe akkadienne et son origine hittite », <sup>11</sup> je tentais, imprudemment, d'expliquer, comme l'indique le titre, le fait que, dans ces deux langues, le relatif peut se placer en second lieu dans les propositions temporelles. L'improbabilité de l'influence culturelle postulée m'oblige à retirer mon explication et à croire plutôt qu'il s'agit, de part et d'autre, d'un développement spontané, d'autant plus qu'on retrouve le même en italien, par



exemple, *Partiti che furono...*, en espagnol, en persan et dans plusieurs dialectes de l'Iran central.<sup>12</sup>

Voici un autre cas qui demande une explication. Pour dire « depuis telle date jusqu'à nos jours », l'italien peut employer la tournure *Da Adamo in qua*, mais aussi *Da...a questa parte*. L'équivalent de cette tournure, *a esta parte*, se retrouve en espagnol, notamment dans le Don Quijote, et en persan, *tā īn tarāf*. Pour expliquer ces coïncidences par des emprunts, on est amené à rechercher l'expression en arabe, d'où elle serait passée tout naturellement, d'une part en persan, d'autre part en espagnol, d'où en italien. Mais je n'en ai pas trouvé en arabe, malgré l'aimable concours de mon jeune collègue arabisant Aubert Martin, l'équivalent exact. Il y a bien *fī haḍā' l-tarāf* « en cet endroit », mais non, avec transposition au temporel, quelque chose comme *hattā* (ou *ilā*) *haḍā' l-tarāf*. Il faudra donc, jusqu'à plus ample informé, considérer comme développements parallèles et indépendants les tournures espagnole, italienne et persane.

Une autre observation permet une conclusion différente. On emploie couramment en italien l'expression *senz'altro* pour dire « absolument, sans faute, bien sûr, certainement ». En Suisse romande — et, à ce que me dit Georges Redard, dans une région limitrophe de la France — on entend aussi fréquemment *sans autre*. Les deux phénomènes sont évidemment liés, l'un n'étant que la traduction de l'autre. Mais quel est l'un, quel est l'autre? L'allemand emploie aussi couramment, et dans le même sens, *ohne weiteres*. Ainsi, un même usage semble s'être répandu dans trois langues voisines, par contact et par traduction. On n'en a pas d'équivalent en anglais; ni en français, où l'expression *sans plus* est de sens et d'usage beaucoup plus restreints,<sup>13</sup> nullement comparables à ceux de *senz'altro* — *sans autre* — *ohne weiteres*.

Sur les panneaux extérieurs de l'Agneau Mystique des frères Van Eyck, est figurée notamment une Annonciation. L'ange est à gauche, la Vierge à droite, ce qui est peut-être toujours le cas et qui certainement est naturel pour nous qui avons l'habitude de lire de gauche à droite. Car l'Ange parle le premier, bien entendu. Or, ses paroles sont peintes, comme sortant de sa bouche, mais sans le ballon de nos bandes dessinées, ni l'espèce de ruban qu'on voit ailleurs: le phylactère. Les lettres sont simplement peintes sur le vide, en une

inscription horizontale. La réponse de Marie, elle aussi, lui sort de la bouche, mais elle est écrite à l'envers, la tête en bas. Pourquoi ceci? On a cherché une intention d'humilité, ce qui ne me convainc pas. Michel Butor<sup>14</sup> croit y voir une autre raison. Laissons-le parler: «Les paroles de la salutation viennent du Ciel et sont adressées à la Terre, nous devons donc les lire de notre solen regardant vers le haut; par contre les mots de la Vierge sont la réponse de la Terre au Ciel, c'est donc d'en haut qu'il les faudrait lire, en regardant vers le bas.» Et Butor de conclure: «Toute la théologie de Van Eyck commande la façon de disposer les inscriptions.» Je ne sais ce que «toute la théologie» de Van Eyck a de particulier. L'explication de Butor est cependant valable, pourvu qu'on la corrige et la précise.<sup>15</sup> Les paroles de Marie s'adressent d'abord, et directement, à l'Ange, auquel elle répond. Elles intéressent aussi le ciel, en général, mais aussi, particulièrement, le prophète Michée,<sup>16</sup> que Van Eyck a peint au registre supérieur du polyptyque, immédiatement au dessus de la Vierge. La phrase par laquelle il est censé avoir prophétisé la naissance du Messie est peinte au dessus de lui, dans un phylactère: *Et tu, Bethlehem Ephrata, ex te mihi egredietur qui sit dominator in Israël*. Et il se penche en avant, comme pour lire les paroles de Marie écrites, pour sa commodité, à l'envers.

Mais cette explication ne vaut pas pour une autre Annonciation de Van Eyck, qui est au National Museum de Washington. Là, il n'y a personne au-dessus de la Vierge Marie. Et pourtant sa réponse à l'Ange est écrite à l'envers, comme sur le retable de Gand. Pourquoi? Ne serait-ce pas tout simplement pour que nous lisions cette réponse comme nous avons lu la question, c'est-à-dire en partant de la bouche qui les a énoncées? Sans doute, il y aurait eu un autre moyen: c'eût été de retourner les lettres non pas de haut en bas, mais de droite à gauche. Van Eyck n'y a pas pensé, ignorant l'usage grec du *boustrophédon* et ne pouvant davantage, et pour cause, connaître la pratique cryptique de Léonard de Vinci dans ses *Carnets*, ni celle, obligatoire, des typographes. (L'imprimerie n'était pas encore inventée). Remarquons enfin qu'en lisant les paroles de l'Ange, comme celles de la Vierge, nous les parcourons dans l'ordre où elles sont sorties de leurs bouches, en tant que paroles aériennes, mais non comme des inscriptions. Car s'il s'agissait d'inscriptions solides, les mots prononcés les derniers seraient sortis les premiers, comme on le voit sur un journal lumineux (fait d'ampoules électriques), où les mots ne défilent pas, comme dans la lecture d'un livre, de gauche à droite, mais de droite à gauche.

Les taxis de Rome correspondent par radio avec leur garage. Or, les messages qui leur sont envoyés — nous l'avons remarqué en ces dernières années à chacun de nos séjours — le sont sur une même note, sauf les deux ou trois dernières syllabes, qui sont prononcées une quinte plus bas. J'en ai demandé la raison à plusieurs chauffeurs. Aucun n'a pu rien me répondre, sinon que c'était l'habitude. Il aurait peut-être fallu m'informer au garage. Nous n'avons pas, pour cela, estimé la question assez importante, ce qui sera sans doute l'avis de maint lecteur. Je hasarderais cependant, sinon une explication, du moins un rapprochement. Les messages en question rappellent par leur *monotonie* la lecture qui se fait *recto tono* pendant les repas aux réfectoires des monastères bénédictins, par exemple, en Belgique, à Maredsous. Cette façon de faire est due, chez les moines, à leur devoir d'humilité, au besoin d'effacer toute velléité d'effet, toute ostentation de talent. L'intention est probablement différente chez les garagistes de Rome qui donnent leurs ordres aux chauffeurs. Mais peut-être veulent-ils, par ce procédé, gagner en clarté ce qu'ils perdent en expression. Mais alors, pourquoi ne pas aller jusqu'au bout sur le même ton? Ne serait-ce pas tout simplement parce que, à la fin d'un énoncé, la voix s'élève pour une question, mais autrement s'abaisse? Quant à l'intervalle de quinte, on se rappellera que c'est celui-là qui, selon les Anciens, séparait l'*oxyton* du *baryton*. Mais je n'insisterais pas sur ce point, car, lors de notre dernier voyage, en décembre 83, l'intervalle n'était plus d'une quinte, mais d'une tierce.

### Notes

1. *Monumentum Morgenstierne I*, *Acta Iranica* 22, 1981, p. 141 sq.
2. *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, année 1979, p. 539 sq.
3. A. J. Arberry, «Orient pearls at random strung», *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 11, 1946, p. 699 sq.
4. *Der Islam*, 51, 1974, p. 55 sq.
5. Vers 1, lire 'ān (faisant position): vers 2, lire *may-i* (et corriger dans le même sens p. 68, ligne 2 du bas et p. 87, l. 5 du bas): après Ruknābād, l'ezāfet est à lire *u*. Vers 3, lire *shūkh*, et *az* (sans'): au dernier vers, après *biyā*, *ū*.
6. Paris, 1966, p. 200.
7. Ces références m'ont été communiquées par ma femme, musicologue.
8. Errata: P. 539, ligne 5 du bas: Peitsche. P. 543: Fig. 2. Trompettes d'argent de Tepe Hissar. P. 544, note 13, ligne 7, lire, au lieu de pou, podex. P. 546, note 23, supprimer le point sous le *t* d'*aštrā*. P. 547, ligne 7, lire *ghadāta*.

9. Transactions of the Philological Society, 1980, p. 134 sq.
10. Précision que je dois à ma collègue angliciste Irène Simon.
11. *Die Sprache*, 10, 1964, p. 34 sq.
12. Cf. P. Lecoq, *Recherches sur les dialectes centraux de l'Iran*, thèse de doctorat d'Etat soutenue en Sorbonne le 17 mars 1984, à paraître.
13. Avec ce sens de *sans plus*, je n'ai rencontré qu'une fois *sans autre*: « De cette aventure mathématique...., Valéry se serait certainement réjoui. A lui que les réticences de Poincaré concernant la théorie des nombres entiers (que Valéry baptise trop souvent nombres, sans autre) ont toujours intrigué, l'apparition et l'usage de l'analyse dite non standard, ... auraient été sources fécondes de réflexions nouvelles. » A. Lichnerowicz, Variations sur des thèmes valéryens, en *Fonctions de l'esprit, 13 savants redécouvrent Paul Valéry*, Paris, 1983, p. 212. Vu les nombreux séjours de M. Lichnerowicz en Italie au début de sa carrière, on peut conjecturer un italianisme. (Je dois ce renseignement biographique à mon collègue mathématicien Florent Bureau.)
14. *Les mots dans la peinture*, Genève, 1969.
15. Comme me le fait remarquer Alexis Curvers, qui prépare une grande étude sur le symbolisme du retable de l'Agneau.
16. Plutôt que, comme l'écrit Elisabeth Dhaenens, *Het retabel van het Lam Gods*, Gent 1965, p. 65, le Saint-Esprit. (Référence communiquée par M<sup>me</sup> Van Cane-gem-Carson.)



# On the Sigurd representations in Great Britain and Scandinavia\*

Klaus Düwel

## I. Towards an iconography

The rune-block from Gök (fig. 1; cf. Brate—Wessén 1924—1936: 306—311 [nr. 327], pl. 165—166), county Södermanland, of the mid 11th century shows in its snake-chain various man-like figures, animals, and tree-like elements. Identifying and naming the figures and objects is both difficult and controversial. Although individual representations are surrounded by a rich context of others, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine the motifs by means of the pictorial assembly alone, or to recognize the separate events and to establish a narrative connection between them. Comparison with similar representations elsewhere may be helpful in such a case. One comparable item was found only a few kilometers from Gök on the Ramsund rock face (fig. 2; cf. Brate—Wessén 1924—1936: 71—73 [nr. 101], pl. 48) near Mälars lake, dating from 1030.<sup>1</sup> We need not detain ourselves at this point by a detailed comparative description. Even a careful listing of similarities does not by itself render an obvious clue to the narrative sequence. Yet in the case of Ramsund, literary evidence makes it possible to name the figures represented, and to determine the events in which they are involved, i.e., to identify the various pictorial motifs. The relevant literary evidence consists of three textual bodies: firstly, the Older or Poetic Edda with the prose passages from the *Reginismál* (Rm) and *Fáfnismál* (Fm) (12th century) (cf. Hollander 1962: 216—236; Neckel—Kuhn 1962: 173—188); secondly, a scene from the Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson (SnE) from the first half of the 13th century (cf. Brodeur 1929: 150—154; Holtsmark—Helgason 1976: 92—96); and finally, some chapters from the *Völsunga saga* (Vs) of the second half of the 13th century (cf. Finch 1965: 24—27, 30—34). The pictorial narrative is now — and probably was even in the Middle Ages — understandable only when myths and heroic legends (in our case, that of Sigurd acquiring the treasure of the Nibelungs

after having killed the dragon) are known and recognized. Although Ramsund is not the illustration of a literary text, the correspondence between picture and text is so obvious that we cannot but note a remarkable precision of knowledge on the part of the engraver, based on *traditio et memoria*.

Using the textual evidence, I would like to name the central pictorial motifs, as engraved on the rocks by unknown hands, and to discuss the various possibilities of pictorial representation as well as the varieties that actually occur.

The carver of the Ramsund rock executed his work in an area limited by three snakes, choosing the lower snake-band, which carries the runes, to present the mortal upward thrust at the dragon from the pit: The sword, obviously held with both hands, pierces the dragon's body, and its point sticks out quite widely on the opposite side. The literary texts correspond insofar as the dragon's killing takes place by means of a sword's thrust out of a pit. This has consequences for the pictorial representation of the killing: (1) One would expect the slayer during the thrust to be shown in a sitting (as the texts have it), a crouching, kneeling, or lying position, rather than a standing one. (2) The dragon is wounded from underneath somewhere between head and tail, not from the front, nor from above. (3) The sword (a) pierces the snake's body (SnE), or (b) penetrates the heart (Fm), or (c) enters up to the handle (Vs). Pictorial representations choose one of these possibilities. Penetrating the heart can be shown with the sword depicted in the middle of the beast's body. Arranged according to their relative significance, these are the three criteria which enable us to determine whether any representation of a dragon-slaying relates to Sigurd, for among all representations or narratives from northern and central Europe containing dragon-slayings this is the only one presented in such a way. Sigurd strikes the beast only once, but this single stab is mortal. No fight is taking place; it is a matter of killing the dragon by just one thrust. Although other dragon-fights were erroneously related to Sigurd as well, within the general type "dragon-slaying" the one achieved by Sigurd can definitely be singled out by means of the three features mentioned,<sup>2</sup> and by them alone.

The dragon-slaying is followed by the twin motifs of "heart-roasting" and "finger-test". Prompted by force (as in Fm 27), a demand (SnE) or merely by asking (Vs), Sigurd roasts the dragon's heart for Regin. This action is advantageous for Regin. Testing whether the heart is done, Sigurd burns his finger and puts it into

his mouth in order to cool it and soothe his pain. This turns out to Regin's disadvantage. The context shows that these twin motifs belong together closely, changing the track of the narrative like railway switches. We may surmise that they are presented together in representations of Sigurd because of this special function.

The heart is roasted over a fire. Though in literary sources this is not explicitly mentioned, the verb 'roast' (ON *steikja*) implies it. The pictorial monuments, on the other hand, are obliged to present the fire in order to make the roasting obvious. Spit, heart, and fire are presented both on Ramsund and Gök. The literary context does not mention Sigurd holding the spit with one hand over the fire, but both pictorial representations show him doing so, while sucking the thumb of the other hand. Nor do the literary sources mention which finger is put in the mouth. It is obviously for pictorial distinctiveness that Ramsund prefers the thumb. The same obvious meaning is carried by the motion of hand to mouth. Summing up: in the pictorial context of a dragon-killing, the twin motifs of "heart-roasting" and "finger-test" can only refer to Sigurd. The course of the subsequent action is set by these details: by means of the "finger-test" the dragon's blood is brought into contact with Sigurd's tongue and makes him understand the language of the birds among the branches (Fm/Vs), or in the tree (SnE). The number of the birds varies: there are six in *Fáfnismál* and in the retelling of *Völsunga saga* derived from it. Decisive for the action is not the birds' number, but their advice, which may be given by one bird as well as by several: Sigurd is to decapitate Regin. Selective or full presentations of this are possible. The birds are cast in the role of animal helpers in the special form of counselling helpers, which does not preclude differences in presentation. The birds' advice leads on to the scene of Regin's death. The beheading as presented in *Fáfnismál* and *Völsunga saga* is paralleled by both Ramsund and Gök. Regin is characterised as a smith by his tools. The pictorial way of indicating his death is to show his tongue hanging out of the mouth of the severed head (Ramsund). A different version is found on the portal uprights of Norwegian stave-churches. Of the further chain of events, the rock-engravers have only illustrated the final scene, the acquisition of the treasure-hoard, which has also become the subject of literary kennings. Sigurd's horse Grani being loaded with Fáfnir's treasure, leads to the latter being termed Grani's burden. The literary sources mention two chests (Fm/Vs) or loads, fastened on either side of the saddle (SnE). Pictorially, though two chests could



have been drawn, it has been considered sufficient to draw one chestlike structure on the horse's back. The number is apparently unimportant.

In this connection, the evidence from datable scaldic poetry is of some interest. We may distinguish between two groups: (1) descriptions, in which some event from the saga is presented in a sentence and (2) allusions by means of *kenningar*, which presuppose familiarity with the legend in order to be understood. Among the former group, the earliest and most important source is a single stanza by the Icelandic scald Þorfinnr munnr (died 1030). According to the legendary Ólafssaga (early 13th century), Olaf asks the scald to compose a stanza about the scene depicted on a tapestry hanging from the wall of a tent. The scald recognizes the scene of Sigurd killing the dragon. The stanza has been well transmitted. In translation it says: "The sword reaches even to the back of the mouth. From above, the blood dropped on both edges of the sword" (cf. Hungerland 1904: 30–31 [nr. 31]). "The sword trembled in the snake's breast (Fáfnir), the prince (Sigurd) prepared the roast" (cf. Hungerland 1904: *ibid.*). Fragments of a poem relating to Harald the Hard also belong to the first half of the 11th century. In refrain-like structures (*stef*) the Icelandic scald Illugi Bryndælaskáld has outlined two scenes: "He who reduced the jewelry (Sigurd) pierced the snake (Fáfnir) with the sword" and "the prince (Sigurd) holds the icy, bitter heart of the worm (Fáfnir) to the fire" (cf. Hungerland 1904: 37 [nr. 42]). As far as can be made out, Háttalykill (about 1145) in a defective stanza also features the thrust into the dragon's heart. Other descriptions are lost, such as a poem by Sigvat (1040) written in honour of king Olaf, of which we know that the scald wanted to honour the Saint by referring to the Sigurd saga.

The latter group of sources, the "kenningar", is represented only by two anonymous examples, possibly from the Bjárkamál (cf. Hungerland 1904: 20 [nr. 12], 20–21 [nr. 13]): *Grana fagrbyrðr* 'Grani's beautiful burden' and *Otrs gjöld* 'otter's penance', alluding to a saga context to be mentioned later on. The following three motifs therefore exist in scaldic poetry before Snorri: the dragon-stabbing, the roasting of the heart, and Grani's burden. On the other hand, as we have seen up to now, six motifs mark the pictorial presentation of Sigurd's acquisition of the treasure hoard: (1) the dragon-stabbing, (2) the roasting of the heart, (3) the finger-test, (4) the birds' advice, (5) the execution of Regin, (6) Grani's burden. Identification of the pictorial scene has proved possible by means

of the dragon-stabbing. Even by itself, this suffices to pinpoint the context as Sigurd's deed as a young man: the acquisition of the hoard.

The final scene, Grani's burden, is suited to fill in some more detail, although taken by itself it would not be sufficient to let us identify its relatedness to the Sigurd legend. A burdened horse might conceivably occur in other narrative or illustrated contexts as well. Basically, the same is true of each of the other motifs except the first, though to a lesser degree. The birds' advice and the execution of Regin are least significant as clue, which is also shown by the scaldic sources. Birds in branches and trees can be related to a variety of unrelated iconographic types. In the execution of Regin, his identification as a smith is effected by his tools, but only the fact that the motif occurs in the context of the Sigurd saga identifies him as Regin. By itself, or in different contexts, the motif could just as well mean the type "smith" in general, or, e. g., Weland the smith.

Before continuing the discussion of the dragon-stabbing-motif, its iconography, especially the possibilities of its reduction, and the function of context, in dealing with a few examples, I should like to explain one more pictorial detail on Ramsund and Gök by means of additional evidence. In the earlier part of the story, there is an important chain of events: the death of the otter, caused by Loki's throwing a stone, and the resulting penance, which consists of the otter's hide being filled, and covered, with gold, the single remaining hair of its whiskers being covered at last by Odin with the accursed ring "Andvaranaut".

This singular and unmistakable penance is also depicted in medallions on the portal beams of the Norwegian stave-churches of Lardal (cf. the photograph in Ploss 1966: pl. 8) and Mael (fig. 3, both 13th century). The otter's skin has the ring around its neck in these cases, partly because of the technical exigencies of attaining clarity in wood-carving, but also conceivably to stress the importance of the ring, which determines the course of events of the whole saga. On Ramsund and Gök, this very otter is quoted from the prehistory of the treasure. A close analysis of the carving shows that the animal-figure has something in its mouth: This, within the Sigurd context, identifies the figure as the otter's skin and the object in its mouth as Andvari's ring, finally put on its whisker.

The otter also occurs on another group of monuments: the Sigurd-representations which surprisingly occur on cross-fragments (10th

century) from the Isle of Man. The cross-fragment from Maughold (before: Ramsey, fig. 4) is one of the later ones. It has to be noted, though, that the dragon-stabbing is missing here, nor is it to be found on the opposite side. From the top downward, the first identifiable motif is Grani with the treasure-chest. Under its belly and between its fore-legs, two birds on branches may be (doubtfully) identified. Below, a spit with three slices of the heart points downward to the right, immediately above the head of a sitting figure. The spit is not being held by anybody. Underneath in the middle, a wide-tailed, short-headed quadruped is indicated in the act of eating a fish placed above it, tucking into its belly.

In view of the story sketched out before, the quadruped can only be the otter eating a salmon, while Loki — so the usual interpretation — is about to kill him with a stone's throw. Having raised objections to this before (cf. Düwel—Last 1971: 235 n. 14), I will now try to explain them in some more detail. (1) If there were a stone in the hand of the sitting figure, that would be decisive proof; but this is not the case — a significant omission, since numerous round objects are represented elsewhere all over the picture, in front of the figure's nose, under its right arm, and under its thigh. (2) The figure's hand reaches towards its mouth, instead of away from the body, as would have been expected in a throwing gesture. (3) No other illustration of the Sigurd story gives this scene; moreover they generally avoid representing any heathen idol. (4) The otter in the present instance looks rather like an otter's skin or stuffed skin (as on other monuments), but not like a live animal on the point of being killed by a stone's throw. The artist has in fact combined two scenes: the fish (salmon) relates to the killing of the otter, the otter's skin to the penance. The salmon-eating otter belongs to the beginning of the treasure's prehistory, the skin with the ring to its end. The salmon eating, as represented here, therefore connects the beginning and the end of the prehistory. (5) The close connection between heart roasting and finger-test is maintained in all presentations, including the ones from the Isle of Man; so why should it only be missing with Maughold? This seems to me unlikely. It seems rather more probable that the sitting figure should be identified as Sigurd, who is just reaching with his finger for his mouth. Although the thumbsucking gesture is more frequent, that of hand reaching for mouth does occur as its variant. Thus, to my mind, Maughold shows heart roasting, finger-test, birds' advice, Grani's burden, i. e., a sequence of motifs clearly identifiable as

belonging to the Sigurd legend, even if the dragon-stabbing is lacking.

From the group of Swedish illustrations of this matter on runestones of the 11th century, Drävle (cf. Wessén—Jansson 1953—1958: 621—631 [nr. 1163], pl. 143) gives the dragon-stabbing, which on Ramsjö (cf. Wessén—Jansson 1953—1958: 659—662 [nr. 1175], pl. 153), usually considered a copy, cannot be identified with certainty. A recent addition to our material is the carving from Årsunda (fig. 5) (cf. Jansson 1981: 79—87 [nr. 9], pl. 5), which up to its rediscovery had been known from old, unclear drawings only. On Ockelbo (cf. Jansson 1981: 186—220 [nr. 19], pl. 103) the slaying of the dragon can no longer be recognized because of its fragmentary state of preservation. A drawing from 1795 presents that scene, though its reliability appears to be doubtful. Despite all attempts at interpretation, the other motifs remain uncertain. They do not fit into the context of the Sigurd story, unless by forced construction. The third stone of Gästrikland, Öster-Färnebo (cf. Jansson 1981: 28—41 [nr. 2], pl. I.1), purportedly shows Sigurd killing the dragon, a suggestion to be rejected, as the sword in the central figure's hand could not conceivably reach the snake-shaped beast (Jansson). In none of these carvings can all pictorial motifs be supplied with a narrative context. Yet the dragon-slayer in these representations matches (with one exception) the criteria initially listed, and thus allows an identification as Sigurd.

With some apparent modification, this is also true of the cross-fragment from the Isle of Man (more specifically, Kirk Andreas) (cf. the photograph in Ploss 1966: pl. I). Because of the vertical sequence of the scenes of Malew (cf. Ploss 1966: pl. I) and Jurby (fig. 6) the dragon-slayer's position is different. The figure is placed in a pit or hollow inside something shaped like a hill. The sword is thrust out of the hollow's opening.

The capital from Lunde (12th century) (cf. Blindheim 1973: 25 fig. 24) and the base of a pillar in the church at Nes (second half of the 12th century, fig. 7), both in Telemark, show the stabbing of the dragon from below, and — if Blindheim's drawing and description are correct — also from pits, which can only be related to Odin's advice in *Völsunga saga* (chapter 18). In fact we seem to have here a genuine variant of the saga motif occurring both in literary and pictorial representation.

Scholarly discussion has attributed some other pictorial sources to the motif of Sigurd's acquisition of the hoard as well. In dealing

with them, we reach a point where we shall have to reflect by which means a dragon-slayer's identification as Sigurd is possible in representations partially reduced, or wholly without context, i.e., which are the unequivocal criteria that allow us to establish a clear-cut iconography of Sigurd. It is of some help that in contrast to the changing iconography of other dragon-slayers (St. Michael and St. George), the preceding review of the representations of Sigurd has shown him unmistakably as slaying the dragon Fáfnir in a characteristic position from below out of a pit with the mortal sword's thrust.

Let me repeat the distinctive features in the order of their importance: (1) The stabbing occurs from below and therefore (2) in a crouching posture (sitting or lying), marked by specific posture of the legs (crouching; kneeling on one leg); (3) a specific dragon (Fáfnir) is killed by one thrust at his underside; (4) the sword pierces deeply into the beast's body, sometimes emerging at the other side.

All representations which give these features in a rudimentary or doubtful form only, or in which they are completely missing, must be eliminated as sources in our context. Thus, the confrontation of a man with one or more dragons (monster-fight), e.g., on the Gotlandic picture-stone of Hangvar – Austers I (400–600; against Nylén; cf. Nylén 1978: 31) or (against Lang) on the grave-lid from York (cf. Lang 1976: 84 fig. 1) does not belong to the group of Sigurd representations. Furthermore, all those representations must be eliminated which show the stabbing, but in which the agent, the hero himself, is missing. In this connection, we have to discuss the problem of so-called reduction.

As far as I am aware, Ploss has introduced the idea of image-reduction (cf. Ploss 1966: 63; Lang 1976: 87) in this context, and he has made ample use of it in order to salvage as many dragon-stabbings and -killings as possible for the Sigurd-legend. But, as a matter of fact, his very first example, the Gotlandic stone of Hablingbo Havor I (cf. Nylén 1978: 21), has nothing at all to do with it. The application of the term "reduction" to what Carl Robert termed the "completive" (as opposed to the "eclectic") representation would be useful (cf. Robert 1919: 142, 157). But Ploss means something more by "reduction", as the two other examples Tanberg (fig. 8) and Wladimir – Susdal (fig. 9) show: the reduction of the four significant features to the fourth alone: the stabbing through the dragon's body. Even where the fixed location might suggest the approach, e.g., on the portal from Guldrupe (cf. Nylén 1978: 89),

the earliest wooden church from Gotland, doubts predominate; the more so, because the sword's point pierces the dragon's body not at one point, but also through a second coil. Moreover, the sword's point ends in the dragon's mouth, which — in the absence of literary parallels — probably is to be understood as a gesture of defence by the animal.

In 1973, Blindheim in the catalogue of a Sigurd exhibition at Oslo listed 27 representations of the dragon-killing, of which I can at best accept 18 as featuring the described iconographical criteria. All sources subsequently introduced into the discussion should be eyed with suspicion. The following has to be closely regarded: The state of preservation and the scenic context, as far as it exists, which would require the further analysis of whether any accompanying scenes constitute a semantic or merely a local context. Examples are again Tanberg (fragment) and the representation of two birds with "branches", on the axe of Wladimir — Susdal. The bird-motif occurs in numerous varieties and contexts and is by no means sufficient to identify a nameless dragon-stabbing as that performed by Sigurd. How fully the details of the saga-context reappear in pictorial representation must be observed in each case.

The grave-cross from Halton/Lancashire (10th century (fig. 10)) shows a stone with a smith in the lower panel of one side, apparently Regin forging a sword. Above, there are further smith's tools and a recumbent human torso above which a snake's coil can be recognized. The upper part of the picture presents the related scenes of roasting the heart, test by finger and birds' advice. Whether the horse on the opposite side also relates to this context remains doubtful as the animal does not carry a burden. The dragon-stabbing itself is not represented, but the possibility cannot be precluded that the dragon is shown in a dying convulsion above the decapitated Regin. Although the major scene is missing and the identification of the horse as Grani remains doubtful, the other scenes definitely allude to the Sigurd saga (motifs 2–5). The question is, how many motifs may be left out so as to leave the scene of Sigurd's dragon-killing still recognisable. Where the dragon-stabbing itself is missing, I suggest all the motifs 2–6 but one are essential for an identification.

It was especially James Lang who thought he could identify further representations of Sigurd. Most important among them is a grave-stone found during excavations in York Minster<sup>3</sup> in the sixties. According to Lang's description one should read the upper



side from the bottom upwards as showing the coiled dead dragon (compare Halton), a stylized fire with the spit, on its left Sigurd with thumb in mouth. Above, Grani is supposed to be represented waiting for his burden — a clever formula Kermode had used in order to identify the unpacked horse as Grani (cf. Lang 1976: 84; Kermode 1907: 175). Finally, a tree and a bird are to be surmised rather than seen in the upper left. The illustrations offered do not suffice to corroborate this description. If it were right, this item could belong to our pictorial scene, in spite of the lack of a significant detail like Grani's burden.

Lang's interpretation of the representations on the long-known cross-fragment of Kirby Hill (Yorkshire, fig. 11) remains doubtful. A drawing published in 1974 must be taken as the basis for his description. According to Lang, a coiled dragon is shown below, Sigurd is given in a standing position, lifting the left thumb to his mouth; in front of him an anvil, above him the decapitated Regin (cf. Lang 1976: 84sq.). Now the heart-roasting does occur in variations, but the spit is never missing. For a definite identification, the two motifs of test by finger and Regin's execution do not suffice. The figures thus presented could also be imagined in a different narrative context. Doubts are reinforced by the curious headgear of the supposed Sigurd which may be interpreted as a kind of halo.

Lang's interpretation of the cross-fragment of Ripon (Yorkshire), discovered in 1974, is also doubtful (cf. Lang 1975: 47–48). Here, he sees Sigurd with the thumb pointing to his mouth. Additionally, he "senses" the executed Fáfnir below this figure (Lang 1975: 47). Sigurd's appearance in the cross's centre is explained by Lang as an iconographical change: the representation of Christ was displaced by that of Sigurd. Of course this item offers far too little evidence to bear out such a far-reaching hypothesis. Two birds on a second cross according to Lang show the birds' advice, but he neither explains his reasons for this assumption nor does he discuss other interpretations. With regard to the methodical problem which, and how many, of the six motifs must be represented in order to establish an ascription to the Sigurd legend, I suggest certain standards should be maintained. Halton shows that the four scenes between dragon-stabbing and Grani's burden may suffice for an identification; but this much is certain: one of the intervening motifs only is definitely not sufficient.

Let me finally sketch another fundamental question of method. The possibility cannot be summarily dismissed that quotations from

other narrative contexts are introduced into a certain pictorial series without the artist's intention of complete integration, or the spectator's ability to discover a close relationship. The artist's motivation — though elusive — might be of many kinds. One might even imagine a strange quotation just for amusement's sake. A single example will do to illustrate the conundrum: The portal of the Norwegian stave-church at Nesland (fig. 12) in the lower panel definitely shows a horse with a saddle and a box on it, as it is also shown on the church portal at Mael (fig. 3). Yet the Nesland panels resist all efforts at reading them as a contextual sequence, let alone interpreting them as contexts from the Sigurd saga.

## II. Towards an iconology

The representations of Sigurd the dragon-slayer could have been induced by the widespread reverence for the archangel St. Michael. His significance for the acceptance of Christianity in Scandinavia can hardly be overestimated, as several reports concerning the history of the conversion of Iceland show. They name all the features traditionally ascribed to St. Michael. Furthermore, a half-stanza from an unidentified poem by Arnórr Jarlaskáld (mid 11th century) mentions Michael for the first time in poetry as weighing souls in his scales. In the later 11th century there is a series of runic inscriptions, the "soul-formulas" (cf., e.g., *DR* 1941 — 1942. 1: 991 — 992) which name St. Michael either alone or together with other holy persons. The most important source in this context — of which the original has unfortunately been lost — comes from Västergötland: Several reports speak of a metal door-fitting with runes, preserved only in drawings: "One can see (?): Michael killed the dragon. Sven Andreas" (Fredsberg Church; Svärdström 1970: 258 [nr. 202]). "There is no doubt that the fitting had been affixed to a medieval church-portal decorated with figures (probably from the 13th century), and that the scenes depicted Michael's fight with the dragon" (Svärdström 1970: 258). I also see this fight on the church door from Vårsås (14th century; cf. Svärdström 1970: pl. 169 [nr. 220]; Blindheim 1972 — 1973: 32, 1973: 17) likewise in Västergötland. The sources mentioned attest the widespread veneration of St.



Michael and are an impressive though late testimony of his role as dragon-slayer, based on the exegesis of Revelation 12. 7–9. The image of the dragon-fighter, and especially of the dragon-killer, offered itself from the indigenous narrative tradition of the North, where it existed in the shape of Sigurd, who was either understood to refer to Michael, or who completely took his place. This referential context remains to be further explored.

Meaning and function of representations of Sigurd on definitely Christian monuments have often been discussed, though without producing a convincing solution up to now. Reitzenstein (1924: 180; cf. p. 157 n. 2) already gave an important hint, when he stressed the Christian character of Ramsund and Gök and maintained: “They are Christian; Sigurd can only be the heathen symbol for Christ.” Ploss endeavoured intensively to solve the problem of interpretation and function posed by representations of Sigurd, although he dealt only with those on gravestones and crosses. According to him, three criteria are essential: (1) Remembrance of the dead, which should express the hopes of the deceased person and its relative to partake of resurrection and salvation, including also the heathen ancestors in this hope, (2) a survey of ancestors and their deeds to accompany the illustration, and (3) following Reitzenstein, an “identification with Christ” is intended by the representation of Sigurd, which implies an “ethnic dissociation” by giving preference to a local hero (Ploss 1966: 96–97).

Picking another example – the parallel myths of Thor fishing for the Midgard-snake and of God the Father, who, using Christ as his bait, fishes for Leviathan – Gschwantler (1968: 163) has discussed anew the connection between heathen and Christian imagery, recognizing in them an attempt at “relating to Christianity some narrations about heathen deities as far as they show some resemblance to concepts of the new religion, as if by typological method”. In 1968, I myself suggested research on the typological relationship between motifs from the legends of heathen gods and heroes and from the body of Christian teaching, including its prefiguration in the Old Testament, should be further pursued (Düwel 1968: 78; cf. Düwel–Last 1971: 239) – something the following remarks, it is hoped, may also assist in doing.

At the same time, Larsen has put the lion-hunters (Samson and Hercules), and the dragon-slayer Sigurd in juxtaposition. In a scene which shows Samson with sword and shield on the back of a lion (ashlar from Ørsted on Fyn, 12th century; cf. *DR* 1941–1942.2:

177 [nr. 475]) identifiable by its runic inscription, Larsen sees a mixture of ancient Northern imagery and modern Christian topics, comparable to Mediterranean phenomena during the period of transition to the new faith. The ancient heathen concepts lived on in Christian disguise with new contents: Orpheus, Hercules, Ulysses in the roles of precursors or types of Christ: *Samson, id est Christus, quaerens uxorem, id est Ecclesiam, occidit leonem, id est diabolum* ... (comment on the Song of Songs by the Cistercian Thomas, about 1180). Just as Hercules had been introduced in the South as a parallel or replacement for Samson, so was Sigurd in the North. In his English summary Larsen (1968: 43) found the trenchant formula, "that Sigurd on these monuments must be interpreted as a 'type' of Christ in the allegorical sense, like Samson, David, etc."

Blindheim has also dealt with the Samson – Sigurd relation without knowing Larsen's study, contributing further observations on the combined occurrence of these two figures in church-sculptures from the 12th century, found on capitals in the churches of Lunde and Nes (Telemark, fig. 7), which feature Samson killing the lion and Sigurd killing the dragon strikingly side by side. Blindheim calls this a conscious parallelism. In patristic and medieval teaching Samson was recognized as a 'parallel' of Christ. Samson overpowered the lion just as later on Christ did the devil. Blindheim sees the new dimension of the image of Sigurd's fight with Fáfnir in the fact that, because of this parallel, Sigurd's fight was raised to a sphere in which this heathen event appeared not only unsailable, but even desirable from the point of view of the Church (cf. Blindheim 1973: 25).

The terms "comparison" (Tuulse 1968: 93) or "parallel" (Blindheim 1973: 24–25) do not express the relationship in meaning between figures quite correctly. Larsen already used a better expression with the technical term "type", although he immediately muddled it up by adding "in the allegorical sense".

According to Ohly's fundamental work, one significant aspect of the kind of events known as 'gesta' is the pattern of God's and men's actions in the History of Salvation, to be interpreted according to the typological method (Ohly 1977: ix). "Typology has ... to do ... with facts of history" – the History of Salvation, that is – "which interpret each other" (Ohly 1966: 356). An important feature of typology is that it relates all its objects to Christ. Samson is the type corresponding to, and fulfilled by, its anti-type Christ. Beside this biblical typology with its prediction in the Old and its fulfillment

in the New Testament, Ohly has established a semi-biblical typology, in which the prefigurative part does not derive from the Bible any longer, but from secular or mythological history. Thus Ulysses tied to the mast, Orpheus, or Hercules, can typologically refer to Christ. "Where this happens, classical antiquity assumes a role similar to that of the Old Testament in foreshadowing Christian fulfillment" (Ohly 1966: 361). "Just as Jewish and early Christian synopses of Orpheus and David prepared the way for an Orpheus-Christ typology soon after 1300, so Hercules was prepared for his function as *figura Christi* since the early Middle Ages by his association with figures already well established in this role, such as Jonathan, David, Samson, or Adam" (Ohly 1979: 266–267). Important in this connection is Ohly's observation concerning Thomas's comment on the Song of Songs, namely that "the synopsis of Samson with Hercules brings him to the very point of transition to being himself a type of Christ, without letting him pass the threshold, though" (Ohly 1979: 268). Regarding Ohly, it is also worth noting that "in a context of typological interpretations ... the deeds of Hercules are devoid of an unambiguous perspective within the History of Salvation" (Ohly 1979: 269).

If extra-Biblical acts and figures can be assimilated into typological contexts, one may well ask oneself whether Teutonic figures and acts may not also have been capable of standing in lieu of those from classical antiquity. The typological method of interpretation was known in the North, even if its dissemination, especially that of its speculative variety, does not seem to have been widespread. As a typological example from the Norwegian homiliary (12th cent.; Unger 1864: 72) let me mention one typology based on Romans 5.14: *Hin forne Adam* 'the old Adam' (being the type), who breaks God's law, is related to *hinn nyie Adam, Sa er Cristr* 'the new Adam, who is Christ' (the anti-type), who keeps and fulfills God's law. Adam stands for the time *undir logum* (*sub lege*), Christ for the time *undir miskun* (*sub gratia*) which begins with him.

It is remarkable that all representations of Sigurd discussed up to now appear on Christian monuments. This precludes the possibility that they are illustrations of heathen narratives. The attempt to explain the function of the pictorial representations of Sigurd from Ramsund and Gök by means of the names Sigurd/Sigrid/Sigröd does not seem very helpful; even less so is the hypothetical explanation of such representations as attempts to assert kinship affiliation between the deceased person and mythical figures. The

scene of Sigurd killing the dragon gets its true significance in the context of memorials for the dead only if it is perceived as an indigenous type within a semi-biblical typology, pointing at Christ as anti-type, to whom — according to a christological interpretation — Ps. 90. 13 refers by the words: *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem*. This may be even more relevant in the scenes depicting Sigurd on the beams of church-portals, for here the typological function may be experienced spatially: the church-entrance seems to anticipate that which is consummated within.

If the typological interpretation of this material is correct, other pictorial themes may lend themselves to this approach as well, such as, e. g., the numerous representations of Gunnar in the snakes' pit, found on baptismal fonts. Current biblical typology makes Daniel in the lion's den point at Christ rising unharmed from the jaws of hell. The corresponding typological relationship between Orpheus and Christ should be semi-biblical. In a specific northern modification Gunnar in the snakes' pit may have a corresponding function. Other series of correspondences may eventually be established.

The question remains as to why the Sigurd type is embedded in such an extensive narrative context. I do not have a satisfactory answer. An explanation simply by process of accretion would not do. On the other hand, the assumption of further Christian interpretations to be put upon the birds, the eating of the heart, or the treasure on Grani's back, would be too hypothetical. If, as I suppose, the whole context is based on a naive typology instead of upon a fully developed, speculative one, then it would be conceivable that a narrative attitude just as naive may be responsible for the sequence of consecutive scenes, including the quotation from prehistory. The differences in this respect between, e. g., the altar of Verdun and the portal of Hylestad are, of course, obvious.<sup>4</sup>

## Notes

\* A German version of this paper ('Zur Ikonographie und Ikonologie der Sigurdarstellungen') has appeared in: *Zum Problem Deutung frühmittelalterlicher Bildinhalte*, ed. by Helmut Roth. I should like to thank Beate Mock and especially Klaus R. Grinda for the translation of this paper.

1. Gök is supposed to be a poor copy of Ramsund.

2. Axboe (1975: 55) stated that it is impossible to establish a "Normal-Sigurd"; in respect to the distinctive features of the dragon-slayer I would like to speak of an iconographical standard Sigurd-type.

3. Cf. Lang (1976: 85 fig. 2). Probably the texts of fig. 2 and 3 on this page are confused; the photo of fig. 3 represents "the top of the grave-slab".
4. A photograph of the portal beams of the Hylestad stave-church is found in: Ploss 1966: p. 7 fig. 8a.b; photographs of the Verdun Altar in: Röhrig 1955 pl. 36 (*Destructio inferni*), pl. 37 (*Samson cum leone*).

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Figure 1. Gök rock, Södermanland, Sweden (Margeson 1980: 193, fig. 10)

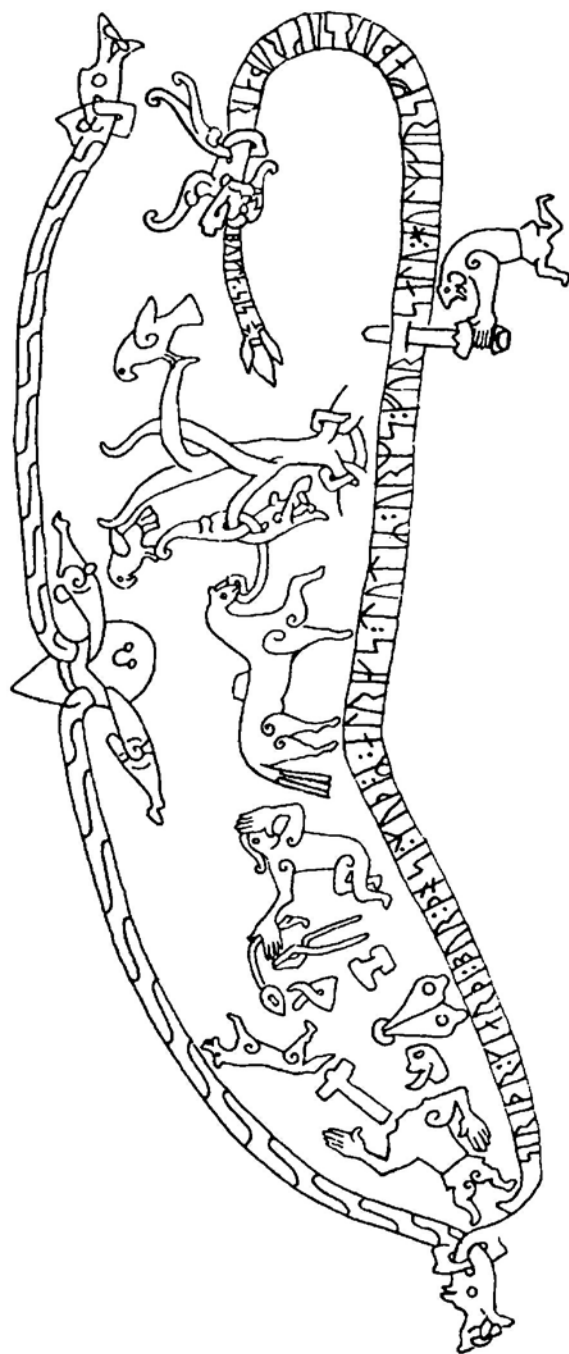
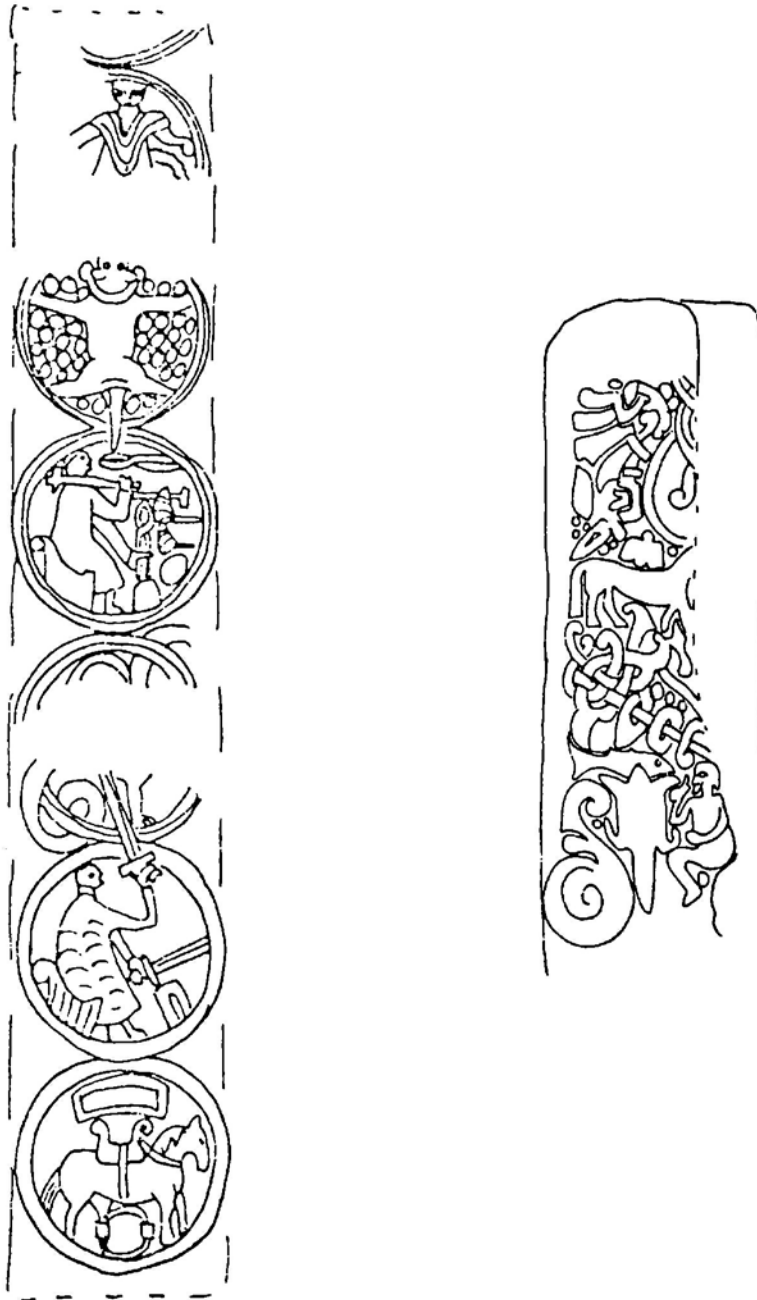


Figure 2. Ramsund rock, Södermanland, Sweden (Margeson 1980: 192, fig. 9)





*Figure 3.* Portal beam on the Norwegian stave-church of Mael (Blindheim 1972–1973: 24, fig. 5)

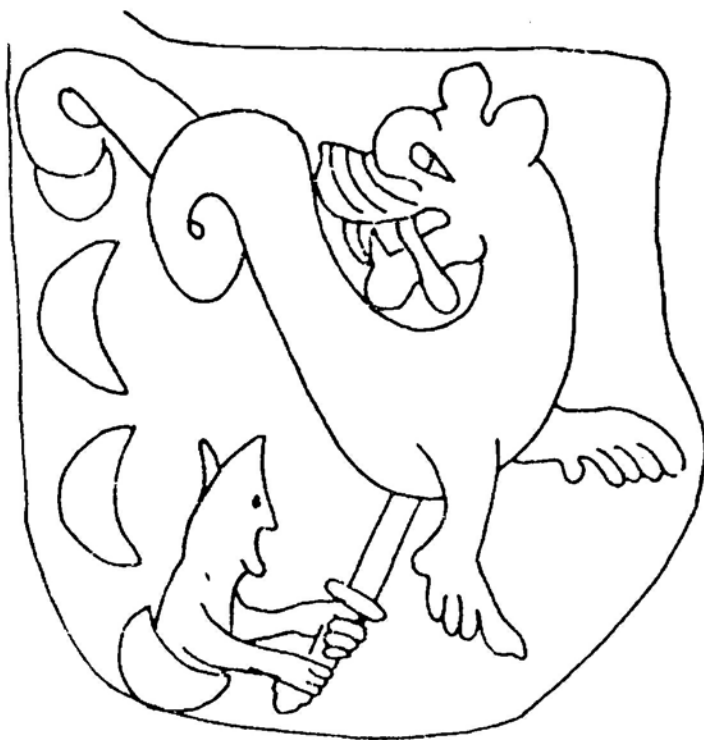
*Figure 4.* Cross-fragment from Maughold (before Ramsey), Isle of Man (Blindheim 1973: 14, fig. 5)



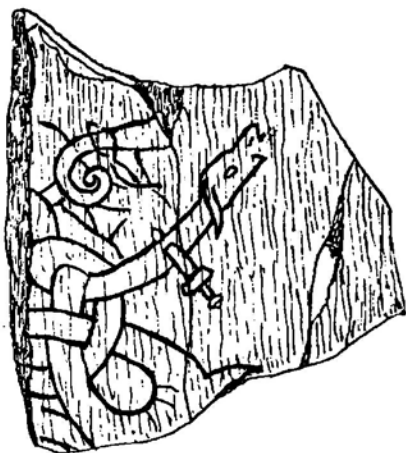
*Figure 5.* Detail of the stone from Årsunda, Gästrikland, Sweden (Jansson 1981: 83, fig. 41)



*Figure 6.* Cross-fragment from Jurby, Isle of Man (Blindheim 1973: 14, fig. 6)



*Figure 7.* Column base from Nes church, Norway (Blindheim 1973: 28, fig. 25)



*Figure 8.* Stone-fragment from Tanberg (Paulsen 1966; pl. XLIV, fig. 74)



*Figure 9.* Axe of Wladimir—Susdal (Paulsen 1966: pl. XLIV, fig. 75)



*Figure 10.* Cross-fragment from Halton, Lancashire (Blindheim 1973: 14, fig. 7)



*Figure 11.* Cross-fragment of Kirby Hill, England (Lang 1974: 14, fig. 2)

*Figure 12.* Portal of the Nesland stave-church, Norway (Blindheim 1972–1973: 24, fig. 4)

## L'oubykh d'Evliya Çelebi: compléments

Georges Dumézil

Mon cher ami,

Nos carrières ont été, en plus d'un point, parallèles. En ceci notamment que, indo-européanistes, nous avons l'un et l'autre saisi de belles occasions qui s'offraient à nous de « faire autre chose »: la connaissance des langues de l'Afrique vous doit beaucoup et, moi, j'ai trouvé beaucoup de plaisir dans les foisonnantes langues caucasiennes. Je m'autorise de cette analogie pour vous présenter quelques réflexions sur un petit dossier oubykh, ma langue de prédilection, langue presque morte puisqu'il ne reste à la bien savoir qu'un seul homme, par bonheur très intelligent et très coopératif, mon ami Tevfik Esenç.

Je vous soumettrai donc des améliorations et des corrections à un article vieux de six ans, « L'oubykh d'Evliya Çelebi », *JA* 1978: 57–66. Dans ces quelques pages, j'avais essayé de restituer les formes oubykh que ce voyageur turc du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle a notées approximativement en caractères arabes dans son *Seyahetname*, avec une traduction parfois infidèle dans sa propre langue. Il n'a pas toujours bien entendu, l'alphabet arabe n'est pas adapté au riche consonantisme des langues caucasiennes et les copistes ont aggravé les inexactitudes: de nombreux échanges ont été faits entre des lettres de forme voisine et surtout des variations dans le nombre des points diacritiques, en sorte que, pour obtenir des mots oubykh authentiques, il faut souvent jouer à l'intérieur des séries graphiques *r z ž* et *w*, *č ĵ ħ* et *h*, *s* et *š*, *ğ* et *f*. Malgré ces mauvaises conditions, presque tout peut être rétabli de façon plausible.

Dans *Caucasica* 11. 1934: 109–116, Robert Bleichsteiner [ici: B] avait déjà bien défriché la matière et je pense avoir amélioré son bilan. Malheureusement l'édition imprimée du *Seyahetname* [ici: SI] dont il s'est servi, et moi après lui, datant de 1896 (Hégire, 1314) semble très fautive. C'est pourquoi un jeune savant italien, M. Elio Provasi, iranisant qui s'intéresse aussi au Caucase [ici: EP], a profité d'un séjour à İstanbul pour consulter un manuscrit de la bibliothèque de Topkapı sarayı, plus correct et plus complet [ici: TK].

Après avoir lu mon article, il m'a généreusement communiqué les résultats de sa collation, avec d'utiles suggestions. J'ai ensuite examiné avec mon *alter ego* Tevfik Esenç le texte ainsi rétabli. Voici ce qui ressort de cette collaboration.

Sur les 36 mots ou phrases que Bleichsteiner et moi avons étudiés, la révision de Provasi confirme nos restaurations et nos interprétations (v. notamment les n° 19, 28, 29). Au n° 3 (le nom de nombre «trois»), TK rectifie la graphie de SI qui nous avait embarrassés: *šh*, et non *škh*, c'est à dire l'authentique *ša* de l'oubykh.

TK 30 (= SI 37) écrit *z<sup>a</sup>bh<sup>a</sup>d<sup>u</sup>wq<sup>u</sup>w*, ce qui est plus proche que SI de ma lecture *za-px'adək<sup>o</sup> wə!* «amène une jeune fille!»

TK 31 (= SI 38) est aussi plus proche de notre restitution: *zabh<sup>a</sup>h d<sup>u</sup>k<sup>u</sup>lm<sup>a</sup>t z<sup>a</sup>nn<sup>a</sup>ys<sup>i</sup> whd*, traduit en turc «kız bulamadım, amma bir oğlan getirdim». L'oubykh est évidemment à lire: *za-px'adək<sup>o</sup> lamət, za-nayn<sup>s</sup><sup>o</sup> — ? —* «il n'y a pas de jeune fille, — ? — un garçon». Mais qu'est le dernier mot? En corrigeant *h* en *j* et *d* en *w* on aurait (*a*)*w* — *j'wə*, forme douce de l'impératif dont *wə* (n° précédent) est la forme vive: «emmène»; en tout cas, une première personne, comme dans le turc, est impossible (l'indice serait *s*).

TK 32 (= SI 30) est *s<sup>i</sup>f<sup>a</sup>g<sup>a</sup>h s<sup>i</sup>k<sup>i</sup>č<sup>u</sup>w<sup>i</sup>ykh*, turc «gel, eve gidelim». Le dernier mot est certainement *wəyk'a* «viens!» et le premier *s-faya* «chez moi». Comment corriger *s<sup>i</sup>k<sup>i</sup>č<sup>u</sup>*? On attendrait *š'k'anaw* «gidelim, allons!» mais *č* pour *n* est difficile.

TK 33 (= SI 31) est *s<sup>i</sup>k<sup>a</sup>h n<sup>u</sup>w s<sup>u</sup> wkah* «gideriz ava, nous allons (ou: allons!) à la chasse». Il faut certainement lire *š'k'anaw* (cf. n° précédent) *š<sup>o</sup> ak' a*. Pour ce dernier mot (Vogt 1639, mais corriger *š<sup>o</sup>* en *š<sup>o</sup>*), v. mon *Verbe oubykh* XIII 50, p. 198. Le turc de SI donne à tort «eve» pour «ava».

TK 34 (= SI 32) donne, en turc, avec un medde sur l'elif, «ne avladınız, qu'avez-vous chassé?» SI donnait «ne oldunuz, qu'êtes-vous devenu?» L'oubykh est écrit SI *srhwd*, TK *s<sup>a</sup>zh<sup>u</sup>wd*, meilleur. Le mot est probablement incomplet, pour *sa-s<sup>o</sup>x<sup>o</sup>əł'aq'an(a-y)?* «que vous-est-il arrivé?» Il n'est pas possible de trouver dans l'oubykh l'équivalent de «chasser» (cf. n° précédent).

TK 35 (= SI 33) donne *h<sup>u</sup>wž g<sup>a</sup>w<sup>i</sup>d ašf<sup>i</sup>d*, qui confirme ma correction de SI en *š<sup>o</sup>a žγ<sup>o</sup>awəyt' ašfəyt'* «nous avons trouvé un porc (sanglier), nous l'avons mangé.»

TK 36 (= SI 34) donne pour traduction turque «domuz semizmi idi, le porc était-il gras?» L'oubykh de TK est en effet *ažq<sup>a</sup>hm<sup>i</sup>dž<sup>a</sup>h h<sup>w</sup>* (SI *rqmdžh<sup>w</sup>*) qu'il faut évidemment lire *ažq'aməy't š'ə-š<sup>o</sup>a*

«notre porc n'était pas gras (*ažq'a*)!», sans doute protestation contre un doute ou une critique; la simple constatation que notre porc n'était pas gras serait, avec une autre place de la négation, *ažq'ayt'ma*.

Les phrases que contient en outre TK et qui ne figurent pas dans SI sont intéressantes.

TK 39. Le turc «Ard vilayetine gittik, nous sommes allés au vilayet d'Ard» rend l'oubykh *ard h<sup>a</sup>š š<sup>i</sup>k<sup>a</sup>h<sup>a</sup>dd*, où *h<sup>a</sup>š* est certainement *qasā*, non pas «vilayet», mais «village». «Nous sommes allés» est *š<sup>i</sup>k''aq'an*: le double *d* de la fin peut-il être une faute de graphie pour *n*? Elle serait considérable.

TK 40. Le turc «ne getirdiniz, qu'avez-vous apporté?» traduit l'oubykh *s<sup>a</sup>y<sup>u</sup>z<sup>i</sup>l š<sup>a</sup>*, qui semble devoir être lu, en corrigeant *z* en *w* et *š* en *s*, *sə.y.wə.wə.yλ sa* «ce que (pluriel) tu m'as apporté, (c'est) quoi?»

TK 41. Le turc «bir siğir getirdik, nous avons amené un taureau» rend l'oubykh *ž<sup>a</sup>q<sup>u</sup>m<sup>a</sup>h ižwid* qui note évidemment, comme le propose EP, *za-g<sup>o</sup>əma ž'wəyt'* «nous avons amené une vache.»

TK 42. Le turc «ne eylediniz, qu'avez-vous fait?» rend l'oubykh *š<sup>a</sup>y<sup>u</sup>wžd<sup>i</sup>l*. En corrigeant *d* en *°* après *ž* qui, de toute façon, ne se relie pas graphiquement à la consonne suivante, on obtient *sa-ywəs'ayλ* (= *-q'ayλ*) «quoi (quelles choses, pl.) tu avais faites!»

TK 43. L'oubykh *'išğ<sup>i</sup>d* «yedik, nous l'avons mangé» est certainement à lire, en corrigeant *ğ* en *f*, soit *aš'fəyt'* (déterminé), soit *yaš'fəyt'* (indéterminé).

L'oubykh d'Evliya Çelebi est donc tout proche de l'oubykh actuel. Les deux différences frappantes sont: 1) les interrogations sans suffixation de l'indice *-(ə)y*; 2) le large usage du passé en *-yt'* (pl. *-yλ*), réduit aujourd'hui à un emploi très limité (*Le verbe oubykh*, IX 17, p. 151), qui recouvre le prétérit usuel de l'abkhaz.





## **Ex Oriente Lux**

### **On the problem of an Asiatic homeland of the Proto-Indo-Europeans**

Thomas V. Gamkrelidze

A reconstruction of the Indo-European proto-language as a real language system having existed in space and time presupposes the presence of definite peoples speaking that language — tentatively called “Proto-Indo-Europeans”, and correspondingly of their original habitat, the so-called “Urheimat”, from which those peoples must have migrated, at different times and in different directions, to their historical places of habitation. This gave rise to the traditional problem of the “Indo-European Urheimat”, which is almost as old as comparative historical Indo-European linguistics itself.

A correct solution of this problem is essential not only for the clarification of areal correlations of dialects with the proto-language and of particular questions of their historical developments and transformations, but also for the ethnogenesis and developmental history of the peoples speaking these dialects. Obviously enough, the trajectories of the movements of the peoples carrying individual Indo-European dialects to the historical areas of their distribution are determined in relation to the localization of the “homeland” and the establishment of the approximate boundaries of the original habitat of the Indo-European peoples. This is important for the reconstruction of the main points of the prehistory of particular Indo-European peoples (more precisely, of the peoples speaking or having spoken Indo-European languages).

The thesis concerning the central European homeland of the Indo-Europeans appeared rather early in Indo-European linguistics. Later on serious objections were raised against this thesis, compelling many researchers to shift the Indo-European homeland eastward and to localize it in the region of the northern Black Sea littoral — in the archaeological area of the “Kurgan” culture. This point of view — ardently upheld at present by the well-known American archeologist M. Gimbutas and her school — is most widespread in modern scholarship.

However, the whole complex of linguistic and cultural historical evidence brought to light by areal research into the Indo-European parent language and its earliest dialects, as well as a semantic analysis of the reconstructed common Indo-European vocabulary, necessitates a fresh statement of the problem of the Proto-Indo-European "homeland", with a new regional and cultural historical solution. In the light of the most recent evidence, the Indo-European "homeland" should be shifted considerably in the south-eastern direction and localized within the Near Eastern area.

The primordial habitat of the speakers of the Indo-European proto-language should be considered a region which, at the time of existence of the common Indo-European language (i. e., in the 4th millennium B. C. and earlier), by its ecological, geographical, and cultural historical characteristics corresponds to the picture obtained on the basis of a linguistic reconstruction of the vocabulary of the proto-language and its comparison with the evidence of historico-geographical, palaeobotanical, and palaeozoological study of particular regions of the Eurasian continent.

The semantics of the entire complex of Proto-Indo-European lexemes, reflecting the environment of the habitat and the material and spiritual culture of the speakers of the ancient Indo-European dialects, points precisely to a Near Eastern (South West Asian) area of primary diffusion of the Indo-European proto-language.

An analysis of definite semantic groups of the reconstructed common Indo-European vocabulary permits the inference that the original habitat of the speakers of Indo-European dialects was a region with a mountainous landscape (which excludes the possibility of localizing the homeland in the northern Black Sea littoral). The evidence of the common Indo-European names of trees and plants (of the type of 'oak', 'stone oak', 'mountain oak', 'acorn', 'beech', 'hornbeam', 'ash'; 'walnut', the names of the 'vine', 'grape', 'wine', etc.) conforming as they do with the characteristics of the mountainous landscape of the Indo-European homeland, unequivocally localize it in comparatively more southern regions of the Mediterranean in the broad sense (including the Balkans and the northern part of the South West Asia). This relatively southern character of the ecological environment of the Indo-European homeland, assumed on the basis of the evidence of the geographical landscape and vegetation, is supported by an analysis of common Indo-European names of animals (of the type of 'leopard', 'lion', 'monkey', 'elephant', 'ivory', 'crab', etc.). Some of these animals, or the

fact of familiarity with them, are specific precisely to a southern geographical area, which excludes Central Europe as a possible original habitat of the speakers of these dialects.

It proves feasible to reconstruct a developed terminology of cattle-breeding and farming for the common Indo-European language. In the 4th millennium B. C., i. e., at the time of existence of the common Indo-European language prior to its differentiation into separate independent dialects, cattle-breeding (as well as farming) was in its embryonic stage in Central Europe.

The reconstructed names of farming crops ('barley', 'wheat', 'flax'), and especially of fruit trees and shrubs, ('apple', 'cornel', 'cherry', 'mulberry', 'vine', etc.) as well as the designations of implements and actions connected with the processing of agricultural produce ('millstone', 'to grind, pound the corn', 'to mill', 'to roast barley grains') definitively point toward a South West Asian area of distribution of the Indo-European proto-language. Implements of this type found their way into Europe from the Middle Eastern area only towards the Iron Age (1st millennium B. C.). The terminology of farming and vine-growing definitely supports the localization of the Indo-European community in regions with highly developed farming (in the 4th millennium B. C. and earlier), i. e., in the southern area extending from the Balkans to the Iranian Plateau, excluding the more northern regions of Europe, into which such cereals as barley penetrated via Asia Minor and the Balkans, becoming the predominant farming crops only towards the end of the second and the beginning of the first millennium B. C. As for the cultured grapevine, it derives from the Transcaucasian – South West Asian center of farming.

Particularly valuable in establishing the original habitat of ancient Indo-Europeans and in localizing the Indo-European homeland in the South West Asian area is the Indo-European terminology of wheeled transport – the names of chariots and their component parts ('wheel', 'axle', 'harness', 'yoke', 'pole'), the metal (bronze) needed for manufacturing wheeled vehicles from hardwood from mountain forests, and draft force – the domesticated horse already used for economic and war purposes by the speakers of the Indo-European proto-language. The start of manufacture of wheeled vehicles dates from ca. the fourth millennium B. C. According to the latest evidence the area from Transcaucasia to Upper Mesopotamia, between lakes Van and Urmia, should be considered the original centre of their diffusion. From the Near Eastern area of

the Early Bronze Age, wheeled vehicles spread to the Volga-Urals region, the northern Black Sea littoral, the Balkans, and Central Europe. The same territory is one of the possible areas of the domestication, or at any rate the spread, of the already domesticated horse and its use as a draft animal.

Apart from this, the entire character of the common Indo-European material and spiritual culture and socio-economic relations (in particular the presence of special social ranks and the role of the priests) points to the closeness of the bearers of this culture to the ancient Near Eastern area. The common Indo-European mythology is close to Ancient Eastern mythological traditions not only typologically, but also in respect to particular mythological plots and images (the motif of the primordial unity of man and earth, reflected in their names, reference to God as the shepherd of the souls of the dead, the mythological images of the bull, the lion, the panther, the motif of the stealing of the apple, etc.) — all these show analogies precisely in Ancient Eastern traditions, under the influence of which a common Indo-European mythology must have taken shape.

In the fifth-fourth millennia B. C., the entire pattern of culture and the socio-economic system, as reconstructed according to the vocabulary for the Proto-Indo-European community, is typologically characteristic of the early civilizations of the Ancient Near East. The common Indo-European culture typologically belongs to the sphere of Ancient Eastern civilizations.

The proofs adduced in favor of the South West Asian localization of the homeland of the Indo-Europeans accord with arguments of a different kind. The Proto-Indo-European area should be localized in a region in which interaction and contacts could occur between the Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Semitic and Proto-Kartvelian languages in which whole lexical strata, borrowed from one language into another, are found. In this respect, special interest attaches to the lexical stratum in Indo-European which can be viewed as containing borrowings from Semitic, represented predominantly by lexemes designating domestic animals, cultured plants, tools and weapons (battle axes), and numerals, i. e., words especially liable to borrowing due to their semantic specificities. A group of words borrowed from common Indo-European is also detectable in the Kartvelian proto-language. Common Indo-European, Kartvelian, and Semitic are united typologically also by the fact that their consonant systems were characterized by the presence of three series

of stops specified as *glottalized*, *voiced* (aspirates), and *voiceless* (aspirates).

The same is indicated also by the presence in the Indo-European proto-language of cultural loans from other languages of the Ancient Near East (Sumerian and Egyptian), as well as by the evidence of contacts of Indo-European with such ancient languages as Hattic, Elamite, and Hurrian.

In solving the problem of identification of the hypothetical original habitat of the Proto-Indo-Europeans with the area of occurrence of particular archaeological cultures, it should be noted that no culture has been hitherto discovered for the fifth-fourth millennia B. C. that could be unambiguously correlated with the Proto-Indo-Europeans. One can speak only of possible relations — direct or indirect — of the known South West Asian archaeological cultures with their reconstructed proto-Indo-European counterpart. At present one can only pose the general problem of the possible correlation of the familiar archaeological cultures of this historical region in the fifth-fourth millennia B. C. with the assumed common Indo-European culture. Some of the ancient archaeological cultures discovered in Western Asia (of the Halaf- and the earlier Çatal-Hüyük-type, as well as cultures directly or indirectly continuing or supplanting them, in particular the Ubaid one and the cultures of the Kura-Araxes cycle) have a number of features comparable with the Proto-Indo-European culture reconstructed on the basis of linguistic evidence.

Accepting the hypothesis of a South West Asian habitat of the Proto-Indo-Europeans completely changes the traditional picture of the ethnogenesis and trajectories of the migrations of the peoples speaking individual Indo-European dialects and dialectal communities from the original area of diffusion to the places of their historical settlement. In the light of the new hypothesis of the Proto-Indo-European “homeland”, only a slight shift westward of the speakers of the Hittite-Luwian dialects and of Common Greek should be assumed, bringing them to the central and western parts of Asia Minor (cf. the evidence of sources on Ahhiyawa dating from mid-second millennium B. C.); from here Greek dialects later spread to continental Greece and the Aegean islands.

The numerous borrowings of Indo-European words into Central Asian languages (Turkic, Mongolian, Jenisei, as well as Finno-Ugric) and of words from the latter languages into individual ancient Indo-European dialects may serve as evidence of migrations

of another group of ancient Indo-European dialects in the opposite direction — to the east and further through Central Asia to Europe. This is the migrational path from their original habitat that the speakers of the “ancient European” dialectal community must have traversed; later this dialectal community gave rise to separate language entities: Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Balto-Slavic — tentatively called “ancient European” according to the area held by them in historical times. The same path to Europe was, in all probability, taken by early Iranians as well, leaving numerous borrowings in Finno-Ugric languages. Later on, already in historical times, they were followed by the speakers of individual east-Iranian dialects (Scythians, Sarmatians).

The speakers of “ancient European” dialects moved from their original habitat evidently through Central Asia, and farther westward — in repeated migrational waves, settling in the intermediate area of the Black Sea littoral and the Volga region; here they formed, during a definite period of time, a special dialectal community.

This hypothetical area of settlement of the speakers of the “ancient European” dialects, which must have appeared in this region towards the third millennium B.C., was precisely the area of the so-called “Kurgan” culture (i. e., the Proto-Indo-European “homeland” according to the hypothesis of M. Gimbutas). Thus, the theory localizing the Proto-Indo-European “homeland” in this region, under such an interpretation, assumes a new meaning as a hypothesis of a common territory exclusively held by the Western group of Indo-European languages. From here — already towards the end of the second millennium B.C. — the speakers of “ancient European” dialects gradually spread over the European continent, pushing back the local “pre-Indo-European” population. The spread of “ancient European” dialects from this common secondary area (in a certain sense “a secondary, intermediate homeland” of peoples speaking dialects of their own) to a new territory in a western direction (later, in Central and Western Europe) marked the beginning of a gradual emergence of individual language entities: Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Baltic, Slavic — and with them, of the peoples speaking these languages.

The entire complex of linguistic, ethnogenetic, and cultural-historical problems linked with the postulation of a special system of an Indo-European “proto-Language” and the advancement of a hypothesis of a South West Asian homeland of the Indo-Europeans is dealt with in detail in a two-volume monograph entitled *Indo-*

*evropejskij jazyk i indevropajcy* ('Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans') (Tbilisi: Izdatel'stvo Tbilisskogo universiteta, 1984), written jointly with V. V. Ivanov. The book, an English translation of which will be published by Mouton de Gruyter, also contains a vocabulary of Proto-Indo-European lexemes reconstructed according to a new phonological pattern and arranged in semantic groups; the lexemes are analyzed with respect to both their form and to the material and cultural historical content of their "signata". This reconstructed Proto-Indo-European semantic vocabulary serves as the actual basis for an investigation of areal problems of the Indo-European proto-Language, as well as of an analysis of problems of Indo-European homeland and Indo-European migrations.





## A bouquet of Armenian birds for Edgar Polomé\*

John A. C. Greppin

Though the subject of Armenian bird names has been dealt with in considerable detail elsewhere (Greppin 1978), and though the precise value of almost all of the Classical Armenian bird names is well understood, a discussion of these facts prompted by a newly discovered source is always a pleasure. Further, new information about the later Middle Armenian bird names, also touched upon in this new source, is even more welcome as this period of Armenian culture remains a murky area linguistically, philologically, and historically.

The new source I will use for these bird names is the recently discovered Galen Dictionary. The manuscripts, about which I have written earlier (Greppin 1982a, b, 1984), contain a Greek-Armenian lexicon, entirely in Armenian script, that deals with the technical vocabulary appearing in the original Greek edition of Galen's *Simples* (cf. Kühn 1821–1830. 11: 379–12: 377). Galen's *Simples* is an extensive pharmacological work in which the medical properties and value of an extensive number of plants is detailed. It is generally assumed that this Armenian lexicographic work, designed apparently for Armenian physicians whose knowledge of Greek botanic terms was uncertain, was originally written sometime during or shortly after the sixth century, during that Armenian literary period in which the 'Hellenizing School' flourished.

It was the Hellenizing School that was responsible for the preservation of the complete text of the grammarian Dionysius Thrax, for the preservation of many of the Old Testament commentaries by Philo the Hebrew, and for many other valuable renderings which have made our world richer both linguistically and exegetically. And, so our thinking goes, it was probably this same School that expressed an interest in the Greek version of Galen.<sup>1</sup>

The Armenians of the earliest literate period — the fifth and sixth centuries — were intense admirers of Greek culture, and the earliest Armenian church had rites and rituals closer to Greek ones than to those of the more contiguous Syriac church. It was only to preserve

their own identity that the Armenians spurned both Greek and Syriac theology and, creating also an alphabet suitable for their language, devised their own independent liturgy. But the strongest influence was from Greek Christian thinking. The Armenians quickly translated the Greek works of such theologians as John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, and Irenaeus. Their interest went well beyond Greek theology; it also extended to the classical philosophers and major parts of the works of Plato and Aristotle were translated, as was the popular novel of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the *Alexander Romance*. Likewise, the Armenians were interested in matters of health. In the writings of their native physicians there is frequent mention of the Greek medical writer Dioscorides (first century AD), and the greatest of all Greek physicians, Galen (ca. 129 – 199).<sup>2</sup>

Though literacy in Greek had been part of Armenian culture long before the Armenians had their own alphabet and a written language, any Armenian reader of Galen's Greek text would certainly have had trouble with the technical vocabulary. And even though an educated Armenian might easily understand Greek philosophical or theological texts, certainly some of the pharmaceutical vocabulary found in Galen was obscure. Of this technical vocabulary, perhaps the most abundant included the names of hundreds of different plants that were used in preparing prescriptions. Such specialized vocabulary would pose a serious problem even for a Hellenophilic Armenian of the fifth or sixth century. It is for these Armenian readers of Galen's Greek that this lexicon was prepared.

The lexicon is written entirely in Armenian script, with the Greek word (in Armenian script) first, followed by the Armenian gloss. Not surprisingly, the Armenized Greek words have suffered greatly at the hands of a long string of copyists, and many of the pharmacological terms are absolutely beyond redemption. In some instances, even with a clear Armenian gloss, it is impossible to imagine what the original Greek plant name was, so badly is the spelling corrupted.

And though this is the sad state of the pharmacological words, this dictionary also contains, quite perplexingly, a number of bird names, and these have been damaged little by the copyists' hands. They are, by a large, easily readable and this gives us cause to suggest that these bird names, most of which surely do not exist in any Galenic text, were added separately and at a later date than the original pharmaceutical vocabulary. Supporting this assumption

is the fact that though the great majority of the bird names are found early in Armenian literature, some of the terms which are noted in the lexicon are otherwise known only from the Middle Armenian period, from the twelfth century or later. If we were to assume that the pharmaceutical part of the dictionary dates from the fifth or sixth century, then the bird names would have been added over half a millennium later.

The appearance of these bird names in the lexicon remains a problem. At first it was thought that these words, which are without doubt certainly the names of birds, were also actually used less commonly as plant names. This was certainly true in the case of Gk. γλαύξ, a common word for 'owl' but also a less common word with the meaning 'wart cress, *Senebiera coronopus* (Coronopus procumbens)'. From this it was first assumed (cf. Greppin 1984 fn. 2) that Galen's word for 'wart cress', Gk. γλαύξ (Kühn XI.857) was, in this dictionary, mishandled by the Armenian translator who glossed it with a more obvious, though less exact 'bu', the Armenian word for 'owl', rather than Arm. *xozkotemn* 'wart cress'.

But as the number of bird names multiplied it soon became evident that they were separate additions to the lexicon. Certainly they were not plant names glossed in error as avian species; they were truly, and quite perplexingly, entered as bird names, and it is in that form that they were faithfully copied for hundreds of years. A justification for their presence, however, is not possible, for although birds play a strong role in the illumination of Armenian manuscripts, and though birds occur frequently in Middle Armenian poetry,<sup>3</sup> they have no special pertinency to Armenian biological thought in general, nor Armenian medicine in particular.

The following is an annotated list of those bird names which are mentioned in the Galen Dictionary. The entries in this list are divided into two sections; those names which are known from the earliest Armenian literature, usually of the fifth century and most often from the Bible itself; and secondly, those names which we know only from the Middle Armenian period, beginning in the twelfth century.

1. ἀετός — *arcui* 'eagle' (the Greek form is spelled *ayētos*, *aytaws*). Arm. *arcui* is known in Armenian literature from the earliest period, and appears in the Bible thirty-six times, usually translating Gk. ἀετός.

2. ἀλιάετος — *getarcui* 'sea-eagle' (*heliaton*, *hiliaton*); twice in the Bible = Gk. ἀλιάετος. Arm. *getarcui* might also mean 'osprey' but this is difficult to confirm.
3. γέρανος — *xord* 'crane' (*geranos*). Bible vacat, but in the Armenian version of St. Basil's *Hexaemeron* (Barseł 1830: 163), Gk. γέρανος is replaced by Arm. *xord*.<sup>4</sup>
4. γλαύξ — *bu* (*glukas*, *glukay*, *gluka*<sup>5</sup>). Arm. *bu* appears thrice in the Bible, rendering each time Gk. γλαύξ.
5. γύψ — *angl* 'vulture' (*gip'a*, *gip'ay*<sup>6</sup>). Arm. *angl* appears five times in the Bible, translating Gk. γύψ.
6. ἔποψ — *yopop* 'hoopoe' (*hiapos*, *hiawpos*, *hiopos*). Arm. *yopop* appears three times in the Bible, replacing Gk. ἔποψ.
7. ἐρωδιός — *aragil* 'heron, stork' (*eridion*, *eredion*<sup>7</sup>). This is an interesting gloss, for Gk. ἐρωδιός is almost always the 'heron', and Arm. *aragil* is without question the 'stork'. We would thus have expected the gloss of Arm. *jknak'al*. That we do not get this gloss, but rather find *aragil* 'stork' (Twice in the Bible for Gk. κύκνος 'swan'!!) reminds one of an observation made by Thomson (1936: 103) where he notes this type of confusion in the *Cyranides*, a second century A.D. text.
8. ἰκτῖνος — *c'in* 'kite' (*knidi*, *kinidi*, *k'itin*<sup>8</sup>). Arm. *c'in* appears in the Bible three times, twice replacing Gk. ἰκτῖνος, and once Gk. ἰβίς 'ibis', doubtlessly in error.
9. καταρράκτης — *holamal* 'cormorant' (*katahak'tēs*, *katahratkes*, *katahrak'tēn*). Arm. *holamal* is found twice in the Bible, rendering Gk. καταρράκτης.  
Thomson (1936: 131–132) claims that Gk. καταρράκτης does not stand for the 'cormorant' but rather is a 'shearwater'. But that Arm. *holamaf* is the equivalent of Gk. καταρρακτής is clear from the Bible, and Middle Armenian descriptions of the *holamaf* show that it cannot be a 'shearwater' (Greppin 1978: 106–107).
10. κόραξ — *agraw* 'raven or crow; any of the *corvidae*' (*koraks*, *kotoraks*). Thirteen times found in the Bible, usually the equivalent of Gk. κόραξ.
11. κορώνη — *ori* 'crow; rook' (*koroni*). Twice in the Bible, once rendering Gk. κορώνη 'raven', once νυκτικόραξ 'long-eared owl'. The biblical situation is quite complex since the original Hebrew has *qōr'ē* 'partridge', and neither the Greek nor the Armenian

equivalents have anything to do with that. But it does seem likely that Gk. κορώνη was used for the 'rook' (Thomson 1936: 168–169), which corresponds to the central thrust of the evidence for Arm. *ori* as well.

12. κύκνος — *karap* 'swan' (*kawkon*, *kwkon*, *kiwkon*). Twice in the Bible, translating Gk. κύκνος.

13. λάρος — *čay* 'gull' (*lalays*, *lalus*, *lalos*). In the Bible, Gk. λάρος is rendered by Arm. *oror* and *čay*, both having the value 'gull'.

14. νυκτικόραξ — *hawapatir* 'owl' perhaps 'long-eared owl, *Asio otus*'. In the *Septuagint*, Gk. νυκτικόραξ largely replaces Hebr. *kōš* 'owl', and this practice is continued in one place (*Lev.* 11,17)<sup>9</sup> by Arm. *hawapatir*; this instance here in the Galen dictionary is the only other known location for this fifth-century word.

15. ὄρνιξ — *lor* 'quail' (*otrodin*, *odrot*, *odrotin*). It is unclear whether to include this word with the fifth-century vocabulary, or with the later material. In the Bible, an extended form appears, *loramargi*, literally 'field-quail', and this is also the term that appears elsewhere in other fifth-century authors such as Agathangelos or Ephraim. The simplex, *lor* alone, is known only from the twelfth century, in Mkhitar Gosh, and in the late medieval quatrains of Kirakos Episkopos. And though the *Hexaameron* has *lor* (Barseł 1830: 89), the condition of this text is so poor, that we cannot use it to support an argument. But surely, if *loramargi* existed, it seems reasonable that the simplex *lor* did too, and we note *loranoc* 'quail cage' in the fifth-century Armenian version of the *Alexander Romance*.

16. πάων — *siramarg* 'peacock' (*pawoni*, *payawni*, *pavoni*). Twice in the Bible, rendering Gk. τῶς.

17. πέρδιξ — *kak'aw* 'partridge' (*perdikon*, *perdkon*, *perk'on*, *pergpn*). Twice in the Bible as a translation of Gk. πέρδιξ.

18. περιστέρα — *alawni* 'pigeon' (*peristeri*, *peresterin*). Found in the Bible forty times, usually rendering Gk. περιστέρα. *alawni* is used indiscriminately for either 'dove' or 'pigeon'.

19. στρουθοκάμηλος — *jaylamn* 'ostrich' (*strout'ukamwlin*, *strout'ukamelin*). Seven times found in the Bible for Gk. στρουθός. In one manuscript the entry is further continued as *or ē tazalušin* 'which is the *tazalušin*', a word, apparently for 'ostrich', that is not otherwise known and whose etymology is obscure.

20. τρωγλοδύτης — *čnčluk* (*trogolid/t/t'ēs*) 'wren, sparrow'. This gloss is puzzling since Arm. *čnčluk* appears eight times in the Bible replacing Gk. στρουθίον 'sparrow', and *čnčluk* is a common word continued into Modern Armenian as 'sparrow'. Gk. τρωγλοδύτης is an uncommon term, appearing late in literature, and poorly documented as well. Its value, literally 'hole-enterer', is most appropriate for the 'wren', however. There is the distinct possibility that it was understood as a word for any small brown bird.

21. φάσα — *hawp'al* (*p'asa*) 'pigeon, dove'; possibly the 'ringdove' (*hawp'al*, *hōbal*). Arm. *hawp'al* is lacking in the Bible; it appears in the fifth-century *Hexaemeron* mistranslating Gk. ψάρ 'starling' (Barseł 1830: 39), and is cited in the sixth century *De animalibus* of Philo.

22. χηνάριον — *sag* 'goose' (*k'enarin*, *k'inarin*). No word for 'goose' appears in the Bible, though in the fifth-century *Hexaemeron* Gk. χήν is replaced by Arm. *sag* (Barseł 1830: 173). The form χηνάριον we find in this dictionary is a diminutive of χήν, and is known only from the later Greek language. There is no evidence that χηνάγριον 'wild goose' was intended.<sup>10</sup>

These twenty-two bird names are all known from the earliest level of Armenian literature; furthermore, with only a few contestable exceptions, they represent birds which are quite common; none is an *avis rara*. Two words might have a diagnostic dating potential. For though all of the twenty-two words are known from the fifth century, *ori* 'rook' and *hawapatir* 'owl', are not known outside of the earliest literature. If the bird names discussed were placed in this lexicon in medieval times, as some of the words presently to be mentioned clearly were, then at least *ori* and *hawapatir* would have to represent a separate, earlier tradition.

The following seven words, however, are clearly different from the preceding twenty-two, for these words are not known in early literature. And though some seem to be *hapax legomena*, known only in this Galen dictionary, others are attested in Middle Armenian literature.

1. κερκορῶνος — *čayek* 'jackdaw' (*kerkoroni*, *kerkorouni*). Arm. *čayek* (or *čayeak*) is known from the twelfth century, from the fables of Mkhitar Gosh, and Vardan. This is entirely a baffling entry, for the Greek bird name κερκορῶνος is otherwise a *hapax*, appearing

only in Aelian (Greppin 1983). To suggest that the word is an erroneously copied form of Gk. κορώνη 'crow', with graphic reduplication, is unlikely since that word appears elsewhere in this dictionary.

2. κορυδαλλός — *artoyt* 'lark' (*korit'aros*, *koriralos*, *koridalos*, *koriralos*). This word is first found in Grigor Magistros, the eleventh century grammarian, and in Vardan's fables (twelfth century). Curiously, the word appears as a proper name in the fifth-century *Chronicles* of Faustos Buzand (1889: 230) but Adjarian (1942. 1: 319) notes that this use is a hapax.

3. πελεκανός — *p'arp'ar* 'coot'? or 'pelican'? (*peliganon*, *peliak'anon*, *peliganon*). There are three similar Greek word, πελεκῖνος 'pelican' which appears in Aristophanes; πελεκάν, which is the more standard and certainly more broadly used term; and finally, πελεκανός which appears in the *Codex Harleianus*, a Greek-Latin glossary from the time of the Empire. It is there entered as *πελεκανος θαλασσιον ορνεον fulica*, or 'the coot' (Goetz 1888. II: 400). Clearly the form πελεκανός which we seem to have here is a unique form, as is its gloss. What increases the problem even more is that the Armenian gloss, *p'arp'ar*, is otherwise unknown. Yet the term in the lexicon is clearly πελεκανός, and not one of the other alternatives.

An effort might be made to define *p'arp'ar* through etymology, and indeed there are some possible candidates for loan origin. The Persian *parpar* is probably a 'partridge'.<sup>11</sup> Yet in Arabic the *furfur* is glossed by Lane<sup>12</sup> as a small aquatic bird, and this word could appear in Armenian as *p'arp'ar*, and its gloss does correspond to 'coot' rather than 'pelican'. But there is no obvious solution. What does seem clear is that this entry is unlikely to be from the fifth century.

4. στρίξ — *nuartak* 'owl' (*strič*). Though Gk. στρίξ is well known, the Armenian term *nuartak* is known only from this instance, though it is elsewhere known as a type of mustard plant. This though does not seem appropriate here since *strič* comes close only to Gk. στρίξ and not to any Greek term for 'mustard'.

5. ψάρος — *sard* 'starling' (*p'saros*). Arm. *sard* is otherwise unknown as a bird name, though elsewhere the word is common as the standard expression for 'spider'; in the *Haybusak* it is also noted as a type of plant.



6. *ὠρίς* — *arōs* 'bustard' (*oti*). The Armenian term is known earliest in the *Chronicle* of Smbat Sparapet (13th century) and in the late medieval quatrains of Kirakos Episkopos. It is, without question, the 'bustard' (Greppin 1978: 105).

From all this there seems to be clear evidence that at least some of these bird names must have been inserted into the dictionary in the early medieval period. The evidence that other bird names used were from a much earlier period is of interest only in those two instances in which we do not have indications that these words existed in the living language after the early Golden Age of Armenian literature. Yet even their scanty appearance in Middle Armenian literature is not wholly conclusive since we have abundant evidence that Middle Armenian writers were apt to resurrect early vocabulary artificially using it in their writing. Grigor Narekatsi, the great poet of the 10th–11th centuries, is well-known for his use of words that had dropped out of use before his time. And it is still something we see in the living Armenian language today, when writers will reach deep into their dictionaries to find a word which was used last centuries or even a millennium earlier.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, in spite of the fact that there is no actual attestation of *ori* and *hawapatir* in medieval times, it — on the strength of the last-mentioned six terms found first in Middle Armenian — seems best to assume that the entire inventory of bird names was added to the Galen dictionary at a later date.

## Notes

- \* This paper was completed under a grant from the National Institute of Health.
- 1. Arab versions of Galen date from the ninth century, and though it is evident from the Middle Armenian physicians that Arab medicine had an influence on Armenian medical thought, it seems clear that the Armenians did not gain access to Galen through Arabic rather than Greek.
- 2. Galen was born in Pergamon, in Roman Asia Minor; he began the study of medicine at the age of fourteen; in his studies he traveled widely, from Smyrna to Corinth to Alexandria. After working as a gladiatorial physician, he came to Rome in 161 or 162, and eventually, because of his excellence, came to the attention of the ruling class.
- 3. Here one must think of the ninety quatrains, 'The Praise of Birds' (*Govank' t'řč'noc'*) which, formerly attributed to Hovhannes Vardapet (Tchobanian 1929: 165–179), are now known to have been written by a certain Kirakos Episkopos (Mnac'akanyan 1980).

4. There is another entry: *geranos* — *igrika*. The entry appears in the manuscripts exactly as *geranos*, or more often as *gerianos* (but in less reliable texts). Both forms might be corruptions for Gk. γεράνιον 'geranium' or for the same word with the meaning 'bandage'. The gloss, supposedly Arm. *igrika*, means nothing, nor is it even Armenian in shape.
5. The Armenian letters *a* and *s* are very close in form.
6. Again, an earlier Arm. *s* has changed its shape to an *a*; here this observation is supported by the aspirate *p'*, which is the normal labial stop used before an *-s* in Armenian transliteration of Greek; similarly, Gk. *ksi* is usually transliterated as Arm. *k's*, not *ks*.
7. The final *-n* of the Armenian transcription replaced graphically similar *s*.
8. The alphabetical order used in the dictionary is the Armenian, not the Greek one. Note though that the entry *knidi* would have appeared at the juncture of *iota* and *kappa* were this dictionary in the order of the Greek alphabet.
9. The book of *Leviticus* must have been an early Christian nightmare for the translator. It contains a plethora of terms from the realm of nature, and some of the species mentioned in the original Hebrew simply did not exist in Greece, nor did a word for them do so. In its turn, the Armenian version of *Leviticus*, translated from a Greek original, was one more step removed from the source, thus allowing further errors to creep in.
10. An entry *ninēs* — *sag* also exists, though instead of Arm. *sag* many manuscripts have *sut* 'false' or *sug* 'grief'. Neither of these last two glosses are of any interest. The supposed Greek word *ninēs* might well be a corruption of νέσσα (*Job* 39,13), which in turn was from a Hebrew *notsah*. The meaning of this word is unclear, but it is a large bird, possibly the ostrich. A gloss here of Arm. *sag* might represent an attempt to answer this difficult question in the book of *Job*. See Greppin (1978: 3).
11. The term is not used in contemporary Persian ornithological literature, and therefore cannot be found in the authoritative *Parandegān Irān* (Scott et al. 1975).
12. According to Lane's *Arabic-English dictionary* (p. 2357, column 2), we further learn that the bird is smaller than a duck or goose, which in any case would rule out 'pelican' but not 'coot'.
13. This can be done in a language whose canonical shape has changed little from its earliest times. The ancient word *ori* 'rook' and *hawapatir* 'owl' do not look in the least strange to a contemporary Armenian; but the ancient English words for the same birds, *hroc* and *ule*, certainly seem odd to a contemporary reader of English. An example of this process in Armenian can be found in Narekatsi where he draws out a hapax from the Old Testament and tries to use it in his ninth century poetry (Greppin 1980).

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## The Indo-European terms for ‘marriage’

Eric P. Hamp

I agree entirely with Martin Schwartz’s basic analysis of PIE \**ǵem-* (*Monumentum H. S. Nyberg, Acta Iranica* II. 1975. 195–211). The following notes are offered to refine or supplement certain of Schwartz’s statements and to deal with a topic from Indo-European social institutions that I hope will interest our dear friend Edgar.

I think Schwartz is quite correct in discriminating (p. 206) two roots referring to two distinct parts of aspects of the Indo-European marriage, \**ǵem-* and what he writes as \**wed(H)-*. Regarding the latter and his footnote 16 (p. 199), he has apparently not seen my article on \**H<sub>u</sub>ed(h)-* (*Die Sprache* 14. 1968. 156–159, 15. 1969. 63 – see also *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* 13. 1970. 255–256 and *Ériu* 23. 1972. 230–231 on further reflexes of this base). But now my article has been placed in need of revision by the observations of Werner Winter (in Jacek Fisiak, ed., *Recent developments in historical phonology* [1978], 443–444) whereby the length seen in Slavic *věno* points to Winter’s root \**Ewed-* ‘give marriage presents’ (I am not yet sure of the precise analysis of *nevěsta*). On the other hand, I cannot agree with Winter (p. 444) that \**wedh-* ‘lead’ and \*(*E*)*wed-* simply got confused on a wide scale. I have remarked (*Die Sprache* 14: 159) that, with the exception of the isolated Indic noun *vadhū*, the verb ‘lead’ under discussion here appears only in those Indo-European dialects which merge the mediae and the aspirates. Surely this is not an accident. On the basis of the Celtic evidence it appears that where any aspiration is involved we have to do with a set form \**H<sub>e</sub>uēdH-*.

We may now, I think, pose our problem in a strikingly different way: If the roots \**H<sub>e</sub>uēd-* ‘give marriage presents, *vel sim.*’ and \**H<sub>e</sub>uēdH-* ‘lead’ were originally distinct, why did ‘lead’ survive in just the dialects where it would have merged or been confused with \**H<sub>e</sub>uēd-* and die out in those dialects which could have preserved the distinction? This seems to be a development counter to the classic Gilliéronian model. Yet I believe we have a set of assumptions adequate to motivate the observed outcome, but on different grounds.

We will assume that *\*H<sub>e</sub>uēdH-* 'lead' was also used idiomatically in Indo-European with the semantics which we see continued in Latin *in matrimonium ducere*. Now depending on the phonetic context which followed, *\*H<sub>e</sub>uēdH-* developed now as if *\*(H<sub>e</sub>)uēd-*, now as if *\*(H<sub>e</sub>)uēdh-*; in the dialects which preserved the opposition *\*d ≠ \*dh*, this resulted in seriously diverging allomorphs. Moreover, the variant *\*(H<sub>e</sub>)uēd-* 'lead' could be mistaken for 'give marriage presents', particularly in contexts where 'lead in marriage' was meant. Such conflicting divergences would lead to the abandonment of the offending verb base altogether. Now in dialects where *\*d* and *\*dh* merged, the banal meaning 'lead' would be attached to the single surviving phonetic form in preference over the rarer and more specialized technical meaning involving marriage presents. Thus we find *\*(H<sub>e</sub>)uēd(H)-* 'lead' triumphing precisely where a consistent phonetic-semantic correlation was automatically assured.

It seems to me that Schwartz is clearly correct (p. 200) in attributing to *\*ǵem-* the primary meaning of 'pairing, coupling', which is reflected in Rig-Vedic *vi-jāman-* 'paired, twin' and Latin *geminus*. The development of the sense 'twin' for Irish *emon* from the base *\*ǵem-* 'grasp together' is, as Schwartz implies, quite another matter (see my discussions *Ériu* 24. 1973. 172–174, *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 27. 34–35). Then Gk. *gámos* and *gaméō* simply reflect a specialized sense of 'mating', derived from 'pairing'. Schwartz correctly distinguishes the root *\*ǵem-* from Gk. *gem-* < *\*gem-* 'press, grasp'. On the other hand, he is well advised to follow Szemerényi in rejecting any laryngeal in the base of Gk. *gaméō* (footnote 26). We must then see the product of a revocalization in the noun Gk. *gámos* (probably avoiding homophony with Gk. *gómos*, just as Schwartz suggests on p. 206).

I cannot, however, agree with Schwartz in his analysis (pp. 204–205) of Gk. *gambrós* as *\*gom(e)ró-* < *\*gomó-*. The presence of *-b-* requires that we reconstruct *\*gamró-*, and the simplest assumption for the last is a pre-form *\*ǵmró-*. This provides us exactly with a well-formed PIE *\*ǵm-ró-*, i. e., an intransitive (active) quasi-participle of the type Gk. *eruthrós*, OHG *bittar* which I have discussed in *Festschrift Hansjakob Seiler*. Latin *gener* is of course the same formation, and confirms its antiquity, but with the well-known attraction to *\*ǵenH<sub>e</sub>-*. It should be noted that Albanian *dhândër* and Slavic *zētī*, while showing paradigmatic revision in suffixes, do not actually require a crossing with *\*ǵenH<sub>e</sub>-* so far as the nasal is concerned; but the syllabic intonation and the vocalism require a

lengthening which the laryngeal would supply. Note now that while \**ǵm-ró-* is a very ancient formation and easily possible as a term of Proto-Indo-European date, it was a productive formation at that time and therefore might well not have been the only term for 'bridegroom, son-in-law'.

We may now draw together our results, which differ considerably from Benveniste's<sup>1</sup> and expand upon Schwartz's, for the Proto-Indo-European notion 'marriage'. We recover a terminology for the following acts which were institutionalized in Proto-Indo-European society:

- \**prek-* 'ask, beg; sue in marriage, initiate proposal of marriage' (for the reconstruction and the semantics see my remarks *AGI* 59. 1974. 32–33 and *KZ* 91. 1977. 242–243; this polysemy has of course been recognized for a long time);
- \**H<sub>e</sub>ued-* 'give marriage presents, *vel sim.*' (perhaps this term referred to the formal agreement reached, signifying a specific contract or pledge);
- \**H<sub>e</sub>uedH-* 'lead'; (idiomatically) *ducere (uxorem, in matrimonium)* – this transport is of course appropriate in a patrilocal Indo-European family structure (we may speculate whether there was a prehistoric relation between this root and the ancestral legal term defined by Goth. *wadja-* OE *wedd* = Lat. *uas uadis* < \**uodh-* 'pledge'; Lat. *(q)ua* was the regular reflex of \*(*k*)*uo* as I argue elsewhere);
- \**ǵem-* 'pair, couple; copulate, mate, consummate a marriage' (I have been present at Balkan wedding feasts where this act has been ritually attested to by the institutional waving – with some embarrassment and not with obscenity – of a blood-stained cloth).

No one of these was *a priori* less a part of the 'marriage' than another.

A final note in conclusion: Schwartz makes the good point (footnote 22) that Modern Greek *gamō*, the obscene verb roughly equivalent to Engl. *fuck*, continues the literal Greek sense 'mate with' and does not reflect a euphemism 'marry'. Within Greek, that seems possible. But for Proto-Indo-European we must insist that \**ǵem-* was an institutional term for the marital act – a solemn term. Its descriptive equivalent was \**ǵebh-* (or better \**H<sub>e</sub>ǵebh-*, to judge by Gk. *oíphō*); we have no positive indication that this term was obscene.

*Note*

1. See the references in Schwartz's discussion (footnote 16 and page 204). Benveniste seems additionally to commit the fallacy of drawing an ethnographic isomorphism from the lexemic inventory and the lexical semantics: that brides, but not bridegrooms, played only a passive ancillary role because of certain surviving locutions.

## The development of Romani linguistics

Ian Hancock

While members of at least one group of Gypsies encountered by Foroliviensis in Italy in 1422 were able to tell him that they were from India (“*aliqui dicebant, quod erant in India*” — “some [of the Gypsies] said they were from India”, recorded in Muratori, 1754, Vol. 19, under the entry for August 4th, 1422),<sup>1</sup> recollection of the place of origin seems to have become lost early on among Gypsy populations in Europe, perhaps the principal reason for the startling number of proposed origins scattered through the literature. These range from the carefully scientific to the most foolishly romantic: among those which no longer find wide acceptance among modern scholars include the notions that Gypsies were originally Tatars — followers of Jenghiz Khan returning to devastate eastern Europe, Jews coming out of hiding, Jews from Egypt, Egyptians chasing Jews, Arabs, descendants of Cain, descendants of Atlantis, extra-terrestrials, or descendants of *l’âme rouge*, a race of prehistoric horsemen which also included American Indians, the Basques, and the Fellahin of Egypt (Folco de Baroncelli-Javon, in Dix, 1975).

The theories which continue to find adherents are (a) that Gypsies are of Indian origin, (b) that Gypsies are of Asian, but not specifically Indian, origin, and (c) that they are a composite people, widely distributed throughout the world and constituting a social type of diverse ethnic origins. This latter hypothesis, most recently supported by Okely (1983), is weakened by (among other things) her reliance on just one Gypsy population — that of Britain — and by insufficient familiarity with inflected Romani. It has been the Gypsy language, or rather the study of its fragmented dialects, more than any other single factor which has led to the general acceptance of an Indian origin for its speakers. But while the language is undeniably Indic, and while contemporary Indian linguists are zealous in their attempts to forge such a connection,<sup>2</sup> it is significant that some scholars — who are themselves Gypsies, e. g., Lee, Kochanowski, Bryer — believe Gypsy origins to be outside of India.

Sebastian Münster was the second observer to allude to an Indian origin for the European Rom, in his *Cosmographie Universelle* (1550:



267), but his hypothesis was not based upon linguistic criteria, nor did his work include any discussion of the language. It was not until 1760 that Valyi István, a Calvinist student of theology from Almas in Hungary, who was studying at Leiden, was able to make known his findings. In a discussion about Sanskrit with three students from Malabar who were attending the same university, he noticed some similarities between that language and the smattering of Romani he had acquired from Gypsies living in Raab (now called Győr) near his home. Upon returning to Hungary, he was able to confirm his suspicions after visiting the same Romani speakers and reading a prepared list of Sanskrit words to them.

This discovery was made known in print three years later in an article by Székely von Doba in the *Gazette de Vienne*, which in turn provided material for a discussion of the Indian affiliations of European Romani by Rüdiger in 1782. The English philologist Jacob Bryant reached similar conclusions, probably independently (see Sampson 1911) in 1785, while in the same year, one William Marsden published a comparative list of English Romani, Turkish Romani, and Hindi, concluding that

Should any be inclined to doubt (which I scarcely suppose possible) of the identity of the *Gypsey* or *Cingari*, and the *Hindostanic* languages, still it will be acknowledged as no uninteresting subject of speculation, that tribes wandering through the mountains of *Nubia*, or the plains of *Romania*, have been convers[ing] for centuries in a dialect precisely similar to that spoken at this day by the obscure, despised and wretched people in England, whose language has been considered as a fabricated gibberish and confounded with a cant in use among thieves and beggars, and whose persons have been (till within the period of a year) an object of the persecution, instead of the protection, of our laws.

(Bryant 1785: 385)

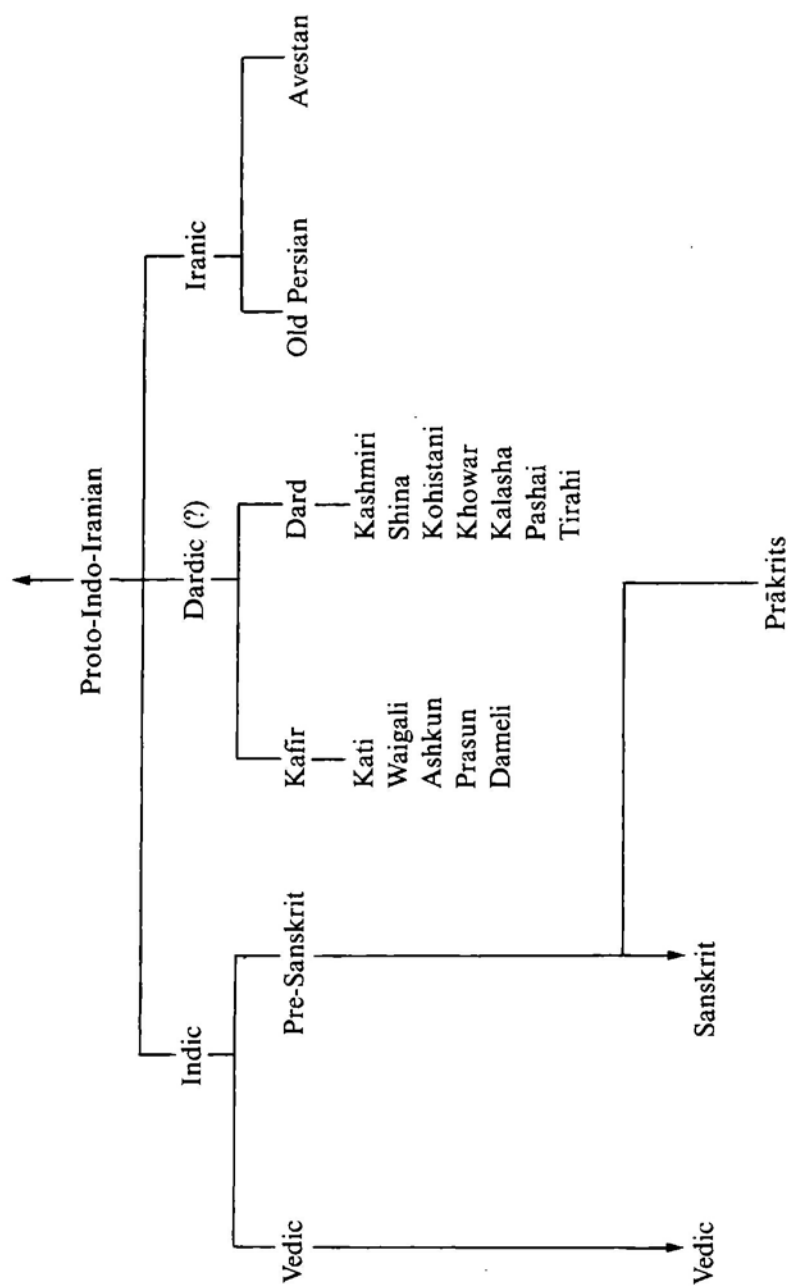
Comparative Indian linguistics was still in its infancy at that time, and there is still some disagreement as to the exact classification of its dialects. It is now generally accepted that Proto-Indic was carried into the Subcontinent between 3,000 and 2,000 BC (Polomé 1984), ultimately from the Indo-European homeland in the region of the Steppes of southern Russia. At that time, the closely related Iranic, Indic (and possibly Dardic) groups had become distinct linguistic subfamilies. Among the great number of early Indic languages, Vedic and Sanskrit are perhaps the best known, and were closely

related to each other. Also closely related to these were some 40 other languages, collectively known as the Prākṛits, some of which were the vehicles of extensive literatures, and which are still cultivated today as liturgical tongues, e. g., Pāli (for Buddhism) and Māgādhī (for Jāinism). Based upon the Prākṛits were several colloquial and literary vernaculars known as Apabhraṃśas, and it is from these, rather than from the Prākṛits, that the modern Indian languages descend.

A few years before the appearance of Rüdiger's work, Bacmeister, a colleague of his, published a short note based upon it in which he linked Romani most closely with Multani, a language of the North-Western group (Bacmeister 1777). Rüdiger's work also attracted the attention of Heinrich Grellmann who, in 1783, published a study of Romani language, migration, and customs. On the basis of the few treatments available to him, Grellmann posited a geographical origin for the Rom in Hindustan, and their social origin in the Śūdra, i. e., the lowest of the four Hindu castes. He also believed that the language of Surat, Gujerati, was the most closely-related modern Indian language to Romani, and that Romani had undergone change as a result of social factors encountered after its subsequent arrival in Europe.

Grellmann's work attracted the interest of a number of Indianists, who became marginally interested in Romani and who made passing references to its possible genealogy in their work. Such scholars included Schlegel, Bopp, and Jūlg; though beyond acknowledging an ultimate source in Sanskrit, they made no attempt to propose a more precise lineage for the language. Contemporary with these scholars was a handful of Romanologues who were publishing descriptions of specific dialects of European Romani: Bischoff, von Heister, Puchmeyer, and Graffunder among them (see bibliography); thus there was ample material becoming available on Romani, and an increasing corpus of data dealing with the languages of India, sufficient for August Pott to produce the first scientific historical and comparative study of Romani in 1844 — for which he has come to be regarded as the father of Romani linguistics. He reputedly never met any Gypsies, and did all of his work from non-primary sources.

Pott offered three premises: firstly, that while there existed many Romani dialects in Europe, they all descended from one "once uniform original language"; secondly, that contrary to what was popularly supposed, Romani was a distinct language with its own



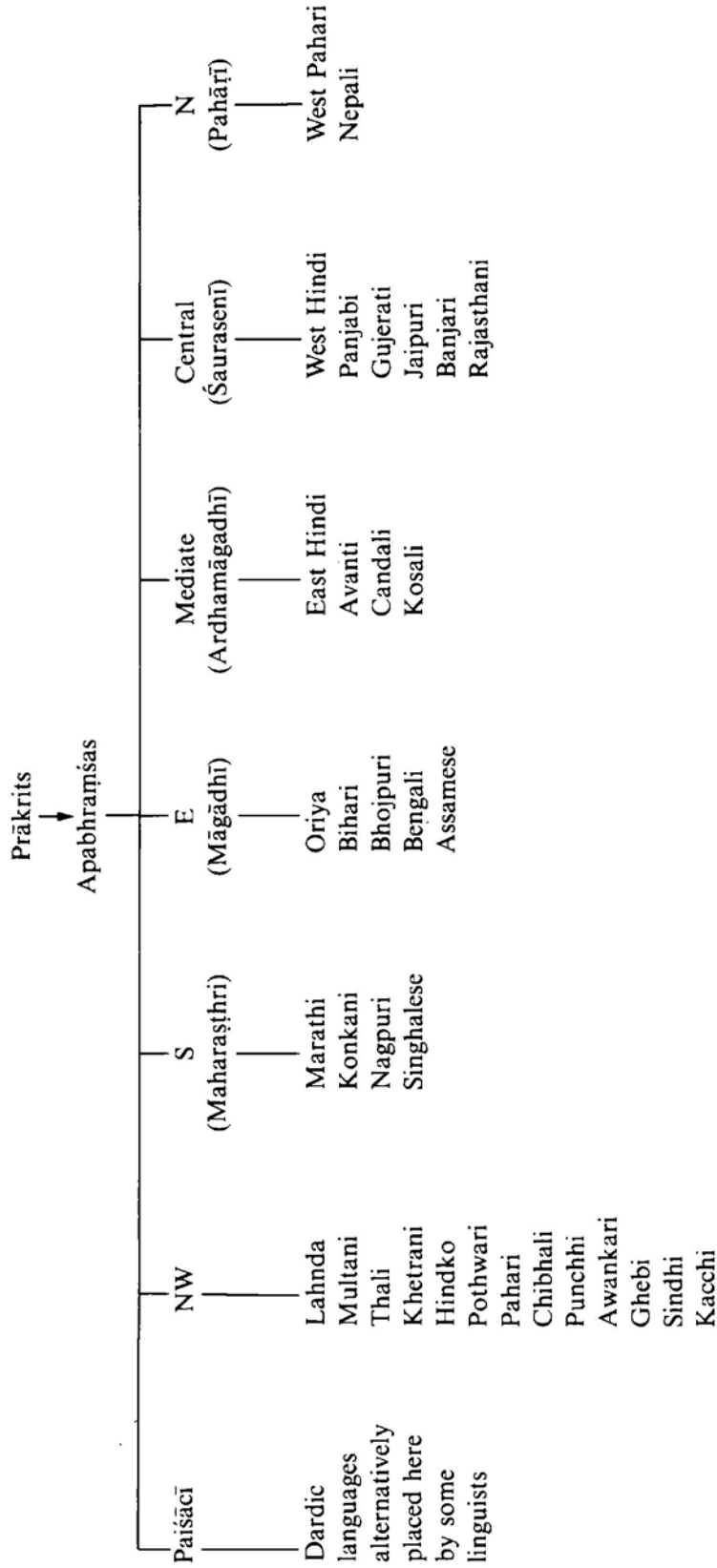


Figure 1. Descent of the modern Indic languages

lexicon and grammar, and was not to be confused with any of the various "thievish jargons",<sup>3</sup> and thirdly that it descended from Sanskrit and was most closely related to Sindhi, spoken in what is today southern Pakistan. The Italian scholar Graziadio Ascoli supported Pott's theories, in a significant study published over twenty years later in 1865.

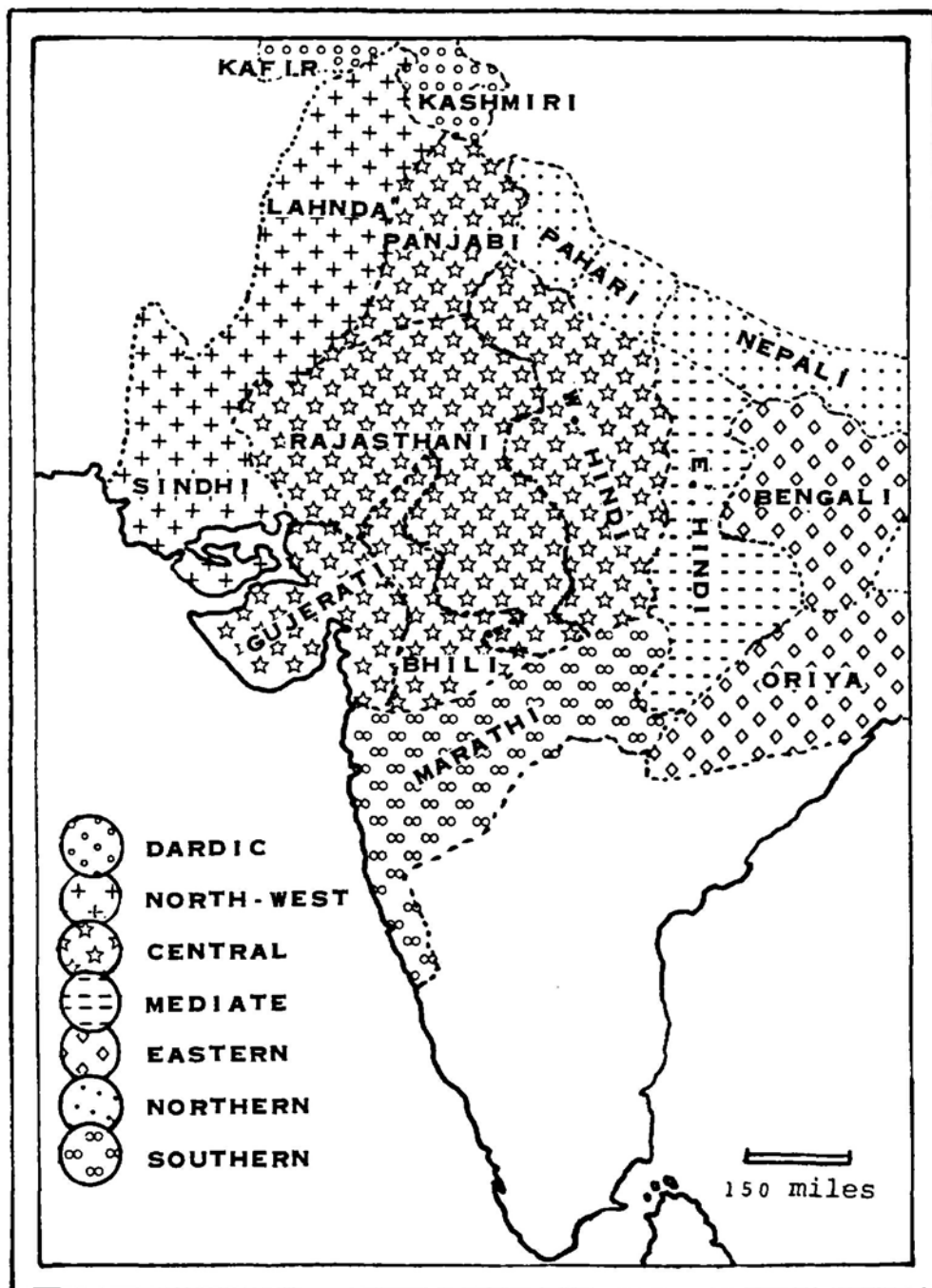


Figure 2. Distribution of the divisions of the Neo-Indic language subfamilies

In 1851, Sir Richard Burton published a short work in which he proposed that the European Gypsy population shared certain similarities with the Jats of India, an idea which was expounded upon later by Trumpp (1872), Bataillard (1875), and de Goeje (1903). Burton claimed to be the first to suggest this origin; both Rishi (1976: 86) and Singhal (probably based on Rishi) indicate that Pott believed that '...the relation between Romani and the dialect of the modern Jats was so close that there could be no doubt that the roots of Romani lay in the north of India' (Singhal 1982: 38), though an examination of Pott revealed no mention of this.

Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, in a study of early Iranian migration which appeared in the middle of the last century, was told by his Persian Gypsy informants that their ancestors were not from India, nor had they ever been there, but came instead from Kabūl, in what is today Afghanistan (1857: 693). The possibility that Romani, and the ancestors of the Gypsies, separated from the main Indo-Aryan migration before it entered the Subcontinent seems to be gaining a number of adherents today.

The next important figure was Franz Miklosich, who had done fieldwork at first-hand among various groups of Rom throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire and who, as a result, had compiled a far broader data base from which to work. Unlike most of those before him, he also made efforts to learn to speak the language. Miklosich, an Austrian, produced two anthologies: the extensive, 12-part *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's* between 1872 and 1881, and the smaller *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten* between 1874 and 1878, works still consulted for their wealth of etymological and dialectological data. Indeed, the former work constituted the first etymological lexicon of the language ever produced.

Miklosich's genetic theories benefitted from a number of monographs then available on contemporary Indian languages, and he became persuaded by the idea that Romani was of a Dardic type, and was therefore most closely related to such languages as Kashmiri or Shina; he believed this because of preserved features shared by Romani and some members of this group (such as the consonant clusters *-st-*, *-št-*, *-tr-* and *-dr-*, which have become reduced in other branches of modern Indo-Aryan), and he suggested that the split with the other Indic languages occurred very early on because of a number of preserved early shifts found in Romani (*Mundarten und Wanderungen* IX: 42–51, and *Beiträge* IV: 287–296). In his com-

parative grammar of the Neo-Indic languages (1872–1879), John Beames supported Miklosich's theory of a geographically North-Western origin for Romani, placing the original homeland in the deserts of the northern Panjab (Beames III: 98), and suggesting a particularly close relationship with Kashmiri as well as Panjabi (Beames IV: 175–177), although these two languages belong to separate branches.<sup>4</sup>

In 1886, George Grierson, who was later to compile the monumental *Linguistic survey of India* (1903–1922), suggested that Romani was an Eastern, and not a North-Western, language:

Concerning my own theory of the origin of the Gipsies, I have already, in the introduction to Mrs. Grierson's *Gypsy Index*, stated my opinion that the language test points to an Indian tribe speaking a dialect derived from Mâgadhî and not from Śaurasêṇî Prākṛit, and that, therefore, it is in Eastern Hindûstân that we must look for their ancestors.

(Grierson 1887: 38)

But in his later published studies of the Paisācī languages he was to revise his views radically. In a note on Pischel's work, he said:

...the linguistic home of the *Romané* is to be found in North-Western India, mostly beyond the frontier — in Kashmir, in Gilgit and in Chitral...the linguistic evidence, in my opinion, is conclusive. These people of the North-Western frontier speak a group of languages which I call *Pisāca*, and the resemblances to Romani are quite convincing,

(Grierson 1908: 400)

and again in his *Linguistic Survey* (Grierson VIII: 9) that 'there appears to be little doubt that their original Indian language was some form of Dardic'. Jules Bloch supported Grierson's Dardic hypothesis in his study of Marathi (Bloch 1920: 22), citing as evidence the retention of /s/ in the clusters exemplified by Miklosich (*supra*), and the shift of /t/ < /l/ shared by Romani and Dardic, but lost altogether in the other branches.

Grierson (1906: iii) was among the earliest Indicists to propose that Dardic (Paisācī) constituted a third, distinct Aryan branch, alongside Indic and Iranian, a point of view modified later by Morgenstierne (1926), who believed that it was in fact Indic, but had separated from the core before undergoing the extensive morphological and phonological changes which characterize the other Indic branches subsequent to the Middle Indo-Aryan period. Neverthe-

less, it was Grierson's position which seems to have been adopted for the purposes of the Indian Census Bureau language survey (Sarker 1964: 91).

In 1883, Pischel also proposed a North-Western origin for the language, basing his evidence upon the work of Miklosich before him:

...the Gypsy dialects agree so closely with those of the extreme north-west of India, the languages of the Dards and Kafirs, in a number of phonetic peculiarities, and at the same time are so utterly different from all the other Aryan languages of modern India, that in the present state of our knowledge their close relationship must inevitably be acknowledged.

(Pischel 1883: 370)

In positing a *Paiśācī* origin for the Romani language and people, Pischel believed Burton to have been wrong in forming a connection with the Jats, and Gobineau likewise to have been misled in his understanding of the origin and distribution of the peoples of western India. According to Windfuhr (1970: 290), it is likely that it was Zargari (i. e. Balkan) speakers whom Gobineau encountered in Iran. Pischel suggested that the migration out of India was initiated by the invasion of the area by Islamic troops under Tamerlane in the 13th century, but this can hardly be maintained in the light of what we now know of Romani chronology.

In 1907, Franz Nikolaus Finck published a compilation of all available studies on Lomavren, the dialect of the *Boša* or Gypsies of the southern Caucasus which, like Angloromani, survives almost wholly as a lexicon only (le Redžosko 1984), having grammatically restructured itself on the model of the surrounding language, Armenian. Thus morphological, and especially syntactic, forms are wanting. On the basis of its phonology and lexicon, both also heavily influenced by Armenian, Finck believed Lomavren to have distinct origins from European Romani within Indo-Aryan: the former (following Pischel and Miklosich) in Dardic, and the latter in a separate Prākritic branch, probably Śaurasenī. Finck's arguments were weak because Macalister's work on Domari, another non-European dialect, was not yet available to him as a basis for comparison<sup>5</sup> and because they rested upon the phonological characteristics of only a very few lexical items.

In a short notice which appeared in 1909, Alfred Woolner proposed that the origins of the language should be sought not in the



north-west of India, but further east (cf. Grierson's first hypothesis), and suggested West Pahari — a language closely related to Nepali — as being especially close on the basis of a comparison between their respective verbal and pronominal paradigms. In 1915, he more pointedly stated that Romani '...belonged to the Central area rather than to the extreme North-West or the Hindu Kush' (Woolner 1915: 119), a conclusion he reached based mainly upon his examination of the pronominal system.

A quarter of a century earlier, Charles Godfrey Leland had suggested that the word *Rom* was cognate with *dom*, and that the *dom* were the ancestors of the Gypsies. In Hindi, the word is defined as 'one of the sweeper class; janitor, menial', and in Gujarati as 'member of a nomadic class'. Yule—Burnell (1886: 322) list under *Dome*, *Dhome* 'The name of a very low caste, representing some old aboriginal race, spread all over India', and a quote dated 1817 at the same entry has '...another tribe of vagrants, who are also a separate sect...are the class of mountebanks, buffoons, posture-masters, tumblers, dancers and the like...the most dissolute body is that of the *Dumbar*s or *Dumbaru*'. This possibility found a staunch supporter in John Sampson, secretary to the Gypsy Lore Society which had been formed in 1888 (an indication of the growing interest in Romani studies) and librarian at the University of Liverpool. Sampson devoted much of his life to the study of Welsh Romani. His theories of Gypsy origins were presented initially in 1907, and in an elaborated version in 1923 in a paper read before the British Association (Sampson 1923), and finally, supported with extensive linguistic data, in his *Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales* (Sampson 1926). In that work he argued (p. 29), that

Romanī is not derived from any one of the seven languages [i. e., Apabhraṃśas], but is rather a separate dialect which, there is reason to believe, must have originated in the North-West provinces.

He saw the original Gypsies entering Persia during the ninth century, as 'a single race speaking a single language' (Sampson 1923: 161), and argued that Gypsy belonged to the North-Western branch (with Bacmeister's Multani and Pott's Sindhi) rather than to the Dardic branch favoured by Miklosich, Pischel, and Grierson, because it had reached Persia with its consonantal system intact, while the Dardic languages had already devoiced its voiced unfricated stops well before the period of exodus out of India. Sampson

also showed that European and Armenian Gypsy have regularly devoiced the original Sanskritic voiced aspirated series *-bh-*, *-dh-*, *-gh-* and *-jh-* to *-ph-*, *-th-*, *-kh-* and *-čh-*, whereas the reflex in Domari has yielded deaspirated voiced stops. His examples included (Sampson 1923: 161):

Sanskrit	European Romani	Lomavren	Domari	English
<i>ghāsa</i>	<i>khas</i>	<i>khas</i>	<i>gas</i>	'hay'
<i>dhāv-</i>	<i>thov-</i>	<i>thov-</i>	<i>dau-</i>	'wash'
<i>bhrātr</i>	<i>phral</i>	<i>phal</i>	<i>bar</i>	'brother'

Thus, he believed, devoicing of the voiced stops must have taken place on Persian territory; the two branches resulting from this split he called the *phen* (European and Lomavren) and the *ben* (Domari) groups, on the basis of their respective underlying forms for 'sister'.<sup>6</sup>

In the same year that Sampson's grammar of Welsh Romani appeared, Ralph Turner published his arguments against the earlier theories of a North-Western or a Dardic origin for Romani, directing most of his criticism at the work of John Sampson. He suggested instead an ultimately Central (Śaurasenī) origin for the language. While Turner usually receives credit for this idea, it had in fact first been proposed over a decade earlier by Woolner, as demonstrated above. Ralph Turner attempted to show that Sampson was wrong on a number of counts, for example regarding the devoicing in the Dardic languages of the earlier voiced series retained in the non-Dardic divisions, for which Turner maintained there was no evidence, or regarding the voiced aspirates, retained by Romani but lost in Dardic, where Turner indicates that the latter phenomenon probably occurred much later in Dardic than the time of the split between Sampson's *phen* and *ben* branches. Turner (1926: 148) also pointed out that earlier scholars had not paid sufficient attention to the significance of the *dates* of the various sound-shifts:

...there seems to have been no attempt to determine or consider the relative dates of the sound-changes by which it is attempted to connect Romani with one or the other group. It is, however, of the highest importance that in the case of innovations, we distinguish between the earlier and the later.

By taking account of these innovations, Turner's aim was to show that Romani was more closely related to the Central than to the

Dardic (his NW) group, and that North-Western features evident in it are later accretions resulting from migration out of the Central area through the North-West, and a probable sojourn there of some centuries before eventually moving on into Persian territory. He arrived at this conclusion after a detailed comparison of the sound-changes reflected in each branch. His North-Western (Dardic) data included material from Kashmiri, Shina and Tirahi; his Central (Śaurasenī) data included Hindi and Nepali. His correspondences are summarised as follows:

Sanskrit	Dardic	Śaurasenī	European Romani	English
a. <i>ṛ: pṛcchāti</i>	<i>ri: prichi</i>	<i>u, i: pūche</i>	<i>u, i: puč-</i>	'ask'
b. <i>kṣ: drākṣā</i>	<i>çh: drākṣ</i>	<i>kkh: dakh</i>	<i>kkh (&lt; kh): drakh</i>	'grape'
c. <i>sm: asmān</i>	<i>sp, ss: asim</i>	<i>mh: ham</i>	<i>mh (&lt; m): ame</i>	'we'
d. <i>tv/dv tm: dvāram</i>	<i>tt, d: daru</i>	<i>pp, b: bāhar</i>	<i>pp (&lt; p,b): bara</i>	'outside' <sup>7</sup>
e. <i>y-: yāti</i>	<i>y-: yāi</i>	<i>j: jae</i>	<i>j: ja</i>	'go'
f. <i>-m-: bhūmt</i>	<i>-m-: bhum</i>	<i>-ṽ-: bhū̃t</i>	<i>-ṽ- (&lt; -v-): phuv</i>	'earth'

In addition, Turner showed that the original Sanskrit medials *-t-/-th-* and *-d-/-dh-* were retained in European Romani and Lomavren as *-l-* and in Domari as *-r-*, while they have been lost elsewhere, including in languages of the Central group:

Sanskrit	Dardic	Śaurasenī	European Romani	English
<i>gatá</i>	<i>gas</i>	<i>gaya</i>	<i>gelo</i>	'went'
<i>kāṅkata</i>	<i>kōnyi</i>	<i>kaniyo</i>	<i>kangli</i>	'comb'
<i>mṛtá</i>	<i>mū̃</i>	<i>muā</i>	<i>mulo</i>	'dead'
<i>útthiṭa</i>	<i>athoilus</i>	<i>uṭhyo</i>	<i>uštilo</i>	'stood'

Similarly, Romani has preserved *-r-* after a preceding labial or dental stop, lost elsewhere (although as with the above shifts, exceptions are found in some of the Dardic languages):

Sanskrit	Dardic	Śauraseni	European Romani	English
<i>mūtra</i>	<i>mīke</i>	<i>mut</i>	<i>muter</i>	'urine'
<i>trīni</i>	<i>če</i>	<i>tīn</i>	<i>trin</i>	'three'

On the basis of these and other conserved forms, Turner deduced that Romani speakers must have left the Central area before the forms were lost there, and since the Aśokan Inscriptions (256–237 BC) already reflect this loss, migration out of the area must have pre-dated the middle of the third century before Christ. Woolner, however, questioned this (1912; 1928), saying that 'Aśoka's inscriptions cannot be taken as a safe guide to the speech of the lower classes' (Woolner 1928: 111).

Although the debate between Sampson and Turner was continued in subsequent numbers of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (Sampson 1927; Turner 1927), Turner's position, strongly supported soon after its publication by the Russian linguist Barannikov (1929), has become the most generally accepted among modern students of the language (e.g., Kaufman 1979; Higgle 1984), as well as by contemporary scholars of the language in India (e.g., A. Joshi, S. S. Joshi, and W. R. Rishi).

## Domari, Lomavren and Romani

Turner divided Gypsy as a whole into European, Armenian (Lomavren), and Syrian (Domari) branches, without dividing each further; although *Romani* is not infrequently applied to include all three branches, its initial *R-* qualifies it of course as a label only for the European branch. Sampson indicated that they had not separated from each other before their speakers entered Persia but, as indicated above, Turner did not share that opinion, believing that the split had occurred before the migration out of India. If Rishi (1974) and others are correct in assuming that different groups of Gypsies left India at different times and under different circumstances, it would support Turner's hypothesis of more than one exodus. Turner concluded his study thus:

Even if at the time of their exit from the region of the Hindu Kush the Gypsy tribes, represented to-day by the European,

Armenian and Syrian groups, were already separated by certain isoglosses, it is nevertheless reasonable to suppose that, if they preserved contact or came again into contact with each other, they exerted a certain amount of mutual linguistic influence.

Such a hypothesis would explain the phonetic differences between the three groups and does not put serious difficulties in the way of accounting for their similarities.

(Turner 1926: 178)

The principal phonological correspondences among the three branches, based primarily on Turner's data, can be summarized as follows:

Sanskrit	Domari	Lomavren	European Romani	English
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a. Sanskrit *-ṭ(t)-* → Domari *-t-*, Lomavren and European *-r-*:

<i>aṭṭa</i>	<i>atōs</i>	<i>arav</i>	<i>varo</i>	'flour'
<i>peṭa</i>	<i>pēt</i>	<i>pēr</i>	<i>pēr</i>	'belly'

b. Devoicing in Lomavren and European Romani:

<i>bharāti</i>	<i>bard-</i>	<i>phar-</i>	<i>pher-</i>	'fill'
<i>busám</i>	<i>bis</i>	<i>phus</i>	<i>phus</i>	'straw'
<i>bhaginī</i>	<i>bhanu</i>	—	<i>phen</i>	'sister'
<i>gharma</i>	<i>gam</i>	—	<i>kham</i>	'sun'
<i>ghasa</i>	<i>gas</i>	<i>khas</i>	<i>khas</i>	'hay'
<i>kṣīrá</i>	<i>gir</i>	<i>khəl</i>	<i>khil</i>	'butter'

c. Sanskrit *-v-*, *-w-* → European Romani *-b-*:

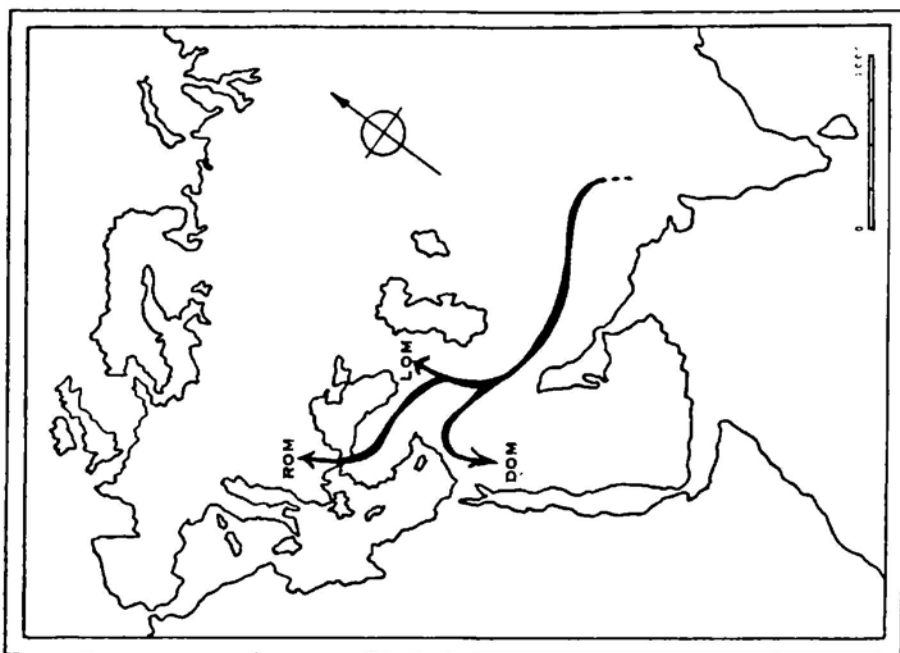
<i>*vaḍra</i>	—	<i>vorov</i>	<i>baro</i>	'big'
<i>vaṭa</i>	<i>wat</i>	—	<i>baṭ</i>	'stone'
<i>varṣa</i>	<i>wars</i>	—	<i>berš</i>	'year'
<i>vadhūṭī</i>	<i>wahri</i>	—	<i>bori</i>	'daughter-in-law'
<i>vāla</i>	<i>wal</i>	<i>valin</i>	<i>bal</i>	'hair'
<i>vikrīṇāti</i>	<i>vukn-</i>	<i>vəgn-</i>	<i>bikin-</i>	'sell'
<i>vimśati</i>	<i>wis</i>	—	<i>biš</i>	'twenty'

d. Sanskrit, Domari, Lomavren *-h-*, *-x-* → European Romani *-Ø-*:

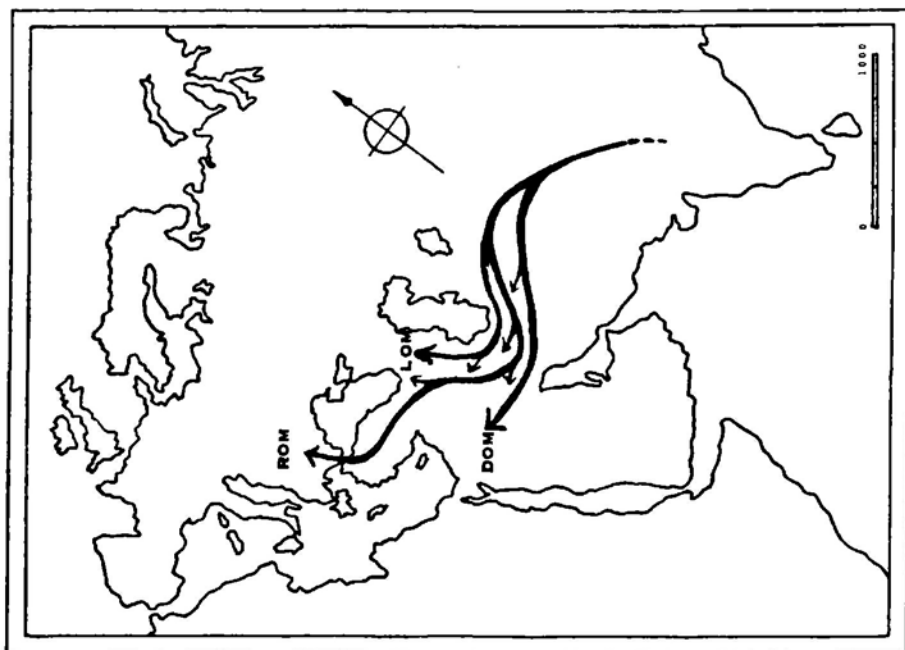
<i>hasati</i>	<i>hazar-</i>	<i>xasel-</i>	<i>as-</i>	'laugh'
<i>hima</i>	<i>hiv</i>	—	<i>iv</i>	'snow'
<i>bahu(tā)</i>	<i>bahut</i>	<i>buhu</i>	<i>but</i>	'much'
<i>lohita</i>	<i>lohorī</i>	—	<i>lolo</i>	'red'
<i>hasta</i>	<i>hast</i>	<i>hath</i>	<i>vast</i>	'hand'

Sanskrit	Domari	Lomavren	European Romani	English
e. Sanskrit, Domari, Lomavren <i>-m-</i> → European Romani <i>-v-</i> :				
<i>-āmi</i>	<i>-ami</i>	<i>-em</i>	<i>-av</i>	(1st person sg. present tense)
<i>nāma</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nav</i>	'name'
f. Sanskrit <i>-ś-</i> → Domari, Lomavren <i>-s-</i> → European Romani <i>-š-</i> :				
<i>naśati</i>	<i>nastar-</i>	<i>nasu-</i>	<i>naš-</i>	'flee'
<i>śīta</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>šil</i>	'coldness'
<i>śata</i>	<i>sai</i>	—	<i>šel</i>	'hundred'
<i>daśa</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>las</i>	<i>deš</i>	'ten'
<i>śiras, śīrṣa</i>	<i>siri</i>	<i>sīs</i>	<i>šero</i>	'head'
g. Behaviour of the initial vs. medial dental series <i>-n-</i> , <i>-r-</i> , <i>-l-</i> , <i>-d-</i> , <i>-t-</i> :				
<i>dā-</i>	<i>der-</i>	<i>lel-</i>	<i>d-</i>	'give'
<i>maṇḍa</i> (= 'froth, foam')	<i>mona</i>	<i>malav</i>	<i>maṇḍo</i>	'bread'
<i>nāsā, nāsikā</i>	—	<i>lank</i>	<i>nakh</i>	'nose'
<i>daśa</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>las</i>	<i>deš</i>	'ten'
<i>gīti</i>	<i>gire</i>	<i>gilav</i>	<i>gili</i>	'song'
<i>ḍoma, ḍomba</i>	<i>dom</i>	<i>lom</i>	<i>ṛom</i>	'Gypsy man; husband'

On the basis of this last item Turner labelled the three branches *Dom*, *Lom* and *Rom*, although a number of alternate etymologies for the word have been suggested (cf. Rishi 1975; Kochanowski 1976) — an issue of some significance since it bears upon the origins of the people themselves.<sup>8</sup> It is probable, however, that on the basis of phonological evidence presented by Gilliat-Smith (1911: 293), who located Balkan dialects of Romani which retained retroflex /ɽ/ as a reflex of Sanskrit /d/, including in the word *Rom* itself, the source in /ḍomba/ is the correct one.



*Figure 3. Separation of the branches according to Sampson*



*Figure 4. Separation of the branches according to Turner*

## Dialects within the branches

While differing as to the time and circumstances of their separation, both Sampson and Turner agree as to the grouping of the three divisions:

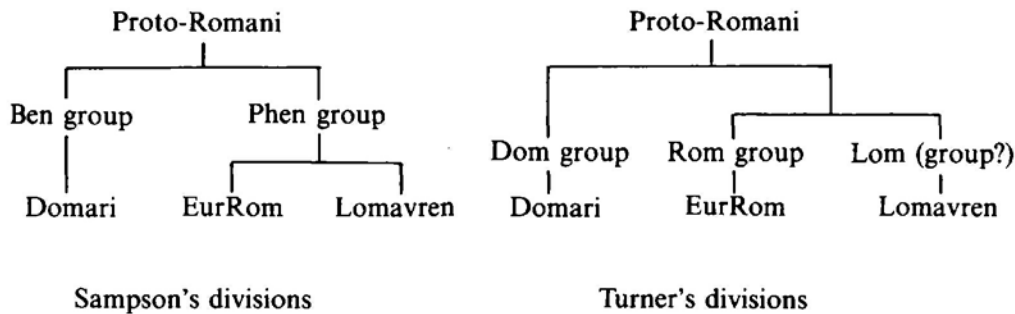


Figure 5.

No attempt has been made to classify the Domari or Lomavren dialects more narrowly, although a useful survey of non-European Gypsy languages has been provided by Kenrick (1976b). Some of the groups listed as residing in specific countries include for Egypt the Helebi, Ghagar, and Nawar, for Iran the Kurbati, Zargari, Qinati, Yürük, and Koli, for Syria and Palestine the Kurbati, Beirut, Nawar, and Nablos, and for Caucasia and eastern Turkey the Karachi, the Beludji, the Bosha, and the Marashi. From their names, the Helebi and Nawar of Egypt probably migrated there from Syria. The Bosha are Central Gypsy (Lomavren) speakers (Patkanoff 1908–1909; le Redžosko 1984); but what is noteworthy is the presence of two Romani (i. e., European or Western) Gypsy-speaking populations in the Middle East: the Ghagar in Egypt (Sampson 1928; Hanna 1982), and the Zargari in Iran (Windfuhr 1970). Both speak Western dialects of a Balkan type, and both probably descend from prisoners of war taken by the Turks in the 17th century and brought back out of Europe. A great deal more work needs to be done on the Central and Eastern Gypsy languages along the lines of that being undertaken by Canova (1981) and Nicholson (1984); while some of these are clearly distinct, labels applied to others may prove to be more geographical than linguistic, referring variously to the same dialect.

Some efforts to classify the dialects of European Romani have also been more geographically determined than linguistically. Thus



Clébert (1963) divides them into Finnish, Welsh, Hungarian, German, English, Catalan and Andaluz, for example. The attempts of earlier, better qualified scholars such as Miklosich were similarly broadly geographic. The first classification based upon purely linguistic criteria was that of Kochanowski (1963), who divided them into two groups: Vlax and non-Vlax, with the latter subdivided into four further groups (Bernhard Gilliat-Smith had already recognized the Vlax/non-Vlax distinction several decades before it was elaborated upon by Kochanowski):

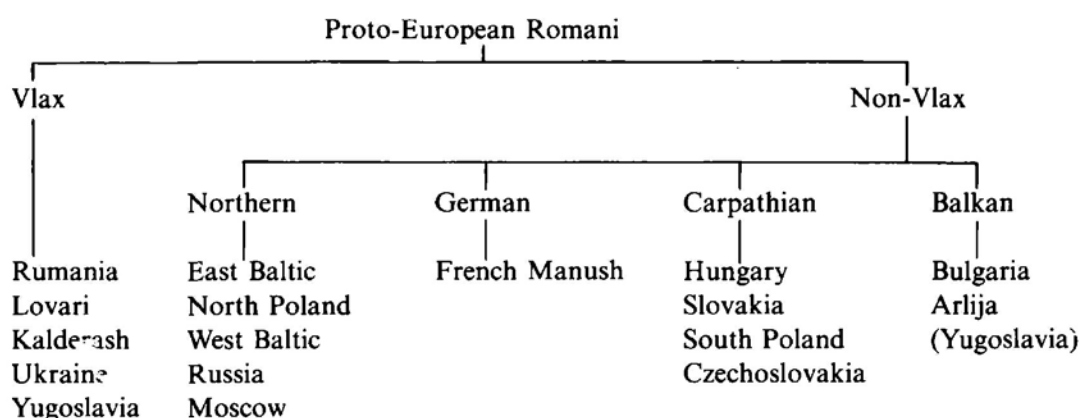


Figure 6. Classification according to Kochanowski

A classification by Kenrick (Hancock 1975: 6) also divides the European dialects into two branches, on the basis of the development of *-s- → -h-* in a number of dialects (cf. Vlax *sam* 'we are', *šuriasa* 'with (a) knife', Sinte *ham*, *čuriahā*).

Wentzel's classification (1983) also sets up an overall two-way division within the European group, Northern and Southern (see Figure 8).

Terrence Kaufman's classification (1979) is the only one to date based upon extensive comparative research using all available data on a wide number of European dialects. Kaufman finds earlier schemata to be under-differentiated and to rely too heavily on geographical criteria. Like Kenrick, he acknowledges that the classification is complicated by cross-dialect interference, and that this cannot be satisfactorily indicated on family-tree charts of this kind. To date, his findings indicate the classification of dialects within the European branch shown in Figure 9.

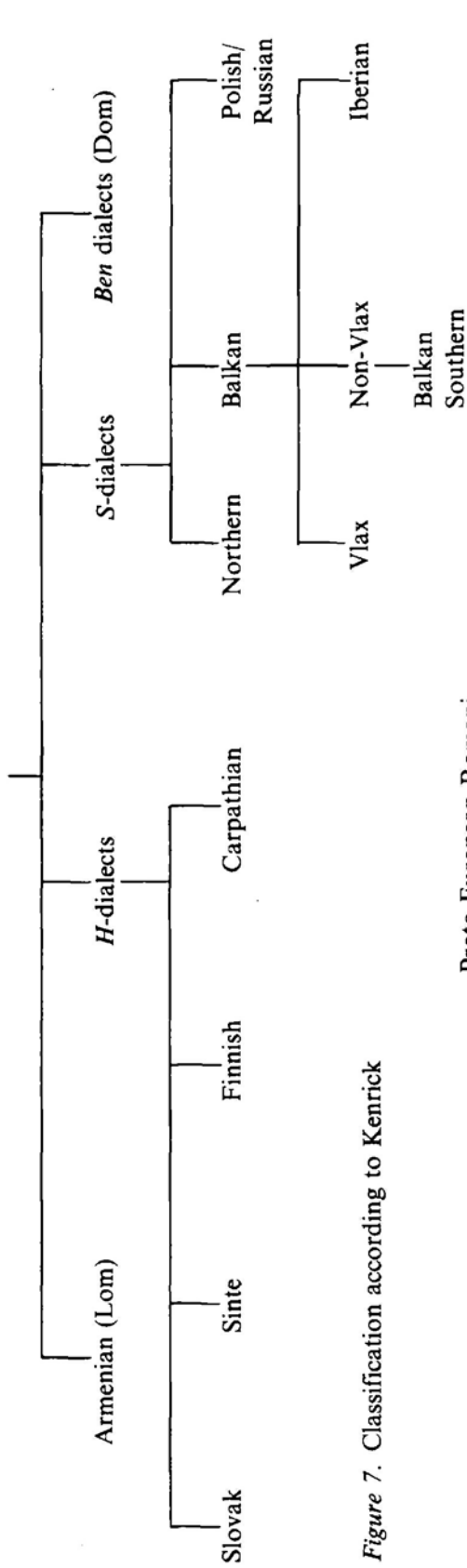


Figure 7. Classification according to Kenrick

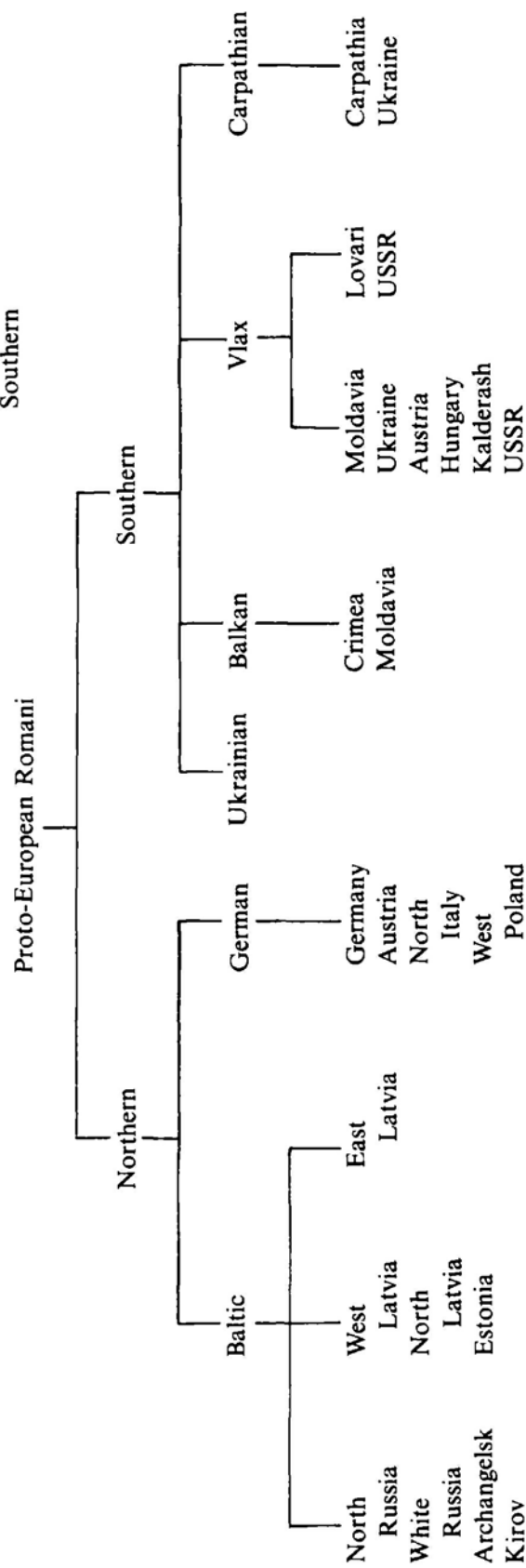
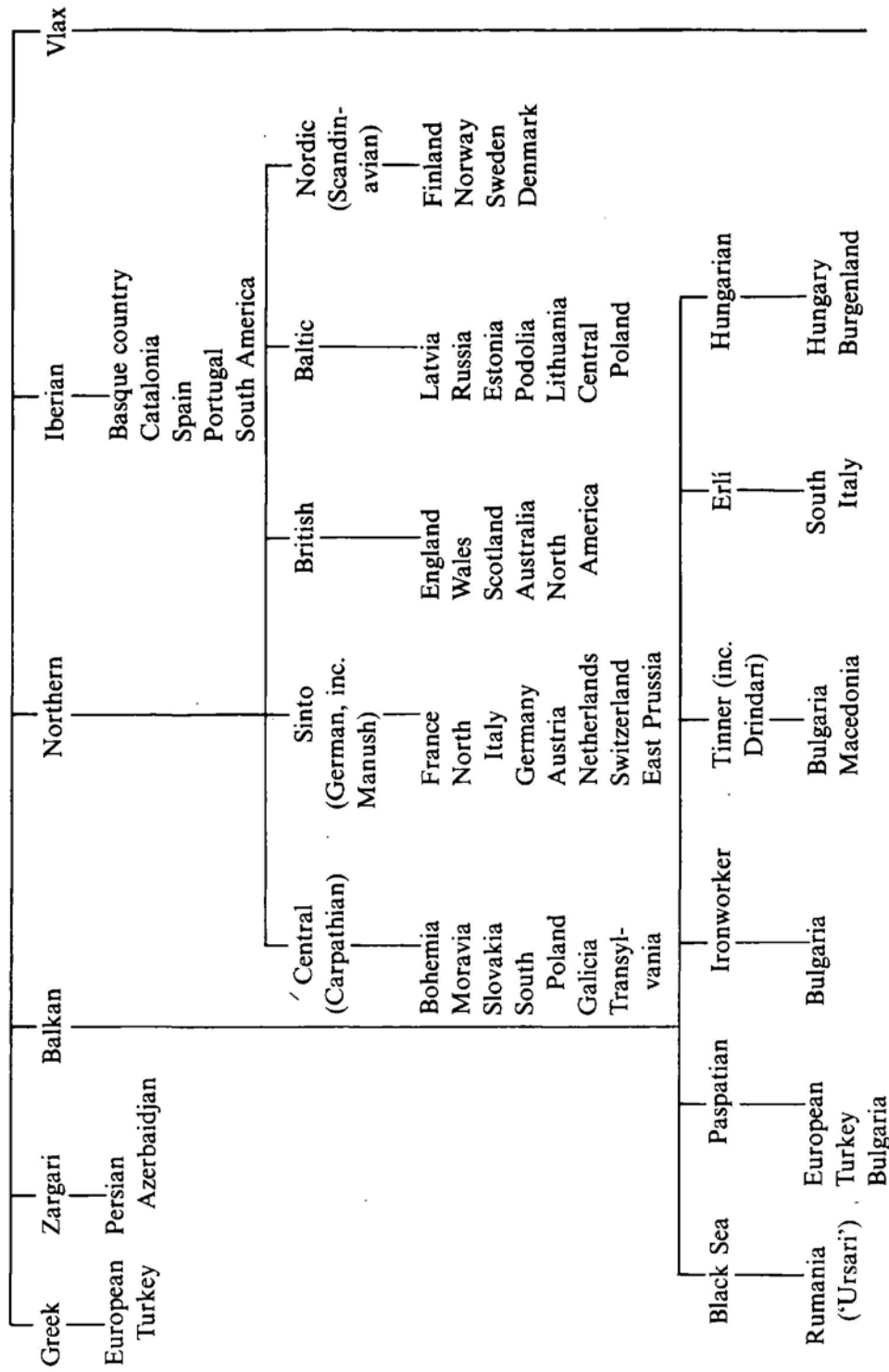


Figure 8. Classification according to Westral

Proto-European Romani



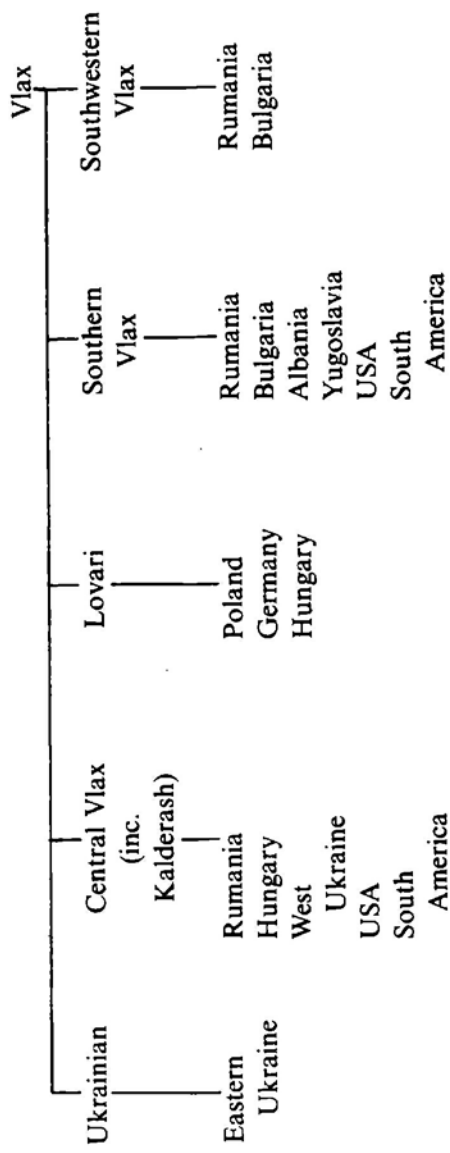


Figure 9. Classification according to Kaufman

## Further theories of Romani origins

In a number of studies published during the past decade a small group of Indian scholars has tried to show a specifically Panjabi (i. e., Śaurasenī) origin for Romani; thus A. Joshi maintains that it is

...evident that the origin and closest proximity of Romani can only be found in Apabhraṃśa dialects, particularly Śauraseni.

(A. Joshi 1981: 39)

Where these studies differ from others is in the particularly Indian perspective they provide upon an essentially Indian issue, and in their authors' being able to examine cultural and religious parallels from a wholly Indian aspect not possible for European scholars, to support their claims.

Indian scholarship in this connection is an intriguing combination of subjectiveness and careful documentation.<sup>9</sup> The overall consensus seems to be that Gypsies descend from the Rajput, Jat, and Kṣatriya warriors, along with their camp followers who consisted of Lohars, Banjaras, Saudagars, and others who were taken prisoner during the Islamic invasions of the area nine centuries ago (Rishi 1983: 45). This hypothesis was developed earlier by Kochanowski (1967), who in addition suggested two distinct racial origins, the fair-skinned Kṣatriyas and dark-skinned Scythians to account for the range of physical type and complexion evident among the modern Gypsy populations (1968); more recent work in the same area has been undertaken by Clarke (1971). The possibility that the ancestors of the Romani people were warriors, rather than "mountebanks and buffoons" has, of course, a certain appeal to Gypsies themselves.

Ronald Lee (in Hancock 1975: 55) believes that the original homeland of the Gypsies was in the Bactrian Steppes, under the cultural influence of the Greek principalities of Bactria until these were demolished by the invasions of the Yüe-Chi, who drove them southwards into India. The movement out of India, Lee believes, occurred many generations later over a period of about a century and led through Persia and the Middle East into the Byzantine Empire.

Harry Bryer has suggested (1981), on the basis of linguistic considerations, that the present-day Gypsy population represents

the original Aryan people in culture and language, having preserved their identity as a result of continually being on the move, and therefore less subject to acculturation to other societies.

Scholars such as these and others nevertheless do not dispute the Indic character of the Romani language, and it is in this area that their arguments receive the least support. But the possibility that Romani split from the Indo-Iranian core is not entirely untenable. Over a century ago Curzon wrote at length about 'the extension of the Sanskrit language and Aryan civilization over Asia and Europe' (Curzon 1856: 183). Petersen (1912: 417–418) emphasized that

As long as the Indian Aryans dwelt together with the Iranians toward the north-west of the Punjab, they were virtually one people, and only after they separated in order that one part might invade India, did large differences of language develop.

The same point was raised by Pierre Maile (in *Etudes Tsiganes* for 1955), following the observations of Woolner, discussed in Bloch (1965: 27), who referred to the fact that in earlier times the Indo-Aryan linguistic frontier extended much further to the West. Bloch (1965: 11–12) also noted that

Traces not only of Aryans, but even of the same tribes which brought Sanskrit to India, are therefore found in Asia prior to the 14th Century [B.C.]. It is, however, still impossible to make sure whether the invasion of India took place later, or whether we have to do with tribes which followed later, or even had returned from India.

Echoing Bloch, Emeneau (1966: 132) said 'Frankly we are totally uninformed of the history of the migration [into India]'.

Bloch (1946) and Berger (1959) have examined the possibility of morphological and lexical influence upon Romani from Brahui and Burushaski – both non-Indo-European languages spoken in southern Pakistan and eastern Hindu Kush respectively. Confirmation of the presence of elements from these would argue strongly for a more westerly or southwesterly origin for Romani. It would also be difficult to explain the presence of Dravidian items via Sanskrit in Gypsy unless these had been acquired within India itself. Such items include Romani *kalo* 'black', *kur-* 'pound, beat', *kuni* 'elbow', *goi* 'sausage, pudding', *gudlo* 'sweet', *čumid-* 'kiss' and *čhor* 'beard' (Dravidian *kār*, *kuṭṭ-*, *kōṇ*, *guḍasu*, *cūmpu* and *cūṭu*). Another weak point in the argument for an origin outside of India would seem to be that the Prākṛits retained their three-gender system even into the

Mediaeval period, and Romani, like the modern Indian languages, has only two genders (although Domari has vestiges of a neuter gender (Macalister 1914: 9), suggesting separation from India at a different time from Lomavren or European Romani). Unless the neuter was lost independently following some kind of Stammbaum principle, which would have to account for the very high rate of innovated shared gender selections of the earlier neuter items in both European Romani and the neo-Indian languages, then it must be concluded that the ancestor of European Romani (and possibly Lomavren) was still being spoken in India at the time of the loss of the third gender. Modern scholarship generally favours a later (i. e., 9th, 10th, or 11th century) migration out of India rather than the 5th century migration supported by the Victorian scholars, based on the account of the poet Firdausi.<sup>10</sup> One modern Romanologue who does support the theory of an earlier rather than a later migration is Kenrick, on the basis of the paucity of Arabic-derived items in the Romani lexicon (1976a: 3):

The Romanies of Europe must have come through Iran *before* 600 A. D. — the first Arab invasions — this is the only possible explanation for the large number of Iranian words and the small (infinitesimal) number of Arabic words found in the Romani vocabulary.

More recently Kaufman (1984: 12) pointedly stated that

There is *no way* Romani could have avoided Arabic loanwords unless it had entered Iran and left again before 700 A. D. Speculations that do not operate within these constraints as axiomatic are idle; it is totally irrelevant that there may be some historical evidence of troubles in, and outmigrations from India around 1000 A. D., and I am getting bored with hearing again and again the speculation that the Gypsies may have left India at such a late date.

It is evident that the debate surrounding the ultimate origin of the Gypsy populations and the date or dates of their separation from the other Indic peoples has still not been fully resolved.

Whether or not the three branches do in fact represent dialects related to the same people and the same sociohistorical phenomena, or whether, being the only demonstrably Indic languages to be found outside of India the three groups have been fortuitously lumped together as representing one historically unified population, remains to be shown.

## Comparative data from the three branches

## A. 100-item list of cognates (cf. Sampson 1926)

English	Sanskrit	Hindi	Shina	Domari	Lomavren	European Romani
1. 'all'	<i>sarva-</i>	<i>sārā</i>	<i>buṭu</i>	<i>gis</i>	<i>savə</i>	<i>sa</i>
2. 'ask'	<i>pṛčh-</i>	<i>pūch-</i>	<i>beč-</i>	<i>sayil-ker</i>	<i>pučhav-</i>	<i>pučh-</i>
3. 'beat'	<i>mṛ-</i>	<i>mār-</i>	<i>mar-</i>	<i>mar-</i>	<i>mari-</i>	<i>mar-</i>
4. 'bed; place'	<i>sthāna</i>	<i>thān</i>	<i>šen</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>čiri</i>	<i>than</i>
5. 'belt'	—	<i>peṭī</i>	<i>ḍakbōni</i>	—	<i>khašikh</i>	<i>kuštik</i>
6. 'big'	<i>vaḍra</i>	<i>barā</i>	<i>baru</i>	<i>tilla</i>	<i>vorov</i>	<i>baro</i>
7. 'bread'	<i>maṇḍa</i>	<i>māṇḍā</i>	<i>tiki</i>	<i>mona</i>	<i>malav</i>	<i>maṇo</i>
8. 'break'	<i>bhagna-</i>	<i>bhāg-</i>	<i>phut-</i>	<i>bag-</i>	<i>bakhot-</i>	<i>phag-</i>
9. 'breast'	<i>čuči</i>	<i>čuči</i>	<i>čuči</i>	<i>čič</i>	—	<i>čuči</i>
10. 'bring'	<i>kola</i>	<i>kole</i>	<i>guṭūṭi</i>	<i>xri</i>	<i>koli</i>	<i>kolin</i>
11. 'brother'	<i>ānī-</i>	<i>ān-</i>	<i>aṭ-</i>	<i>nan-</i>	<i>an-</i>	<i>an-</i>
12. 'butter'	<i>bhrātr</i>	<i>bhāī</i>	<i>ža</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>phal</i>	<i>phral</i>
13. 'cold'	<i>ghṛta</i>	<i>ghī</i>	<i>gīh</i>	<i>gir</i>	<i>tel</i>	<i>khil</i>
14. 'come'	<i>śīṭala</i>	<i>sīṭal</i>	<i>čhāū</i>	<i>silda</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>šil/šidro</i>
	<i>a-</i>	<i>ho-</i>	<i>ō-</i>	<i>au-</i>	<i>av-</i>	<i>av-</i>
15. 'cry/weep'	<i>ā-bhū-</i>					
	<i>ru-</i>	<i>ro-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>rou-</i>	<i>ərov-</i>	<i>rov-</i>



English	Sanskrit	Hindi	Shina	Domari	Lomavren	European Romani
16. 'cut'	čid-	čina-	čir-	čin-	čin-	čin-
17. 'dance, play'	krīḍ-	khel-	—	—	khel-	khel-
18. 'descend'	uttr-	nāč-	nač-	nāč-	—	—
19. 'die'	mṛ-	uttar-	khir-	xul-	xol-	xul-
20. 'drink'	pibati 'he drinks'	mar-	mir-	mar-	mar-	mer-
		pī-	py-	pi-	pi-	pi-
21. 'eat'	khād-	khā-	kh-	kar-	xath-	x-
22. 'egg'	aṇḍa	aṇḍā	hanū	ana	anlu	aṇo
23. 'excreta'	gūṭha	ghūr	—	xal	xenav	khul
24. 'eye'	akṣi	ām̐kh	ačhī	iki	akhi	yakh
25. 'face/mouth'	mukha	mum̐h	mukh	mu/mi	mui	mui
26. 'fall'	pat-	pa-	p-	ku-	par-	per-
27. 'fish'	matsya	maččh	čhuma	kirwa	mančhav	mačho
28. 'five'	pañča	pāñč	poš	pandž	pendž	pandž
29. 'flour'	—	aṭṭa	āṭa	atos	arav	aṛo
30. 'foot'	pāda	pāṇv	pai	pau	pav	piṇo
31. 'four'	čatvāri	čār	čār	star	čatar	štar
32. 'full'	bhṛ	bhar	purīlo	barda	por	pherdo
33. 'give'	dā	de-	d-	de-	le-	d-
34. 'go'	yā-	jā-	bož-	dza-	dza-	dž
35. 'god'	deva	dev	xudai	huya	leval	devel

English	Sanskrit	Hindi	Shina	Domari	Lomavren	European Romani
36. 'Gypsy'	?doma	?dom-	—	dom	lom	rom
37. 'hair'	bāla	bāl	bālu	wali	valis	bal
38. 'hand'	hasta	hāth	hath	hast	hath	vast
39. 'hay'	ghāsa	ghās	—	bis	khas	khas
40. 'head'	śiras	sir	śis	siri	sis	šero
41. 'hear'	śrunoti 'he hears'	sun-	paruž-	sin-	sənkh-	šun-
42. 'horse'	—	ghorā	ašap	gori	khorī	khorō
43. 'hot'	tapta	tattā	tato	tata	tataṽ	tato
44. 'house'	grha	ghar	goš	kuri	khar	kher
45. 'hundred'	śata	sai	šal	sai	sai	šel
46. 'hunger'	bubhukṣ-	bhūk	unyāl	ibka	bukh	bokh
47. 'I'	'want to eat' mayā (instr.)	maim	m      ō -	ama	ma	me
48. 'kill'	kuṭṭ-	kuṭ-	khun-	—	kur-	kur-
49. 'kiss'	'quash' čumbati	čum-	māči-	imčir-	čum-	čumid-
50. 'knife'	kṣūrikā	čurī	kaṭār	čiri	čuri	čuri
51. 'know'	jñā	jān-	dašt-	džan-	zan-	džan-
52. 'leather'	čarman	čam	čom	kal	čam	čam
53. 'louse'	yūka	jūm	džu	džui	dživ	džuv
54. 'make/do'	kr-	kar-	th-	ker-	kar-	ker-
55. 'man'	manuṣa	mānuṣ	manūžu	manuṣ	manuṣ	manuš

English	Sanskrit	Hindi	Shina	Domari	Lomavren	European Romani
56. 'middle'	<i>madhya</i>	<i>majhar</i>	<i>māža</i>	<i>mandž</i>	<i>mandž</i>	<i>mindž</i> 'vagina'
57. 'milk'	<i>dugdha</i>	<i>dūdh</i>	<i>duth</i>	<i>kir</i>	<i>luth</i>	<i>thud</i>
58. 'mother'	—	<i>dai</i>	<i>ādze</i>	<i>dai</i>	<i>deth</i>	<i>dai/dei</i>
59. 'little'	<i>tīkṣṇa</i>	<i>jarā</i>	<i>čunu</i>	<i>čina</i>	<i>džuni-ma</i>	<i>tikno/tsino</i>
60. 'much'	<i>bahu</i>	<i>bahut</i>	<i>buṭu</i>	<i>bol</i>	<i>buhu</i>	<i>but</i>
61. 'needle'	<i>sūcī</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>suz</i>	<i>suv</i>
62. (negator)	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na/la</i>	<i>na/ma</i>	<i>na/ma</i>
63. 'night'	<i>rātri</i>	<i>rakt</i>	<i>rāti</i>	<i>arat</i>	<i>arat</i>	<i>rat/ryat</i>
64. 'nose'	<i>nāsā</i>	<i>nāk</i>	<i>notu</i>	<i>pirn</i>	<i>lank</i>	<i>nakh</i>
65. 'oats'	<i>yava</i>	<i>jav</i>	—	<i>džau</i>	<i>džav</i>	<i>džov</i>
66. 'one'	<i>eka</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>ekh</i>	<i>yikak</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>ekh/yekh</i>
67. 'our'	<i>aṃara</i>	<i>hamārā</i>	<i>ašō</i>	<i>aminka</i>	<i>mer</i>	<i>amaro</i>
68. 'peasant'	<i>gārhya</i>	<i>gajjha</i>	—	<i>kadža</i>	<i>gadžav</i>	<i>gadžo</i>
69. 'penis'	* <i>kharh</i>	<i>kārḥ</i>	—	<i>gar</i>	—	<i>kar</i>
	<i>pela</i>	<i>pel</i>	—	—	<i>phelav</i>	<i>pelo</i> 'testicle'
	'testicle, penis'					
70. 'put'	<i>ksip</i>	<i>dhar-</i>	<i>čur-</i>	<i>tau-</i>	<i>thav-</i>	<i>tho-</i>
71. 'ram'	<i>varkara</i>	<i>bakarā</i>	<i>karāh</i>	<i>bakra</i>	<i>bakra</i>	<i>bakro</i>
72. 'run away'	<i>naś-</i>	<i>nās-</i>	<i>uč-</i>	<i>rau-</i>	<i>nas-</i>	<i>naš-</i>
73. 'salt'	<i>lavana</i>	<i>loṇ</i>	<i>luni</i>	<i>lon</i>	<i>nol</i>	<i>lon</i>
74. 'say'	<i>bhaṇ-</i>	<i>bhan-</i>	<i>raž-</i>	<i>čar-</i>	<i>phan-</i>	<i>phen-</i>
75. 'see'	<i>dṛś-</i>	<i>dokh-</i>	<i>žak-</i>	<i>lah</i>	<i>lokh-</i>	<i>di-kh-</i>

English	Sanskrit	Hindi	Shina	Domari	Lomavren	European Romani
76. 'sell'	<i>vikrīṇati</i> 'sells'	<i>bikn-</i>	<i>krin-</i>	<i>kun-</i>	<i>vəgn-</i>	<i>bikin-</i>
77. 'sick'	<i>*na-svatā</i>	<i>naśvar</i>	<i>galis</i>	<i>mišta</i>	<i>naswav</i>	<i>nasvalo</i>
78. 'sleep'	<i>svap-</i>	<i>so-</i>	<i>so-</i>	<i>suč-</i>	<i>səv-</i>	<i>sov-</i>
79. 'song'	<i>gūti</i>	<i>gūt</i>	<i>gai</i>	<i>gref</i>	<i>gilav</i>	<i>gili</i>
80. 'speak'	<i>prakṛ-</i>	<i>kar-</i>	<i>raž-</i>	<i>čar-</i>	<i>pakr-</i>	<i>raker-</i>
81. 'steal'	<i>čur-</i>	<i>čor-</i>	<i>čor-</i>	<i>kaut-</i>	<i>čain-</i>	<i>čor-</i>
82. 'stone'	<i>vaṭa</i>	<i>baṭ</i>	<i>baṭṭ</i>	<i>waṭ</i>	<i>var</i>	<i>baṭ</i>
83. 'straw'	<i>busa</i>	<i>bhūsā</i>	<i>muḥūše</i>	<i>bis</i>	<i>pus</i>	<i>phus</i>
84. 'sun(shine)'	<i>gharma</i>	<i>ghām</i>	<i>sūri</i>	<i>gam</i>	<i>gam</i>	<i>kham</i>
85. 'take'	<i>labh-</i>	<i>le-</i>	<i>giṇ-</i>	<i>nan-</i>	<i>le-</i>	<i>l-</i>
86. 'ten'	<i>daśa</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>dai</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>las</i>	<i>deš</i>
87. 'three'	<i>tri</i>	<i>tīn</i>	<i>čē</i>	<i>taran</i>	<i>tran</i>	<i>trīn</i>
88. 'tree/wood'	<i>kaṣṭha</i>	<i>kāṭh</i>	<i>kāṭha</i>	<i>kašt</i>	<i>kah</i>	<i>kašt</i>
89. 'twenty'	<i>vimśati</i>	<i>bīs</i>	<i>bīh</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>vist</i>	<i>bīš</i>
90. 'two'	<i>dvā</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>lui</i>	<i>dui/do</i>
91. 'up'	<i>upari</i>	<i>ūpar</i>	<i>omara</i>	—	<i>upra</i>	<i>opre</i>
92. 'walnut'	<i>akōṭa</i>	<i>akhroṭ</i>	<i>ačhol</i>	<i>baginna</i>	<i>ankor</i>	<i>akhor</i>
	<i>akṣoṭa</i>					
93. 'want'	<i>mārg-</i>	<i>māṅg-</i>	<i>zarūr-</i>	<i>mang-</i>	<i>mang-</i>	<i>mang-</i>
94. 'wash'	<i>dhāv-</i>	<i>dho-</i>	<i>tam-</i>	<i>dau-</i>	<i>thovdžu-</i>	<i>tho-</i>
95. 'water'	<i>pāṇiya</i>	<i>pānī</i>	<i>voi</i>	<i>pani</i>	<i>pani</i>	<i>pani</i>

English	Sanskrit	Hindi	Shina	Domari	Lomavren	European Romani
96. 'wheat'	<i>godhūma</i>	<i>gehūm</i>	<i>gum</i>	<i>gesu</i>	<i>giu</i>	<i>giv</i>
97. 'where'	<i>kvā</i>	<i>kahām</i>	<i>kōna</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>katel</i>	<i>kai</i>
98. 'worth'	<i>mūlya</i>	<i>mol</i>	<i>lāyek</i>	<i>karri</i>	<i>mol</i>	<i>mol</i>
99. 'you' (sg)	<i>tvam</i>	<i>tū</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>atme</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>
100. 'you' (pl)	<i>tuṣme</i>	<i>tum</i>	<i>tso</i>	—	—	<i>tume</i>

(cf. Sampson 1926: 607–608)

B. The *be*-verb (present tense)

	S1	S2	S3	P1	P2	P3	<i>Isn't</i>
Vlax	sim	san	si	sam	san	si	nai
Sinte	hom	hal	hi	ham	han	hi	nane
Baltic	isom	san	isi	sam	san	isi	nane
Balkan	sim	syam	si	syam	syanas	si	nanai
Southern	isom	isan	isi	isam	isen	isi	na
Czech	som	sal	hin	sam	san	hin	nane
Domari	homi	hweki	hori	honi	hwesi	hondi	inhe'
Lomavren	em	es	e	enk'	ek'	en	na

### C. Present indicative suffixes

	S1	S2	S3	P1	P2	P3
Vlax	-av	-es	-el	-as	-en	-en
Sinte	-ava	-eha	-ela	-aha	-ena	-ena
Baltic	-ov	-es	-el	-as	-en	-en
Balkan	-a	-isa	-ila	-asa	-ina	-ina
Southern	-ani	-esa	-ela	-asa	-ena	-ena
Czech	-av	-es	-el	-as	-en	-en
Domari	-ami	-eki	-ari	-ani	-asi	-andi
Lomavren	-em	-es	-e	-enk'	-ek'	-en

### D. Preterite suffixes

	S1	S2	S3	P1	P2	P3
Vlax	-em	-(y)an	-(y)as	-(y)am	-(y)an	-(in)e
Sinte	-om	-al	-as	-am	-an	-an
Baltic	-om	-yan	-ya	-yam	-yan	-e
Balkan	-im	-yan	-yas	-yam	-yanas	-i
Southern	-um	-an	-as	-am	-an	-e
Czech	-om	-al	-a	-am	-an	-e
Domari	-om	-or	-a	-en	-es	-e
Lomavren	-ei	-eir	-er	-eink'	-eik'	-ein

## E. Pluperfect suffix (or preverbal marker)

Vlax, Sinte, Balkan, Southern	-as
Baltic, Czech, Domari	∅
Lomavren	gə

## F. Possessive pronominal forms

	S1	S2	S3m	S3f	P1	P2	P3
Vlax	muʁo	čiro	lesko	lako	amaro	tumaro	lengo
Sinte	miro	tiro	leskero	lakero	amaro	tumaro	lengero
Baltic	miro	tiro	leskiro	lakiro	amaro	tumaro	lengiro
Balkan	moʁu	toʁu	lisku	laku	amaru	tumaru	lengu
Southern	miro	tiro	lesko	lako	amaro	tumaro	lengo
Czech	miro	tiro	leskero	lakero	amaro	tumaro	lengero
Domari	-m	-r	-s	-s	-man	-ran	-san
Lomavren	meravis	teravid	havavin	havavin	meravtontsəs	teravtontsəd	hevavtontsə

G. Masculine nominal declension singular: "man"<sup>11</sup>

	Nominative	Accusative	Prepositional	Genitive	Ablative	Instrumental
Vlax	manuš	manušes	manušeste	manušesko	manušestar	manušesa
Sinte	manuš	manušes	manušeste	manušeskero	manušester	manušeha
Baltic	manuš	manušes	manušeste	manušesko	manušestar	manušesa
Balkan	manuš	manušis	manušisti	manušisku	manušistar	manušisa
Southern	manuš	manušes	manušeste	manušesko	manušestar	manušestar
Czech	manuš	manušes	manušeste	manušeskero	manušestar	manušeha
Domari	manus	manes	manšesta	manšeskera	manšesk	manšesma

H. Masculine nominal declension plural: "men"

	Nominative	Accusative	Prepositional	Genitive	Ablative	Instrumental
Vlax	manuš	manušen	manušende	manušengo	manušendar	manušensa
Sinte	manuša	manušen	manušende	manušengero	manušender	manušensa
Baltic	manuša	manušen	manušende	manušengo	manušendar	manušensa
Balkan	manuš	manušin	manušindi	manušingu	manušindar	manušinsa
Southern	manuš	manušen	manušende	manušengo	manušendar	manušendar
Czech	manuša	manušen	manušende	manušengero	manušendar	manušensa
Domari	manuse	manuse	mansenta	mansenkera	mansenk	mansamma
Lomavren	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅

I. Feminine nominal declension singular: "knife"

	Nominative	Accusative	Prepositional	Genitive	Ablative	Instrumental
Vlax	šuri	šuria	šuriate	šuriako	šuriatar	šuriasa
Sinte	čuri	čuria	čuriate	čuriakero	čuriater	čuriaha
Baltic	čuri	čuria	čuriate	čuriako	čuriatar	čuriasa
Balkan	čuri	čuria	čuriate	čuriaku	čuriatar	čuriasa
Southern	čuri	čuria	čuriate	čuriako	čuriatar	čuriatar
Czech	čuri	čuria	čuriate	čuriakero	čuriatar	čuriaha
Domari	čiri	čiria	čiriata	čiriakera	čiriak	čiriamma
Lomavren	čuri	čuri	čuru	čuru	čure	čurov



## J. Feminine nominal declension plural: “knives”

	Nominative	Accusative	Prepositional	Genitive	Ablative	Instrumental
Vlax	șuria	șurian	șuriande	șuriango	șuriandar	șuriansa
Sinte	čuria	čurian	čuriande	čuriango	čuriander	čuriansa
Baltic	čuria	čurian	čuriande	čuriango	čuriandar	čuriansa
Balkan	čuria	čurian	čuriandi	čuriangu	čuriandar	čuriansa
Southern	čuria	čurian	čuriande	čuriango	čuriandar	čuriandar
Czech	čuria	čurian	čuriande	čuriangero	čuriandar	čuriansa
Domari	čirie	čirie	čirienta	čiriankera	čirienk	čiriemma
Lomavren	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅

## K. Comparative syntax

## (a)

English:	<i>A<sup>1</sup> great<sup>2</sup> man<sup>3</sup> has<sup>4</sup> two<sup>5</sup> sons<sup>6</sup></i>
Vlax:	ekh <sup>1</sup> baro <sup>2</sup> manuș <sup>3</sup> si-leș <sup>4</sup> dui <sup>5</sup> rakle <sup>6</sup>
Domari:	ak <sup>1</sup> tilla <sup>2</sup> manusaki <sup>3</sup> di <sup>5</sup> potra <sup>6</sup> abas <sup>4</sup>
Lomavren:	vorov <sup>2</sup> manusavin <sup>3</sup> akə <sup>1</sup> luiak <sup>5</sup> innav <sup>6</sup> gə <sup>0</sup> tarena <sup>4</sup>

## (b)

English:	<i>The<sup>1</sup> father<sup>2</sup> spoke<sup>3</sup> to<sup>4</sup> the<sup>5</sup> sons<sup>6</sup></i>
Vlax:	o <sup>1</sup> dad <sup>2</sup> mothodyas <sup>3</sup> le <sup>5</sup> raklengə <sup>4 6</sup>
Domari:	boi <sup>2</sup> čirda <sup>3</sup> potrankaras <sup>4 5 6</sup>
Lomavren:	bapə <sup>2</sup> gə <sup>0</sup> kakre <sup>3</sup> innəvtot <sup>4 5 6</sup> sə <sup>4 5 6</sup>

## Notes

1. According to Harriott (1830: 520), Ralph Volaterianus declared that Gypsies 'first proceeded from among the Uxii, a people of Persis or Persia'. *Indiens* is reported as one of the names given to Gypsies in France in 1632.
2. For example, the report of the Roma Festival held in Chandigarh, published in the December 1st, 1983 issue of *Banjara Monthly* includes  

This was the second time Roma (Gypsies) took pilgrimage to India, their Baro Than (ancestral land), met their MOTHER and THAKRANI (Queen) Mrs. Indira Gandhi, after their exile from India for 1,000 years. This is how the Gypsy participants at the 2nd International Roma Festival at Chandigarh expressed their sentiments, love and adoration toward India as their original homeland, and Mrs. Gandhi as its head (p. 5).

The Indian Banjara Association maintains ties with the European Romani Union, the assumption in both groups being that the Banjara are legitimately related to the Romani people through historical ties. A grammar of Lamani, the Banjara language, was written in 1970 by Trail; it bears little similarity with Romani.
3. This confusion is still evident today, even among Indo-Europeanists. In a recently-published linguistics textbook, a fifteen-line poem about shoplifters and pickpockets is presented as an example of "gypsy slang", though it contains not a single word of Romani (Lehmann 1983: 214).
4. The difference between "north-western" as a geographical, and "north-western" as a linguistic term, should be clearly understood in discussions about area of origin. It should also be pointed out here that some of the established labels in Indian linguistics are historically pejorative (e. g., Kafir = 'infidel', Paisācī = 'demon, imp', etc.), and should perhaps be changed by scholars in this field.
5. Although Pott had examined that branch as early as 1846 (see References).
6. In fact the Lomavren word for "sister" is *phal-čhoki*, literally "brother" + "female", an incoining typical of restructured dialects of Romani (see Hancock 1977).
7. The Gypsy form of this item is Domari, not European.
8. More recent discussion presenting social and linguistic evidence for the ancestors of the Gypsies being Dom are found in Lesný (1941) and Hübschmannová (1972).
9. An example of the former is found in Rishi (1976), in an article entitled "Panjabi love for buffalo's milk", which concludes 'The very fact that Roma love buffaloes for their milk proves their origin in the Panjab, where till today, every Panjabi would forego anything else, but not buffalo's milk'.
10. In his *Shah Nameh* the Persian poet refers to a request made by King Bahram Gur to the ruler of India, Shangkhal, for musicians and entertainers. Some twelve thousand supposedly arrived in Persia, but neglected the land they were given and were finally sent off to make a living by their own means. This account refers to the Sāsānian dynasty; Bahram Gur ruled in AD 420. The account is given in the original Persian, with a translation, in Harriot (1830: 527–528).
11. Accusatives are not usually inflected for case, unless (for some dialects) they are <+ animate>.
12. Most of the etymologies listed are discussed in Sampson (1926).

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# The cosmic religion of the Indo-Europeans

Jean Haudry

## 1. Introduction

This article puts forth a tentative synthesis of a set of ideas, images, symbols, and structures which may be labelled “the cosmic religion of the Indo-Europeans”. Some cosmological notions, particularly the main “unities of time”, day, year, cosmic cycle play a very important part in the Indo-European tradition.

Some of the paragraphs of this article refer to studies published recently; others are abstracts of papers to appear in *Etudes Indo-Européennes*.

## 2. The diurnal sky

This fundamental notion has been established in an article entitled “Le nom indo-européen du ‘ciel-diurne’” (Haudry 1985b): Indo-European *\*dyew-* which evolved to ‘day’ (Latin *diēs*) and to ‘sky’ (Vedic *dyauh*) initially means ‘diurnal sky’, the sky during the day. This spatio-temporal entity evolved to gods of two kinds: Nature gods, such as Vedic *Dyauh* ‘Sky’, husband of *Ṛṥhivī* ‘Earth’, and Latin *Vēdius* (‘Bad diurnal sky’); and sovereign gods, such as Zeus and Jupiter. A few reflexes of the original value remain in these gods: Zeus (*Iliad* 14.258 f.) does not dare intrude upon the field of Night: according to the etymology of his name, his own field is the diurnal sky.

Indo-European *\*dyew-* originates from a locative adverb *\*dyew* ‘by day’ (Latin *diū* ‘by day’), similar to the instrumental adverb *\*dyeH<sub>1</sub>* (Haudry 1982a: ch. 3). This origin accounts for two facts:

(1) the meaning of the derivate *\*deywo-* ‘celestial god’: the *\*deywōs* are the dwellers of the diurnal sky. Initially they have no power on

the outside, i. e., on the Nocturnal Sky, inhabited by nocturnal gods (“devils”) and spirits of the dead (§ 3).

(2) the double gender of *\*dyew-*: initially, as an adverb, *\*dyew* has no gender. It evolved to masculine in some situations such as the couple (diurnal) sky—earth; elsewhere, Vedic *dyauh* like Latin *diēs* are of both genders.

### 3. The two other skies

Besides the diurnal sky with its dwellers, the *\*deywōs*, there is a nocturnal sky inhabited by the nocturnal gods and the spirits of the dead:

	Gods of the diurnal sky	Gods of the nocturnal sky
Germans	<i>*Tīwa-</i> and the <i>*tīwōs</i>	<i>*Wōdena-</i> and the Wild Hunt
Balts	<i>*Deiva-</i> and the <i>*deivai</i>	<i>*Velina-</i> and the <i>Veles</i>
Indo-Iranians	<i>*Mitra-</i> and the <i>*daivās</i>	<i>*Varuna-</i> and the <i>*asurās</i>

In the Hesiodic cosmogonic myth, between the diurnal sky, Zeus, and the nocturnal sky, Ouranos (“the starred sky”), there is a third entity whose name means ‘cutting’ (i. e., ‘twilight’), Kronos. According to the Vedic assertion *tisrō dyāvah* (*RV* 1.35.6) ‘there are three skies’, Ouranos, Kronos, and Zeus may be considered as the reflexes of the ‘three skies’ of an ancient Indo-European cosmology.

### 4. The three skies are turning (Haudry 1982b)

The cosmologies of the ancient Indo-European peoples usually divide the world into three parts, but in two different ways:

(1) According to the cosmology of Vedic India, there are “three worlds”, the sky, the earth, and a “median world”, *antārikṣa*, between them.

(2) According to the cosmology of Greeks and Germans, there is also a “median world”, Old English *middan-geard*, but it is the earth, which is situated between the sky and the hell.

These two cosmologies have in common the notion of “median world”, but it does not correspond to the same reality. And neither of these two cosmologies accounts for the three cosmic colours, black, white, red: the sky may be white, and the earth (or the hell) black, but how could the median world, *antárikṣa* or earth, be red? Therefore, I suppose that these cosmologies originate from a more ancient cosmology according to which the earth was situated in the middle of the world and surrounded by three turning skies, a black one, the nocturnal sky (which was the hell), the white diurnal sky, inhabited by the *\*deywōs*, and a red one: the twilight sky, *\*régʷos*.

*\*régʷos-* is a spatio-temporal notion like *\*dyew-*. Its original meaning is well preserved in Armenian *erek* ‘evening’ and Old Icelandic *rökkr* ‘twilight’. In Vedic, its reflex *rájas-* is a synonym of *antárikṣa-*: it evolved to a spatial value, like Greek *érebos*. The original seme “red” of *rájas-* is better preserved in the psychological vocabulary, where it is the “red” principle of passion (§ 5).

Another reflex of this cosmology is the Vedic conception of the nine worlds, three skies, three median worlds, three earths.

## 5. From the three skies to the three colours

These three cosmic colours acquired symbolic values in three fields:

(1) Psychology: the human soul was considered to be triple, consisting of a white component, Vedic *sattvá-* ‘goodness’, a red one, *rájas-* ‘passion’, and a black one, *támas-* ‘darkness’. Plato’s theory is very similar.

(2) Social structure: Human society was considered as triple. Its two first components, the white one and the red one, are the upper class (Haudry 1984d). According to the Greek myth of Deukalion and Pyrrha, the Greeks (= the Indo-European invaders) are the offspring of Deukalion, the White one, and Pyrrha, the Red one, and the autochthonous people are the offspring of the stones thrown by Deukalion and Pyrrha on the Black Earth. A similar symbolism appears in the Nordic *Rígsthula*, where the complexion of Jarl is

white, that of Karl, red, and that of Thraell, black. That is to say that the upper class is endowed with bright 'goodness' (spiritual powers and heroism), the middle class with red 'passion' (material powers), the lower class with 'darkness' (the vital functions). Later, these three colours acquired a functional value: the white colour became the colour of the magico-religious function, the red colour, that of the warrior function, and the black colour, that of the "third function", production and reproduction. But this is not their original value: Pyrrha is not a warrior, Jarl is a warrior, and white is not the colour of Woden, nor of the Lithuanian Velnias, nor of the Vedic Varuṇa.

(3) World history: The most ancient conception of the world's history is a cyclical one. It may be reconstructed on the ground of the Indian doctrine of the four *yuga* and of the Hesiodic doctrine of the five ages. These two conceptions originate from the cosmology of the three turning skies, with secondary alterations: the fourth caste in India, the proto-historic age of the heroes in the Hesiodic poem.

	Hesiod	Manu	Corresponding <i>varṇa</i>
Black age (cosmic night)	Ouranos	Brahma's sleep	
Red age 1 (cosmic twilight)	Kronos Gold age	Twilight preceding the Kṛta- yuga	
White age (cosmic day)	Zeus Silver age	Kṛta-yuga	Brāhmaṇa White
Red age 2 (cosmic twilight)	Copper <sup>1</sup> age Heroes' age Kronos is their king	Twilight following the Kṛta- yuga Treta-yuga	Kṣatriya Red
Black age (towards the cosmic night)	Iron age 1) "mixed" (good + bad) 2) wholly bad	{ Dvāpara-yuga Kāli-yuga	Vaiśya Śūdra Black

## 6. The homology between the unities of time

Such a cosmic cycle (*Manvantara*) is a day and a night of Brahmā according to *Manu*, 1.68. In the same way, “a year is a day and a night of the gods” (*ibid.* 67). Each age (*yuga*) is preceded and followed by a twilight (*ibid.* 69). That is to say that the main unities of time — day, year, cosmic cycle — are homologous. Each of them consists of a (black) night, a (white) day and two (red) twilights: it is the scheme of the three turning skies.

## 7. The Diurnal Sky and the Year (Haudry 1983, 1984b)

In the Greek pantheon, the Diurnal Sky, Zeus, is not the husband of the Earth, but of the Year, Hera (\**yērā-*). The name of Hera is cognate to that of the Horai (\**yōrā-*), divinities of the spring and companions of Aphrodite, the Dawn of the Year (§ 11). The original meaning of \**yē/ōr-* is “the spring and summer months” (cf. Old Icelandic *ár*, Old English *gēr*). In the primitive state of the legend, the marriage of Zeus and Hera occurred yearly: the three Arcadian Heras (child, wife, widow) mentioned by Pausanias, 8.22, are the most illustrative reflex of this conception. Every year, Hera becomes a virgin, and marries Zeus. The meaning of this legend is beyond doubt the yearly reappearing of light after the winter night. In this way, most of Hera’s legends, festivals, attributes and images are well accounted for.

## 8. The hero as conqueror of the year (Haudry 1984c)

The name of the hero (probably) and the name of Herakles (certainly) are cognate to the name of Hera, but the link is not apparent. The theory accounts for it also: the heroes, and Herakles, the chief hero, are men who “conquer the year”, according to the Brahmanic phrase (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 11.1.2.12); that is to say: “who conquer immortality”, “who escape the second death”. Some heroes fail in

their “conquest of the year”: they are punished, such as Ixion, who indeed tried to “conquer Hera”. Those who succeed become immortal. They live with the gods on Mt. Olympus in the best case (Herakles, with Hebe “everlasting youth”); in the Islands of the Blessed Ones (Menelaos and Helen), or on the White Island (Achilles); or in the memory of the later generations. All of them really “conquered the year”, “went through the winter night” where other men disappear: those who are forgotten after their death.

## 9. To swim through the winter night (Haudry 1985a)

An Indo-European kenning may be reconstructed as ‘to swim through the winter night’. Such a swim is a “qualifying trial” for a hero. The most popular example is the swimming competition of Beowulf and Breca (Haudry 1984c). But significantly the Nordic parallel of Beowulf, Grettir, fords a river before slaying the *troll* during the night of Yule: ‘We have just forded these shades’, says the *R̥gveda* (1.92.6 and par.) at a particular dawn of the year (§ 11). A form of the Brahmanic ritual *atirātra* ‘through the Night’ is called *aptoryāma* ‘fording the water’: ‘the man who knows thus safely attains the shore of the year’, says the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* in conclusion (5.2.14). Such a kenning provides us with a better account of Dionysos’ winter festival called Anthesteries, usually interpreted as a festival of flowers; but flowers do not seem play any part in it. I explain it as ‘fording (or: sailing across) the shades (of the winter night)’, the first term, *anthes* being the equivalent of Vedic *ándhas*- ‘darkness’ and the compound being similar to *néktar* (\**nek-tr̥*- ‘what goes through the death’).

## 10. The Twelve Days and Yule tide

A Greek goddess may be said ‘to swim through the winter night’: Thetis, Achilles’ mother, in the beginning of *Iliad* (1, v. 423 ff.). Her son Achilles complains to her about Agamemnon and requests her to call in Zeus. But Zeus is away: he and all the gods banquet with the Aethiopians for twelve days. This indication, which has no importance at all from the point of view of the narration, appears

to be extremely meaningful if we remember that Zeus initially is the diurnal sky: it is a well-known fact that the Germanic and Celtic Twelve Days (Haudry 1983) originate from the common period of the Indo-Europeans. The *Ṛbhávaḥ*, who are the Vedic gods of the year, are said to have slept twelve days in the house of *Āgoḥya* 'the one who should not be concealed' (= the sun). The twelve days sleep of the *Ṛbhávaḥ*, whose Germanic homologs are the *Elves*, the gods of Yule (Yule is named *Alfarblót* 'sacrifice to the Elves' in Old Icelandic), is the "sleep of the year". The Greek language owes its name of the year to this image: *eniautós* literally means 'the sleep of the year'. Thus it is possible to read the riddle of Zeus and the gods banqueting with the Aethiopians twelve days yearly: it is a twelve-day winter night. Then, the diurnal sky and its dwellers are away; they stay at one end of the world among people 'with shining faces' (it is the actual meaning of their name), similar to the people of Indian White Island (*Śvetadvīpa*). After these twelve days, Thetis comes out of the sea to call on Zeus: she swims through the winter night to reach the light of the Diurnal Sky.

## 11. The dawn(s) of the year

Another Greek goddess who has crossed the water of the winter night is Aphrodite Ourania, the "daughter" of the Nocturnal Sky, Ouranos, who sails to Cyprus in the first days of the world. When she arrives, she is welcomed by the Horai, the goddesses of Spring-time. G. Nagy has shown convincingly that Aphrodite is a reflex of the Indo-European dawn goddess. In this myth, she may be said to be "the dawn of the cosmic cycle". Aphrodite is also the dawn of the year, the goddess of spring. It is this way that the dawn goddess evolved to a love goddess:

*Nam simul ac species patefactast verna diei et reserata viget genitabilis aura favoni, aerae primum volucres te, diva, tuumque significant initum percussae corda tua vi. Inde ferae, pecudes persultant pabula laeta, et rapidos tranant amnis: ita capta lepore te sequitur cupide quo quamque inducere pergis*

Actually, these lines from Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* 1.10–16, are the best illustration of this evolution.

Now, let us remember the part of Aphrodite in the Homeric hierogamy on the Gargaros, which originates from the myth of the



yearly marriage of the Diurnal Sky and the Year. Aphrodite, on whom Hera calls before seducing Zeus, may be said to be “the dawn of the year”. “The dawn of the year” is the original meaning of *Easter*:

*Eosturmonath, qui nunc paschalis mensis interpretatur, quondam a dea illorum quae Eostre vocabatur et cui in illo festam celebrabant, nomen habuit. A cujus nomine nunc paschale tempus cognominant, consueto antiquae observationis vocabulo gaudia novae solemnitatis vocantes.*

A great deal of ingenuity has been employed to dispose of the decisive evidence of Bede, *De temporum ratione*, XV. Nevertheless, our former observations prove that the concept of a “dawn of the year” is sound. Naturally, this Eostre never became a great goddess like Aphrodite; she remained a minor divinity like Vedic *Uṣas* and Greek *Eos*, to the name of which her name is cognate. Altogether, an amazing datum must be accounted for: the plural, attested by German *Ostern* and Old English *Eāstron*. Are there several dawns? Yes: the phrase “winter night”, which is a metaphoric one in Greece, originates from a geographic reality, the winter night of the circumpolar regions inhabited by the Indo-Europeans. And in these countries between the winter night and the summer day a series of dawns take place. Tilak made out a case for the “Arctic origin of the Vedic tradition” from the Vedic plural *uṣásaḥ*: Germanic *\*austrōn* furnishes similar evidence.

## 12. Conclusion

It has appeared that some of the most important concepts of the Indo-European tradition originate from a cosmology according to which three skies, a white one, *\*dyew-*, a red one, *\*régʷos-*, and a black one, identical to the night (and to the hell) turn round the black earth. Therefrom the scheme of the three colours was applied to build the ternary structure of the human soul, of the society, of the world. We can now understand why the unities of time are homologous: in circumpolar countries, the year actually is homologous to the day; the year consists of a black winter night (a dangerous period), a series of red dawns and a long white (bright) day. It was natural that the cosmic cycle should have been built on that pattern. The religion of Ancient Greece shows the best reflexes

of this remote tradition: its sovereign pair, Zeus and Hera, great gods and goddesses such as Aphrodite and Dionysos (and probably Apollo) originate from it. Correlatively, the "political religion" of the three functions plays little part in Greek mythology, and no part at all in the structure of the pantheon: the three functions are a more recent layer which derives from the three colours and ultimately from the three skies.

### Notes

1. *Khalkós* means either 'bronze' or 'copper'; if we adopt 'copper', the symbolic value of the colour is evident: the copper age is a "red" age.

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## Language and ethnicity\*

Einar Haugen

Now the question no longer is: how shall we learn English so that we may take part in the social life of America and partake of her benefits; the big question is: how can we preserve the language of our ancestors here, in a foreign environment, and pass on to our descendants the treasures which it contains?

*Thronð Bothne, professor, editor*  
(1898)

What is called 'ethnicity' in North America today vacillates uncertainly between the two poles of *kinship* and *nationalism*, as a part of the continuum that connects the two. At one end are the ties that keep the family together, whether it is nuclear or extended — the kind of bond that makes some people go in for extensive genealogical research. At the other end is the ideology that maintains a nation and its culture, and to which the individual citizen is expected to give his loyalty. Ethnicity shares with both a sense of loyalty to one's group, larger than kinship but lesser than nationalism. We may call ethnicity an extended kinship and a diluted nationalism.

Ethnicity is therefore a subjective phenomenon, which cannot be predicted from a person's birthplace, ancestry, or other objective data. The most enthusiastically ethnic Norwegian I know is a man without a drop of Norwegian blood or background, who happens to be a graduate of the Harvard Law School. He is the *primus motor* and most active member in the Sons of Norway lodge in his eastern town; he goes to Norway every summer and makes friends with Norwegians wherever he goes; he knows more about Norwegian literature than most of his lodge mates, and even goes in for translating books into English. On the other hand I could name people who have emigrated to America from Norway who have

avoided all contact with other Norwegians, have lost their language, married Americans and joined American organizations, allowing themselves to be swallowed up in American life, with little if any thought of their homeland and its culture.

These are extreme examples, and most people fall somewhere on the continuum between them. They arrive with their ethnicity intact, a national loyalty, and as the years go by, they gradually move into the new nation, retaining only those parts of their ethnicity that do not bring them into open conflict with the new. In the end, they are left with little more than their ancestry and their childhood memories, perhaps a foreign name. (Isaacs 1975; Haugen 1953: 199–232.)

Others may consider the sociology of ethnicity, but it is for me to speak of the role of language in relation to ethnicity. Yet I cannot deal with the powerful influence of language on ethnicity without clarifying for you and myself the meaning of ethnicity itself. It has been pointed out by Glazer and Moynihan in the introduction to their book on ethnicity that this is a relatively new word. (Glazer and Moynihan 1975: 1; this chapter is a revision of their 1974 article, 'Why Ethnicity?') With the help of the editors of the G. and C. Merriam Company I have been able to trace it back a little farther than they, but hardly to its first use. The earliest I have located is its use in two distinctly technical articles in the *American Sociological Review* for 1950, where it is used virtually as a synonym for the census term "national origin" (McGuire 1950: 199; Hollingshead 1950: 624). Starting out as a bit of sociological jargon it has spread to the general public, and in a much wider sense, thanks to the real life events that have intervened between 1950 and the present. "National origin" could not be applied to Negroes or Jews, and even less to American Indians. Now that Negroes have become Afro-Americans, the Indians "native Americans", and Jews from whatever country have consolidated themselves, they have all joined their aspirations for recognition with those that older immigrant groups have long asserted for political and social acceptance (Glazer and Moynihan 1963).

The topic of ethnicity and its revival is therefore of little interest unless it refers primarily to the ideological and emotional commitment to a particular group, resulting in active work on behalf of that group and the maintenance of its identity, not only among its living members, but also its children and young people. In this connection it is important to recognize that the original English

settlers of the United States and Canada also had their ethnicity, and that their position as first settlers and organizers of government enabled them to impose this ethnicity on the new nations that they established. We like to think in the United States that ours was not just a new nation, but a new kind of nation, founded on the ideological commitment in the Declaration of Independence to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'. But when it came to organizing the government in orderly, constitutional forms and establishing the social life of the country, the identity imposed was English, and non-English-speaking immigrants had to yield, if they wished to be accepted at all. English ethnicity was a highly exclusive one, which saw little of value in anything that was not white, Anglo-Saxon, and protestant.

Since "ethnicity" is rarely applied to the English, it has come to be a kind of "minority nationalism", using "minority" in the sense of a politically dominated group. In an outline list which I recently saw of a proposed "ethnic encyclopedia" for the United States I noted that the groups listed ran all the way from European to Asian immigrants of various races and national origins, but also included African slave groups, American Indians of various kinds, religious groups like the Mennonites, and linguistic groups like the Basques, who have no European homeland of their own. Census figures on immigration are of course misleading, since most countries have several ethnic and linguistic subgroups within their citizenship. Current census figures on the language of one's childhood home are misleading, since many ethnic groups have either abandoned the language of their ancestors, or had no distinct language to begin with, as for example the Irish. Ethnicity is indeed a protean thing, compounded out of various loyalties, traditions of a common religion, a language, a nation, or just a genealogy. It may even be the result of a personal decision, a desire to belong or not to belong, and it may reflect rejection by the dominant group.

Now language is clearly one of the most powerful promoters of ethnicity, and yet it is far from infallible. My own researches in this field are embodied in my *Norwegian Language in America* (Haugen 1953) and *Bilingualism in the Americas* (Haugen 1956), plus some later articles, in part collected in my *Ecology of Language* (Haugen 1972). In the first of these I have devoted two chapters to the vain struggle of many Norwegians to maintain their language in their churches, schools, communities, writings, and homes. In 1825, when the first boatload arrived, it was taken for granted that they would

soon be absorbed into the American nation. But as their numbers grew, and they succeeded in establishing large and solid communities in the midwest states and Canada, as well as urban communities in such cities as Brooklyn, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Seattle, they created a Little Norway in which their language and their ethnicity could flourish for a hundred years. They formed church organizations that were almost wholly Norwegian-speaking down to World War I; higher schools like Luther College where Norwegian was the language of instruction; societies and lodges of all kinds conducted in Norwegian; and a great number of newspapers, which became the organs of communication among them, some of them still alive, though ailing. All these supralocal institutions created a truly ethnic community, which had a common language, a religion that most of the members shared, and a pride that was nourished by reports of the accomplishments of countrymen at home and in America.

Popularly the ethnic community was known as “det norske Amerika” or even “Vesterheimen”, in imitation of the Icelandic Vestur-Ísland. In this ethnic world “norskdom” or Norwegianness was cultivated as a common value that kept its members together at the same time as it set them off from their fellow citizens of other ethnic origins. Of course most of them were at the same time learning English, working in the American and Canadian community, and pridefully participating in the new political and commercial system, which gave them freedom and often even prosperity. In my boyhood and youth toward the beginning of this century “det norske Amerika” was fully alive, and probably enjoying its greatest flowering. I grew into it, thanks to a personal interest after two years of living in Norway, and thanks to the active cultural enthusiasm and participation in this world by my parents. They initiated me into it, giving me that duality of ethnicity which I have enjoyed ever since. This world lasted from the founding of Norwegian churches and newspapers in the 1840s well into the middle of our century. In the 1950s Norwegian services gradually came to a virtual end. Major newspapers died along with their subscribers, e. g., *Minneapolis Tidende* in 1935, *Skandinaven* in Chicago in 1941, *Decorah-Posten* in Iowa in 1972. The community was fed by immigrations, especially in urban areas. The five weeklies that still appear in the United States and Canada are a sad remnant of what was once a large and influential press. (For a recent survey see Arlow Andersen 1975.)

The change from Norwegian to English did not pass without conflict, often between generations, and many a battle was fought

on the floor of church meetings and in the bosom of the family between those who wished to maintain the old language and those who found it a handicap on their upward and outward mobility in American society. In rural communities it was easy, for pre-war contact with American life was there often quite minimal. In urban communities it was harder, for Norwegians rarely isolated themselves in ghettolike areas and met no color lines in moving out of the poorer sections as their prosperity grew. To many of them the loss of Norwegian as a language of home and church was a bitter experience, for it is well known that a language learned late in life fails to convey the cultural, emotional, and religious power of the first language, the mother tongue. Even I, who have had all my schooling in English, can still sense that somehow a Norwegian poem, a prayer, a quotation is warmer, more deeply moving than any English equivalent. This is because I grew up in a home where I could feel myself as part of a larger, Norwegian, ethnic community, living in America, but with some of my roots in Norway. Over the past century there have been many of us who were privileged (some might think doomed) to grow up bilingually, learning our ancestral tongue at home and in church, while learning our national language on the street and at school. In my opinion most of us were none the worse for it; we were able to switch languages as the situation demanded.

In my book *The Norwegian language in America* (Haugen 1953) I documented this development in detail, based on observation, field work, and reading of sources. The census provided me with some interesting comparative figures on the maintenance of their language by various groups. Even the rather poor American census records showed what I had expected, that Norwegians were slightly more retentive than Swedes, and a good deal more than Danes. One explanation is quite simply that the Danes were fewer and more urbanized; Swedes were the most numerous, but they were more urbanized than the Norwegians. The much better Canadian statistics for 1931 made it possible to make a more accurate comparison and of course included the Icelanders, who proved to be much more retentive than any of the mainland Scandinavians. In that year only 14.2% of those who claimed to be of Icelandic stock had lost their Icelandic language entirely. The figure for Swedes was 23.7%, for Norwegians 24.9%, and for Danes more than twice that of the Icelanders, 29% (Haugen 1953: 261 – 294). In later years this kind of comparative study of language maintenance has been



extended to include most American ethnic groups, above all by Joshua Fishman of Yeshiva University, in his classic book *Language loyalty in the United States* (Fishman 1966). He also discussed the dynamics of the development in terms of the ethnic community and its inner life, showing in detail how the sense of ethnic loyalty is associated with language loyalty.

In the typical bilingual community, however, it is often not a question of black and white, a direct confrontation between the two languages. We also have to take into account the fact that languages in contact tend to merge and develop in parallel directions. This is the topic to which I devoted the greater part of my work *The Norwegian language in America* (Haugen 1953) and one that has been treated by many others for languages around the world. I refer of course to the fact that every language or dialect is colored by the culture within which it lives; if the larger culture has a different language or dialect, the minority group language will adopt elements from the language of the dominant group. As I see this development, speakers who maintain the ethnic language are still quite inevitably and often unconsciously making concessions to English. It is easy to make up illustrations: it would be quite natural for a dialect-speaking Norwegian farmer in America to say, *Koltan jompa over fense ut i fila* when he means 'The colts jumped over the fence into the field'. In Norway he would have said *Folan hoppa over gjerdet ut i åkeren*. The grammar is exactly the same, but the meaningful words of the Norwegian sentence have been replaced by English ones. Words like *colt*, *jump*, *fence*, and *field* have become part of his everyday vocabulary, pronounced and inflected in Norwegian: *colt* is masculine, *fence* is neuter, *field* is feminine.

This development is neither arbitrary nor accidental. It has become a part of the community norm, which every childhood speaker of rural Norwegian-American will recognize as natural; he or she may not even realize that it deviates from true Norwegian. As a sociolinguistic phenomenon it is universal and no more peculiar or ridiculous than the fact that in English an Anglo-Saxon *calf* becomes a French *veal* when it is butchered and cooked. To be sure, speakers and especially writers with some sophistication will make an effort to avoid such deviations, considering them a species of cultural immorality or treason, a kind of linguistic mishmash. For such persons it can be a real struggle to keep the old language "pure"; it requires a great deal of what I have called "linguistic

backbone". And in the end it may not be worth it, unless one wishes to be acceptable as a speaker or writer both in the home country and in the larger culture of the new country. Meanwhile the American Norwegian dialect serves the ethnic community in an admirable way. It brings the speakers step by step nearer to the new culture, like a bridge that saves them the painful plunge into the icy waters of a new language and a new culture. It protects their identities and gives them a chance to become Americans or Canadians bit by bit, almost without noticing it. The language serves as a valuable shelter for their ethnic development. Before they know it, their thinking has moved word by word out of the world from which they came without their having had to give up the old language all at once. They have shaped a new instrument out of the old tongue, one that suits a new country and a culture in transition.

When I began my work on this topic, very little had been written about the problem from a general American or theoretical point of view. The many parallels I observed in reading about other American groups led me to collect all the studies I could find relating to such situations and putting them into my 1956 book on *Bilingualism in the Americas* (continued in 1973). I limited myself to North and South America, and everywhere I found similar developments. Where a language was dominant, like Spanish and Portuguese in Latin America or English in the United States, other ethnic groups, including Indians, Blacks, Eskimos, and Europeans showed a general trend toward accepting the majority language, and if not abandoning their own, at least speaking it in a new way which suited their new country and its new culture. This I found was true even among the French speakers of Canada, who had the best chance of all to maintain their traditional language. Among the Norwegians I found that even cultured speakers could fall into bilingual traps. The famous writer Rølvaag had to have his manuscripts checked when they were published in Norway. It is another matter that he used the 'mixed' dialect in brilliantly representing the speech of his rural characters.

All of these considerations lead us to the conclusion that it is hardly possible to maintain an ethnic language unless it is accompanied by a considerable degree of social segregation, such as is practiced by religious groups like the Mennonites. Here language is a powerful supportive factor in keeping the elect apart from the world; for one thing it supports endogamy, i. e., it prevents inter-

marriage. But any group that is either unable or unwilling to maintain its segregation and is not itself rejected by the dominant group, will inevitably learn the new language, at least as a second language and in later generations as a first. Keeping up an ethnic language means a special effort on the part of parents in creating a native-speaking environment in the home, the school, or the church, and often by sending their children back for visits to the home country. It means making the children bilingual, which for a time at least will raise problems for them in keeping the languages apart. But it has been shown over and over again that in spite of what some have claimed, this is not a mental handicap. It is rather an extension of their experience, a window into another world, which helps to keep alive their sense of identity with the past and with their kin.

In 1953 I dedicated my book to my parents, 'who first introduced me to the pleasures and problems of bilingualism'. It has been my personal experience that the pleasures far outweigh the problems, but the very fact that bilingualism appears to be generally unstable and evanescent in our dynamic society suggests that for many the problems may outweigh the pleasures. I have no count of the number of people who have sadly said to me, 'I wish my parents had taught me Norwegian' or whatever. To these I could only answer: 'That was because you resisted them when they tried, since children refuse to be different from their age-mates'; or else 'that it was because your parents mistakenly thought that their language would be a handicap to you as it had been to them, and so they did it out of consideration for your future'.

There is no doubt that bilingualism has been considered a problem in the United States ever since World War I, with its witch hunt against foreign languages in the name of "Americanism" and "national security". Early intelligence tests based on verbal knowledge were used to prove that Mexican Americans were less intelligent than Anglo-Americans, chiefly because they had learned less English at home. During World War II knowledge of foreign languages suddenly became a national resource, and even the language knowledge of foreign groups was tapped in an effort to produce leaders who could represent us abroad. In the last few years a new wave has brought with it a massive effort to encourage bilingualism by setting up bilingual schools in areas where there are large minorities of impoverished children speaking Spanish, Indian, Eskimo, or even Black English. These

are funded under the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, followed by a flood of writings on bilingual education and the language of disadvantaged groups. Only the future will tell how successful such programs are. I do not believe that they will do much to preserve the ethnicity of the groups in question; they may indeed have just the opposite effect, since the professed goal of the Act is not ethnic preservation, but what is euphemistically known as "transitional bilingualism", i.e., the more successful learning of English. At best I hope that the programs will in the meanwhile give the ethnic groups a greater sense of pride in their own identity, which in the long run will make them better citizens in a pluralistic America. It is encouraging that for the first time in its history the United States Congress has taken official cognizance, and in a benevolent way, of the existence of non-English languages in its country. I am sure that Canada here has a great deal to teach us, for their problems are in many ways similar, yet different from ours. The studies of the Canadian Bilingual-Bicultural Commission, the Bilingual Conference at Moncton in 1967 (Kelly 1969), and the researches of scholars like William Mackey at Laval and Wallace Lambert at McGill, to mention only two, have been both extensive and profound and have helped to clarify for the rest of us some of the problems that face Canada in its multilingual future.

In summing up what I have had to say in this paper, I point out first that social scientists, who invented "ethnicity" as an objective technical term replacing "national origins", have now made an about-face that has brought to the fore the emotional, subjective force of this factor in social life. They now grant that it may even at times be more important than social class, religion, or race. I have placed the term somewhere between kinship and nationalism and similarly loaded with explosive emotionalism. An important aspect of ethnicity is the conscious effort to preserve one's native language against great odds. Sociologists have not given language loyalty its due; this has been the task of the sociolinguists.

#### *Note*

\* Preliminary version printed in *Notes on Linguistics*, No. 12 (October 1979).

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# **On the use of the nominal strategy for coding complex complements in some African languages<sup>1</sup>**

Bernd Heine and Mechthild Reh

## **0. Introduction**

The assumption made in most studies on complex complementation is, either implicitly or explicitly, that one is dealing basically with two or more underlying clauses, or ‘atomic sentences’, as Stockwell (1977: 10) refers to them. These atomic sentences are said to be transformed into one surface sentence by means of rules such as Equi-NP-deletion, Raising, etc., leaving only some “tracer” elements behind, which remind us that the relevant rules have been applied. Thus, when coming across infinitives, gerunds, verbal nouns and the like, we are expected to recognize that a sentence structure is involved which is derived from more than one atomic sentence.

In the present paper an alternative view concerning complementation is proposed. According to this view, complex complements may also arise through the expansion of nominal structures.

There are essentially two principal strategies which are employed in African languages to introduce complex complements. These are referred to here, respectively, as the nominal and the clausal strategy.

## **1. Two basic strategies**

The term “nominal strategy” relates to the use of nominal morpho-syntax in order to code verbal complements. For example, the presence of a nominal gender, number, or case morphology, or the use of a verb in nominalized form — be it a gerundive verb, a verbal noun, or an absolute construction — may be indicative of this strategy. Typically, constituents marked by means of this strategy exhibit a specific case relation vis-à-vis the matrix verb.

The “clausal (or sentential) strategy”, on the other hand, implies that a complement is coded as a clause, marked in particular by the use of a finite verb. The presence of verbal inflection for person, tense, and aspect typically indicates that one is dealing with this strategy. It involves either embedding or conjoining, i. e., the clausal complement may be added to the matrix clause as a subordinate or a coordinate structure; the linkage between the two clauses may, but need not be, formally marked.

In languages which make use of both basic strategies the distinction usually has some semantic correlates. It is typically associated with the following characteristics (see Givón 1980: 347–348, 350, 367):

	<i>Nominal Structure<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Clausal Structure<sup>3</sup></i>
Verbal meaning:	implicative	non-implicative
Probability of success:	high	low
Degree of certainty and/or volition:	high <sup>3</sup>	low

This difference can be demonstrated most clearly in cases where one and the same verb may be used with both strategies. Thus, in the following sentences taken from Bemba, a Bantu language from Zambia, (1) uses a nominal strategy (infinitival verb form), while (2) uses a clausal strategy (finite/subjunctive form). The meaning in (1) is implicative and shows a high probability of success, while that of (2) is non-implicative and implies a lower probability of success (cf. Givón 1980: 347):

- (1) *n-a -koonkomeshya Robert uku -boomba.*  
 I-PAST-force Robert INF-work  
 ‘I forced Robert to work.’
- (2) *n-a -koonkomeshya Robert (uku-ti)*  
 I-PAST-order Robert (*that*)  
*a -boomb-e*  
 he-work -SUBJUNCT  
 ‘I ordered Robert to work.’

The interrelationship between choice of complement type and syntactic and pragmatic criteria has also been shown by Myers (1975) in discussing examples from two Bantu languages, Chewa



and Kamba, and by Yillah (1975), presenting examples from Temne, a West Atlantic language. Thus, Myers found the choice of complement type being determined by the following variables:

- Type of verb in the matrix clause,
- identity of subject,
- speaker's beliefs about the truth (or eventual realization) of the content of the complement clause,
- (conceptual) relatedness between the described actions of both clauses.

Similarly, in Temne, the type of complement structure, in particular the type of complementizer, is determined by the following points (Yillah 1975):

- Type of verb in the matrix clause,
- speaker's commitment to the truth value (i.e., neutrality vs. assertion),
- amount of control the subject of the matrix clause has over the situation,
- strength of volition.

These observations allow us to formulate some generalizations on the types of contexts in which both basic strategies may be employed. For example, the nominal strategy is more likely to be used

- (i) the higher the strength of volition a verb expresses,
- (ii) the higher the amount of control the subject of the matrix clause has over the situation,
- (iii) the higher the speaker's belief about the truth or the eventual realization of the content of the complement clause, and
- (iv) the higher the conceptual relatedness between the described action of both clauses.

Otherwise, the clausal strategy is more likely to be employed.

Apart from these semantic and pragmatic determinants, the choice of strategies also depends on the internal complexity of the complement, i.e., on the number of arguments it takes. In a number of African languages, a complement consisting of a verb plus a nominal or adverbial complement has to be coded as a nominal structure, involving a nominalized/infinitival form of the verb. However, once there is a subject constituent, that is, a complemental subject which differs in reference from the subject of the matrix clause, then the nominal strategy has to be abandoned and to be



replaced by a clausal strategy. In a more general way, we may formulate this observation thus:

- (v) The less syntactic/semantic complexity a complement has, the more likely it is to be coded by means of the nominal strategy, while more complex complements tend to be coded by means of the clausal strategy.

Frequently it turns out to be hard to decide whether one is dealing with a nominal or a clausal strategy. This may be due to the fact that a given language does not distinguish sufficiently between a nominal and a verbal morphosyntax, but there may be various other reasons as well. The following paragraphs are devoted to one particular type of such cases, and an attempt is made to account for it.

Of more interest are cases of complement structures which simultaneously show the effect of both strategies. The claim made in this paper is that in such cases it is the nominal strategy which was applied first, and that the clausal strategy came in later in an attempt to make optimal use of the existing morphosyntax to code more complex semantic contents.

## 2. Hybrid structures

There are some languages whose complement structure is dominated entirely by the nominal strategy. Among all African languages we have come across, Ik offers the most distinguished example in this respect.

Ik is a Kuliak language spoken in northeastern Uganda.<sup>4</sup> It has VSO basic order and an elaborate case morphology distinguishing the following cases:<sup>5</sup>

absolute (ABS)	Ø
accusative (ACC)	- <i>k<sup>a</sup></i>
source (SOU)	- <i>o</i>
goal (GOA)	- <i>k<sup>e</sup></i>
genitive (GEN)	- <i>e</i>
copulative (COP)	- <i>k<sup>o</sup></i>

Ik may employ its case morphology for coding any type of complement, be it an inherent argument or an adjunct. In sentence

(3), the object is in the accusative while its adverbial complement is in the goal case:<sup>6</sup>

- (3) *bɛdʌ kʷo-oni -a ákʷ -éde-kʰ.*  
 want go -INF-ACC inside-its -GOA  
 'He wants to go in.'

In sentences (4) and (5), what forms semantically the complement verb appears as a nominal expression, coded in the copulative case in (4) and in the genitive in (5). Sentence (5) is also interesting in another respect: It contains a double genitive to express the content of a complement clause:

- (4) *bɛdʌ -íá nts-a atsú -o nayé.*  
 want-I he -ACC come-COP here  
 'I want him to come here.'
- (5) *bɛdʌ -íá dódʌ -és -a kón -ésí -ε*  
 want-I show-INF-ACC cook-INF-GEN  
*tɔbɔŋʷ-é ntsí-kʰ.*  
 food -GEN he -GOA  
 'I want to show her how to cook food.'  
 (lit.: 'I want the showing to her of the cooking of food.')

In the above sentences, complement verbs appear in their infinitive form (INF). However, Ik also has a means of using finite verbs and still maintaining the nominal strategy, i. e., introducing the verb as a nominal constituent. In this case, the verb is constructed in the cohortative mood (COH), using the suffix *-i*, and has the goal case marker *-kʰ* attached to it, e. g.,

- (6) *bɛdʌ yakwá nci-a wet -í -í-kʰ.*  
 want man I -ACC drink-COH-I-GOA  
*cémɛrɪ -kʰ.*  
 medicine-ACC  
 'The man wants me to drink medicine.'

This strategy involving the goal case is also employed to code clausal adjuncts. Thus in (7) and (8) subordinate verbs are coded as nominal constituents in the goal case, but they also have the properties of verbs since they contain verbal inflections of person and mood:

- (7) *ntá kʷó-í -í ma -í -í-kʰ.*  
 not go -NEG-I sick-COH-I-GOA  
 'I cannot go because I am sick.'

- (8) *ne en -át -í -e níci-á*  
 when see-they-COH-GOA I -ACC  
*ats -í -í-k<sup>e</sup> fêk -in.*  
 come-COH-I-GOA laugh-they  
 'When they saw me come they laughed.'

To summarize, Ik is a language whose syntax is dominated by the nominal strategy. All constituents except the main verb are in some way endorsed with a case label and are treated syntactically as nominal arguments, be they inherent roles or adjuncts.<sup>7</sup> This has the effect that one and the same case may appear several times in a given sentence. With subordinate constituents, i.e., with adjuncts containing a finite verb, this results in the rise of hybrid structures which combine the morphological characteristics of both nouns and verbs. Morphologically, this hybrid nature can be seen for example in the fact that the suffix *-k<sup>e</sup>* figuring in the complement verbs of sentence (6) to (8) may in the same way be interpreted as either a goal case marker or a clause subordinator.

The presence of such a hybrid structure in complement clauses can also be encountered in other African languages. It is found for example in sentence (9) of Krongo, which is a language spoken in Kordofan, having VSO basic order and a sex-based gender system:

- (9) *n -átàasà à'àng (t-) ósí -kò -n -tú ṇàamà*  
 1/2-want I (NOM) cook-BEN-TR-your-things  
*à'àng.*  
 DAT:I  
 'I want you to cook for me.'

The verb of the complement clause shows two features which distinguish it from verbs in main clauses: it contains an optional nominalization marker *t-* and a personal suffix *-tú*, which is also found as a person marker in nominal locative/possessive structures.

Furthermore, in Hausa, a Chadic SVO language spoken in Northern Nigeria and other West African countries, certain monosyllabic verbs have an optional suffix *-n* in the progressive aspect when followed by a clausal complement, e. g.,

- (10) *Audu ya naa so (-n) ya rubuuta wasiikaa.*  
 Audu he PR like (-n) he write letter  
 'Audu wants to write a letter.' (Bagari 1972: 32)

The use of this suffix, which is a genitive/possessive marker introducing possessor nouns or pronouns, is hard to account for in

a sentence like (10), where it introduces an object clause rather than a nominal modifier. Once again we are confronted with a case where nominal and verbal morphosyntax interfere with one another in complement clauses.

## **Expansion**

One of the main ways in which languages introduce new morphosyntactic structures is by exploiting old means for novel functions (cf. Werner – Kaplan 1963: 403). The effect of this principle is that the use of an existing linguistic structure is extended to semantic and/or syntactic contexts for which it has not been designed.

This exploitation may involve the transfer of constituents or entire clauses to express specific functions (for examples see Heine – Reh 1984: 101 ff.), but it may also involve the expansion of a grammatical unit to serve the coding of cognitively more complex concepts. Expansion tends to lead

- from the expression of concrete, perceptual-motor experiences to more abstract forms of expression,
- from lexical-conceptual to symbolic-syntactic contents, and/or
- from morphosyntactically simple, or primitive, to complex structures.

The examples of “hybrid” structures considered in the previous section may be interpreted as reflecting the effect of the above-mentioned principle whereby the nominal strategy has undergone expansion: in addition to coding nominal complements, its use has been extended to serve as clausal complements as well. These “hybrids” can therefore be said to have resulted from the extension of a nominal morphosyntax to clausal propositions. The effects of this transfer are in particular the following:

- (a) Morphosyntactically relatively simple constituents like NPs are replaced by more complex structures like clauses.
- (b) Morphemes typically associated with nouns are grammaticalized to “more abstract” markers of embedded constituents. Thus, in our Ik example, the goal case morpheme *-k<sup>e</sup>* assumes the function of a clause subordinator.
- (c) Verbs of complement clauses may present a morphology which to some extent is nominal in outlook.

## Adjustment

Once a nominal structure has undergone expansion and has been established in its new context, it tends to be adapted to the requirements of that context, an evolution for which the term “adjustment” has been proposed (Heine—Reh 1984: 97–99). With reference to the nominal strategy, this means in particular that the morphosyntax which is associated with it is either re-interpreted as that of embedded structures or else is eliminated. The former is the case, for example, when the goal case marker *-k<sup>e</sup>* of Ik comes to be used with complement verbs and may be interpreted as a marker of subordination.

Elimination is a gradual process which passes through a stage when it is optional, i. e., when the presence and absence of nominal marking respectively are functionally equivalent. Two examples of such a transitional stage have been presented above. In our Hausa example (sentence (10)), we met an optional genitive/possessive suffix *-n*. This suffix is obligatory in cases where no expansion is involved, i. e., where there is a nominal complement as in (11) or a nominalized verb plus object complement as in (12):

- (11) *Audu ya naa so -n laabaari-n.*  
 Audu he PR like-GEN story -DEF  
 ‘Audu likes the story.’
- (12) *Audu ya naa so-n rubuutu-n wasiikaa.*  
 writing -GEN letter  
 ‘Audu likes letter-writing.’ (Bagari 1972: 32)

The reason why the use of *-n* is optional in (10) but obligatory in (11) and (12) may now be obvious: In these sentences, object complements are coded as genitive modifiers of the matrix verb, which functions as the head of a genitive/possessive construction. Once this head-modifier relation is replaced by a structure verb-complement clause via expansion, there is no more need for a genitive marker, which therefore tends to be done away with. While it is still optionally used in sentences like (10), it is likely to be eliminated by future generations of Hausa speakers. Expansion in this case involves a shift from the nominal to a clausal strategy of complement coding, and hence there is no more justification for using the *-n* suffix, which is an exponent of the former. The optional

use of *-n* in (10) appears to be the only relic which still bears witness that we are dealing with a case of strategy shift.

In our Krongo example (sentence (9)), we came across a similar relic of the nominal strategy in the form of the nominalization marker *t-*.<sup>8</sup> However, Krongo has retained another relic of that strategy: Person marking on complement verbs is that of locative/possessive, and hence of nominal, structures. The verbal word

(*t-*)        *ósí -kò-n -tú*  
(NOM-) cook-BEN-TR-your

therefore originally meant ‘your cooking for’ rather than ‘you cook for’. Expansion in this case had the effect of introducing a new paradigm of personal affixes. While these affixes have nothing in common with the person markers used in main clauses, it is now obvious why they so strikingly resemble the suffixes used in nominal paradigms.

## 5. A note on “raising”

A hybrid structure of quite a different nature may be found when dealing with cases of raised objects. They are sentence constituents which neither fully belong to the matrix clause nor to the complement structure, yet which in some respects may be said to belong to both. These constituents have been described by means of a raising rule, which lifts an NP out of the subordinate clause, making it a derived constituent of the matrix clause.<sup>9</sup>

Raising in African languages involves either the semantic subject or object of a complement structure being coded as a kind of object constituent of the matrix clause.

While subject raising is fairly widespread in Africa, object raising is rarely found. Turkana, an Eastern Nilotic language, which has a sex-based gender system and VSO as its basic order, has both. Object raising requires the complement verb to be in its infinitival form, as in (13), while a finite verb form is used when subject raising is intended, as in (14):

- (13)        *nyí -kí -sákɪ súa eesí' ákí-ár'.*  
NEG-we-want we:NOM ye:ACC to -kill  
‘We do not want to kill you.’

- (14) *nyí-kí-sáki eesi' í-ár-eté.*  
 you -kill-PL  
 'We do not want you to kill (it).' (Dimmendaal 1983: 374)

The hybrid nature of the raised constituent *eesi'* in these sentences consists in the fact that it appears to be part of both the matrix clause to its left and the complement structure to its right. In accordance with its position and case form, it may be interpreted either as a matrix object or as a topicalized constituent of the complement. Note, however, that it differs from other object constituents in that it does not show agreement of personal deixis with the matrix verb (cf. Dimmendaal 1983: 373–374).

According to the view maintained here, raising may as well be interpreted as a manifestation of how the nominal strategy is over-extended to cope with complex complements. Since in many languages there are constraints on expanding a complement by adding a subject NP (or an object NP in a language like Turkana) to it, that NP is coded as an object of the matrix clause. Frequently, it does not acquire full object status, it may lack certain object properties. We noted for example that in Turkana “raised” objects do not participate in agreement of personal deixis.

The structure that results from this over-extension of the nominal strategy is odd in several respects, as can be demonstrated with reference to the following Ik sentence, which we have already considered above as example (6):

- (6) *bédá yakwá nci-a wet -í -í-k<sup>e</sup>*  
 want man I -ACC drink-COH-I-GOA  
*céméri -k<sup>a</sup>.*  
 medicine-ACC  
 'The man wants me to drink medicine.'

What may be interpreted semantically as a complement clause consists of a sequence of three NPs, where both the underlying subject and object of the complement are coded in the accusative case, while the complement verb appears as a nominal constructed in the goal case. The “raised” constituent *nci-a* shares a case relationship with the matrix clause to its left and personal subject agreement with the complement verb to its right. Thus, “raising” appears to be part of the nominal strategy which aims at expressing the semantics of a complement clause by exclusively relying on

nominal constituents. The result is a rather clumsy construction, which lacks the flexibility of a full complement clause, e. g., with reference to the marking of tense, aspect and modality, and which tends to entail a strange relationship between semantic content and morphological structure.

According to the interpretation proposed here, there is no need for a raising rule which presupposes that there be an underlying complement clause which is modified in surface structure, to the effect that its finite verbal form turns into an infinitival form, and that any complementizer that may be present is deleted. It would rather seem that the relationship between nominal and clausal complements of the type under discussion can be accounted for more appropriately by assuming a derivation in the opposite direction. This appears to be in line, for example, with psycholinguistic findings which suggest that children acquire subjectless complements before they have formulated rules for full sentential structures (cf. Maratsos 1978: 253; see also Bowerman 1979).

## Conclusions

In the preceding paragraphs, an approach was proposed which looks at language structure from an evolutionary perspective. The problems considered were interpreted as being the result of a process whose motivation is psycholinguistic and which has both morphological and syntactic implications. Different stages of this process have been found to co-exist side by side within the synchronic state of a given language, thus enabling us to reconstruct some aspects of the evolution involved.

This approach may be of use in particular with respect to the following: First, it allows us to establish a systematic relationship between parts of nominal and clausal morphosyntax, for example between case marking and embedding. Second, it may help us to understand the "hybrid" nature of certain phrases. Finally, it provides us with clues as to why there are some morphological elements, such as nominalization markers in subordinate structures, whose *raison d'être* is hard to account for if one is confined to a rigidly synchronic analysis.



## Notes

1. Research on the present paper has been sponsored by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* to which we wish to express our deeply-felt gratitude.
2. In Givón's terminology, the nominal strategy corresponds to his "infinitival form" or "nominal complement", and the clausal strategy to his "finite/subjunctive form" or "sentential complement".
3. Givón (1980: 367) notes for example: 'Cognitive verbs in English, on the epistemic-certainty range, allow a variation between a more nominal complement and a more sentential one, the latter with the subordinator 'that'. The nominalized one tends to be interpreted as "presupposed" and in that sense expressing *stronger certainty* [...]'.
4. The Kuliak languages, which apart from Ik include So (Tepes), and Nyang'i (Nyangiya), all spoken in northeastern Uganda, have been classified by Greenberg (1963: 86) as belonging to the Eastern Sudanic group of his Nilo-Saharan family.
5. Raised vowel symbols denote voiceless vowels. In non-final position, these vowels are replaced by full vowels and the preceding consonant, if there is any, is deleted.
6. Ik has a vowel harmony system of the 'cross-height' type, based on the distinction [ $\pm$ ATR] (advanced tongue root). The vowels i, e, o, and u belong to the [+ATR] set, while ɪ, ɛ, a, ɔ, and ʊ are [−ATR].
7. One could even go one step further and treat the main verb as a nominal constituent in the absolute case. This at least would be compatible with the morphological characteristics of the language.
8. Note, however, that in some cases the presence or absence of the nominalization marker *t-* is paralleled by a semantic distinction between statements of general application (i.e., verb form plus *t*-marker) vs. statements of individual application (i.e., verb form minus *t*-marker; cf. Reh 1984: 335 ff.).
9. We are concerned here exclusively with what Postal (1974: 5 ff.) refers to as the raising of "B-verbs" ('believe', 'prove', 'show', etc.). A consideration of his "A-verbs" ('turn out', 'happen', 'seem', 'appear', etc.) is outside the scope of this paper.

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## The world and worldliness in Hartmann von Aue's *Der arme Heinrich*

Hubert Heinen

Hartmann von Aue's definitive statement on the reconciliation of secular excellence and an awareness of the other-worldly, divine origin of all excellence is his tale *Der arme Heinrich*. In the end both Heinrich's exclusively world-oriented pursuit of pleasure and virtue and the peasant girl's radical rejection of the world are shown to be equally in error. With few exceptions a consensus exists among scholars that the work presents a resolution of the dualistic dichotomies implicit in this summary; the best treatment of the topic is Frank Tobin's monograph (1973: 81–106); Volker Mertens' objections do not materially affect this judgment (1975). Insufficient attention, however, has been paid to some details of the way Hartmann develops his topic; specifically, his use of some important words has not been closely examined.

One such complex of words, a complex that patently relates to the dualistic opposition of embracing the world and fleeing it, derives from the stem *werlt* 'world', as Tobin has noted in passing (92–93) and Saul Brody has discussed at some length, but, as was appropriate to his concern, unsystematically (1974: 148–154). Following the standard text, which may introduce some distortion by contaminating two manuscripts but seems to be generally acceptable, there are twenty-three attestations of *werlt*(-) in *Der arme Heinrich*.<sup>1</sup> They can be ordered in a chart. When this is done, it can be readily observed that the attestations are clustered. In addition, several of these clusters are relatively closer to each other than to the other attestations.

In the chart below an underline indicates metrical heightening; \*, an adjective; \*\*, the first element of a compound; //...//, a cluster; {...}, a brace of clusters; <...>, a trivial example:

{I	// a <u>57*</u>	b <u>61**</u>	c 73	d <u>79*</u>	/	e <u>87*</u>	f 97 //
II	// g <u>125</u>	h <u>135</u>	i 144 //				
{III	// j <u>387*</u>	k <u>396**</u>	//				
IV	// <l <u>427</u> >	<m <u>443</u> >	//				
{V	n <u>652b*</u>						

- VI // o 688 p 690\* q 701 r 708 s 729 //}  
 VII t 1110\*  
 VIII <u 1200> (?)  
 IX // v 1318 w 1320\*\* //

Cluster VII is isolated, as is the debatably trivial VIII. Most or all of the clusters, i. e., I, II, III, IV (?), VI, and IX, are bound internally not only by proximity, but also by function and meaning – I should probably be subdivided by context in IA (abcd) and IB (ef). The clusters can be characterized briefly by reference to context:

- IA positive presentation of Heinrich  
 IB negative presentation of Heinrich  
 II comparison of Heinrich and Job  
 III Heinrich's description of his preoccupation with the world to the exclusion of God  
 IV Heinrich's delineation of the hopelessness of his plight  
 VI the girl's rejection of the world  
 IX the girl's characterization of the world as a positive, but limiting factor (?)

The context of the other attestations may also be significant. In V, the parents implore their daughter to reconsider her proposed sacrifice; in VII, the girl reiterates her rejection of the world to the *meister*; in VIII, the *meister* thinks to himself that she is too beautiful for this world.

Before examining the attestations more closely, we can make certain observations about the physical evidence. Eleven of the twenty-three attestations are metrically heightened; the metrical stress on the stem is followed immediately by another one. To be sure, this degree of metrical heightening is only minimally, if at all, greater than that found of random words throughout the text. When one considers, furthermore, that the adjective *werltlich* and the compound nouns with *werlt-* require a clash of stresses, it is difficult to argue that Hartmann is deliberately foregrounding the concept in question. Nevertheless, the heightened instances do occur, and do lend emphasis to the word, frequently several times within a cluster. Only a relatively small handful of the 144 heightenings in the first 508 lines, in fact, promote insignificant syllables to prominence. Hartmann may not be calling special attention to worldliness, but he does emphasize it along with, and perhaps somewhat more than, other important elements of his narrative.

What does the stem *werlt* mean? Wilhelm Müller (Benecke-Müller-Zarncke 1854–1861. III: 577b–580a — cf. Lexer 1872–1878. III: 782–784) explains the uses of *werlt* to mean ‘age (saeculum), world (mundus), mankind, people, sinful humanity, and human existence’. The adjective *werltlich* is glossed as ‘worldly’, for instance as an antonym of ‘religious, heavenly’. The compound noun *werltvreude* retains this sense for *werlt*-, while *werlttôr* quite logically relates to ‘sinful humanity’, but Müller reads *werlt*- in *werltzage* as an intensifier without intrinsic meaning: ‘erzzage’, i. e., ‘archcoward’. At least one basic sense of the word(s) is overlooked in the lexica (which do list more meanings than I have cited here), a denotation best derived from an examination of a portion of the prologue to Gottfried’s *Tristan*, ‘courtly society’, or as an adjective ‘courtly’.<sup>2</sup>

*ich hân mir eine unmüezekeit  
der werlt ze liebe vür geleit  
und edelen herzen z’einer hage,  
den herzen, den ich herze trage,  
der werlde, in die mîn herze siht.*

*ich meine ir aller werlde niht  
als die, von der ich hoere sagen,  
diu deheine swaere müge getragen  
und niwan in fröuden welle sweben:  
die lâze ouch got mit fröuden leben!*

*Der werlde und diseme lebene  
enkumt mîn rede niht ebene:  
ir leben und mînez zweient sich.  
(45–57)*

‘I have undertaken to occupy myself with pleasing the world and comforting noble hearts, those hearts that hearten me, that world into which my heart gazes.

I don’t mean the [courtly] world of all those of whom I hear it said that they can bear no burden of sorrow and wish only to float in joy: may God let them live joyfully. For that courtly society and this life my words are not meant; its life and mine go separate ways.’

To be sure, the denotation ‘courtly society’, which Gottfried for obvious reasons lends a negative connotation, is a logical extension of the meanings ‘humanity, people’ that can be found in the lexica, but it is sufficiently different to warrant a lemma of its own. Another flaw in lexical lemmatization is graver, but inescapable: by assigning a meaning to an attestation, the lexicographer implies that other meanings are excluded. This can occur. Some contexts are so clearly structured that only one of a range of meanings can be assigned. More frequently, however, a word, especially an essentially abstract word such as *werlt*, means all portions of its range of meaning that

are compatible with each other and not absurd in the context. One or several meanings may be central (denotations), others suggested (connotations). In some (highly poetic or mystical) works even the criterion of compatibility cannot be applied, but it can be here.

In the list below, the apparent denotations in *Der arme Heinrich* for *werlt(-)* are given first, and then such connotations as seem likely. No attempt has been made to present the whole range of meanings possible in each instance. A distinction is made between 'secular' and its explicit (dualistic) negation 'this-worldly'.

- a (57), b (61), c (73), d (79) 'secular', 'courtly'
- e (87), f (97) 'this-worldly'
- g (125), h (135) '(courtly) society'
- i (144) 'mankind'
- j (387), k (396) 'this-worldly', 'courtly'
- l (427), m (443) 'physical world'
- n (652b), o (688), p (690), q (701) 'this-worldly'
- r (708), s (729) 'this-worldly existence'
- t (1110) 'this-worldly', 'physical'
- u (1200) 'physical world', 'mankind'
- v (1318) 'courtly society', 'people' (note 1312, 1314)
- w (1320) 'courtly', 'physical', 'extreme'

A further analysis of those portions of the work where the words occur is necessary, but something can be seen if we notice where they do not occur. They are lacking in the sections where Heinrich seeks help from the doctors and makes arrangements to withdraw to the leaseholding, where the girl makes her first plea to be permitted to sacrifice herself for him, where the girl describes the positive rewards of death and thus finally convinces her parents and Heinrich to accept her sacrifice, where the girl and Heinrich return home, and where (perhaps most notably) God frees both Heinrich and the girl from their tribulation (which the narrator interprets as an explicit rejection of the dualism that permeates the first nine tenths of the work) and blesses their subsequent marriage with a sweet, long life, allowing them at the end of it to enter heaven.

With so much of the story line in sections in which *werlt(-)* does not appear, the concept would almost seem unimportant. As one goes back through the work, however, it becomes clear that in the first half of it, at least, the world and worldliness are quite signifi-

cant. In the midst of the catalogue of good qualities that introduces Heinrich we hear the lines:

- 56 *im was der rehte wunsch ge-* 'He had received the high-  
*ben* est worldly honors.'  
*von werltlichen êren: ...*
- 60 *er was ein bluome der jugent,* 'He was a flower of youth,  
*der werltvreude ein spiegelglas,* a mirror of worldly joy.'  
*...*
- 72 *alsus kunde er gewinnen* 'Thus he knew how to gain  
*der werlte lop unde prîs,* the praise of the court;  
*er was hövesch unde wîs.* he was fully cognizant of  
 courtly ways.'

But at the high point of this worldly perfection, when he was enjoying a maximum expression of *werltlicher wünne*, of 'worldly joy' (79), we learn that pride goes before a fall, that Heinrich becomes an object lesson in divine wrath (though Rolf Endres [1967] has tried, with considerable evidence from contemporary theology and scant attention to the text of the work, to restrict Heinrich's *superbia* to a period following this section of the story), and

- 86 *daz diu üppige krône* 'that the luxuriant crown of  
*werltlicher süeze* this-worldly pleasantness  
*fellet under vüeze* falls to the depths from  
*ab ir besten werdekeit, ...* its highest worthiness.'

We are informed:

- 79 *Dirre werlte veste,* 'The firmness, steadfastness,  
*ir staete und ir beste* and the best and greatest  
*und ir groeste magenkraft,* strength of this world are  
*diu stât âne meisterschaft.* devoid of significance.'

The central theme of the narrative is thus stated in an emphatic interweave with an ambiguously valued worldliness. All that is good and sincerely valued is suddenly negated, and in a second series of statements, in which the rejection of Heinrich's life is introduced by a more neutral synonym for *werlt*, *erde* (114), the courtly world of which he was a part is shown to turn away from a Heinrich disfigured by one or the other of the disfiguring diseases medieval man called leprosy:

- 125 *nû sehet wie genaeme* 'Now see how much he for-  
*er ê der werlte waere,* merly



<i>und wart nû als unmaere</i>	pleased the world (court)
<i>daz in niemen gerne ane sach:</i>	and then became so repulsive
...	that no one wished to look at him.'

And when he saw *daz er der werlte widerstuont*, 'that he revolted the people around him' (135), he reacted differently than Job, who accepted for the sake of his soul's ease the calumny of the *werlte* 'mankind' (144); he came close to despair. In the space of less than ninety lines this world to which Heinrich can no longer belong but toward which many of his subsequent actions are as fervently directed as were his courtly deeds at the height of his renown has been evoked nine times with the word *werlt-*. Then, when he seeks a cure to permit him to regain his lost world, when he becomes resigned to his fate and distributes his property, withdrawing to a farm to live out his days in misery, even when we learn how he is comforted by the kind girl, the yeoman's daughter — for over one hundred forty lines — the word does not recur. When it does we learn that Heinrich has, in part at least, learned his lesson, that he now recognizes

386 <i>daz hôch offen stuont mîn tor</i>	'That my gate [will] was open
<i>nâch werltlîcher wûnne ...</i>	wide to this-worldly joy ...'
395 <i>daz herze mir dô alsô stuont,</i>	'My heart was inclined like
<i>als alle werlttôren tuont</i>	those of all fools besotted
<i>den daz raetet ir muot</i>	with this world who persuade
<i>daz si êre unde guot</i>	themselves to think that
<i>âne got mûgen hân.</i>	they can have honor and
	wealth without God.'

Perhaps a more thorough examination than there is space for here would reveal how the next two, seemingly trivial, mentions of the *werlte* fit into the overall pattern — perhaps here Heinrich is, without realizing it, finally saying farewell to the world — but not as he explicitly begs God to help him do, through a quick death, but rather by turning inwardly as well as outwardly away from the world of the court and to the world of his peasant host.

Be that as it may, more than two hundred lines pass before the next attestation of *werlt-* (in a line that may be a scribal interpolation). More important, perhaps, than the fact that the girl's mother sobs that worldly spirits will avail them, i. e., her and her husband, nothing if they must give up their daughter is her assertion a few

lines earlier that God commanded children to honor their mother and father and promised as a reward

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 645 <i>daz der sêle genist werde</i><br><i>und lanclîp ûf der erde.</i> | 'that there be salvation for<br>the soul and a long life on<br>earth.' |
|---|--|

At any rate, her apparent positive regard for *werltlicher muot* (652b), positive because she regards its loss a serious one, derives from a world view in which life on earth is as much a part of God's plan as the salvation of the soul. Her daughter answers with a diatribe against the evils of the world that threaten to deny her salvation (cluster VI), and in the fourth of the five mentions of this evil world she specifically rejects her mother's world view:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 708 <i>mir behaget diu werlt niht</i><br><i>sô wol:</i><br><i>ir gemach ist michel arbeit,</i><br><i>ir meiste lieb ein herzeleit,</i><br><i>ir süezer lôn ein bitter nôt,</i><br><i>ir lanclîp ein gaeher tôt.</i> | 'The world fails to com-<br>fort me at all: its ease<br>is a great struggle; its<br>highest pleasure, heart-<br>felt sorrow; its sweet<br>reward, bitter distress; its<br>long life, a sudden death.' |
|---|---|

In a string of parallel antitheses tied together with the anaphoric *ir* that at least superficially explains the paradoxes as predicated on the perfidy of *diu werlt*, the girl expresses her dualism stylistically as well as through the sense of her words. For another almost four hundred lines nothing more is heard of the *werlt* until the girl realizes that her martyrdom is being endangered by the scruples of the doctor. Her desire that death help her *ûz werltlicher nôt* 'from the distress of this world' (1110) is contextually rather neutral, in the strictest sense, for the passage is part of the narration. As, however, these few lines of narration begin with the observation that *Diu maget lachende sprach* 'the girl spoke scornfully' (1107) and continue with a bitterly sarcastic diatribe against the cowardly doctor and a lengthy assertion that her resolve to die is firm, the reference to her worldly plight probably shares the negative connotations of her earlier references to the world. At the end of her speech, as often in her earlier arguments, the girl makes some very matter-of-fact statements about the limitations of her social class and the efficacy of martyrdom as an escape from the drudgery of a peasant's life, statements that put her assessment of the world in a somewhat more complicated framework than her dualistic words

would suggest, but these comments are not brought into close connection with the attestations of *werlt*.

It is ironic, but probably completely fortuitous, that the doctor looks at her and tells himself

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|---|--|
| 1199 <i>daz schoener krêâtiure</i><br><i>al der werlte waere tiure.</i> | ‘that there did not exist a<br>fairer creature in all the<br>world.’ |
|---|--|

Here the word is surely used in a minimal sense without any overtones with references to the tensions between the positive and negative worlds developed to this point. And yet, one wonders whether these tensions may not be echoed. When it becomes clear to the girl that she has lost her chance at martyrdom she becomes hysterical and loses her beauty (or at least her composure). Among other things she curses her master, denying that he deserves the reputation he has for uprightness, kindness, and resoluteness — those people who thought he had these virtues lied:

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|---|---|
| 1318 <i>diu werlt was ie an iu betrogen:</i><br><i>ir wâret alle iuwer tage</i><br><i>und sît noch ein werltzage.</i> | ‘The world has always been<br>deceived by you: all your<br>days you have cowardly<br>clung to the world and still<br>do.’ |
|---|---|

With these words, more than two hundred lines from the end of the tale, the attestations of *werlt*- cease. This is not surprising, since the girl’s position is directly rejected by God who tested both her and Heinrich and determined that despite their both having wrong attitudes their basic virtue, their *triuwe und bärmdē* (1366), deserved a reward. God removed their suffering from them, healed Heinrich on the spot, restored him to the state of a man of twenty (1377), and sent him to his friends so beautiful in aspect that

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|---|---|
| 1394 <i>sie kurn diu gotes tougen</i><br><i>an sînem schoenen lîbe.</i> | ‘they perceived the mysteri-<br>ous ways of God in his phys-<br>ical beauty.’ |
|---|---|

The girl’s not unreasonable qualms about the hardship of a peasant’s life are not directly addressed, but for all extents and purposes they are removed when Heinrich gives her parents their farm in fief, including all rights of ownership over the land and those who lived on it (1442–1444), and enriches her as if she were a noble lady. Last, but obviously not least, he marries her.

Hermann Henne clearly goes too far when he emphasizes the proximity of the girl's dualistic world view and the motivation of the girl's actions to heretical convictions (1982: 190–210); in some other story with a different conclusion her actions might indeed be so considered, but Hartmann stops short of equating her erroneous beliefs with heretical ones, as Henne (1982: 210) admits when he remarks that she could not be condemned for heresy. Indeed, William C. McDonald's (1979) observations about the parallels between the girl and Enite support the commonly held positive view of the girl's actions. However, lest one object that the girl's rejection of the world may be an opinion shared by the author, the testing she endures being of her steadfastness in her willingness to abandon this world for a better one, one additional bit of language should be cited. The girl's mother extolled long life on earth, using the unusual term *lanclîp*; the girl bitterly rejected this world's long life, reiterating this term. The mother felt that long life on earth was perfectly consistent with the soul's salvation; the girl considered the two antithetical. In the end, however, Heinrich and the girl are married, and

1514 <i>nâch suezem lanclîbe</i> <i>dô besâzen si gelîche</i> <i>daz êwige rîche.</i>	‘After a blissful long life they they attained together the eternal realm.’
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The mother was right; the girl was wrong. Wordliness is a tricky thing, but the world is not all that bad for those who know whom to thank for its delights.

### Notes

1. The text is cited according to the 12th ATB edition of Paul/Wolff (1961).
2. The text is cited according to the edition of Ranke, with diacritical markings added for consistency.

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# Zur Etymologie und Wortgeschichte von deutsch *Amtsschimmel* und *Akt* (in der Kunst)

Rolf Hiersche

Daß die Auffindung des Benennungsmotivs in der etymologischen Forschung bei Wörtern mit einer langen Geschichte dem Etymologen oft einen großen Arbeitsaufwand und nicht immer eine befriedigende Lösung bringt, bedarf keiner weiteren Erläuterung; daß es sich bei Wörtern mit einer kurzen Geschichte gelegentlich nicht anders verhält, ist inzwischen auch wiederholt beobachtet worden. Ein Musterbeispiel dafür könnte dt. *Amtsschimmel* liefern, worunter man ‚umständliche, bürokratische Arbeitsweise‘ versteht.

Das Wort ist offenbar erst etwas über 150 Jahre bekannt, und doch erhält man in den etymologischen Wörterbüchern des Deutschen nirgends eine befriedigende Erklärung dafür. So heißt es bei Kluge–Mitzka (1967: 20 s. v.), daß es sich um ein „neuerdings immer gedankenloser gebrauchtes Schlagwort“ handelt, wozu man einen Beleg von 1915 zitiert: „Der Amtsschimmel als Sprachmeister“. Es wird dann weiter auf Storfer (1935: 312–313) verwiesen, der eine Verbindung mit österr. *Simile* ‚vorgedruckter Musterentscheid‘ herstellen will und sogar von einem Spottnamen *Similereiter* für einen so verfahrenen Kanzleibeamten weiß. Nach einer anderen ebenfalls bei Storfer zitierten Erklärung soll das Wort vom *Schimmelüberzug* alter Aktendeckel kommen. Immerhin wird noch die für 1824 im *Schweizerischen Idiotikon* (1920: 774) zitierte Redensart genannt, die dort unter dem Stichwort *Schimmel* verzeichnet ist: „Auf dem obrigkeitlichen Schimmel herumreiten“. Dort wird erläutert, daß die Schweizer Amtsboten einst „auf öffentliche Unkosten“ auf Schimmeln ritten. Weiter heißt es: „Da nun manche allzugern auf diesen Pferden ritten, so wurden die Markställe abgeschafft, aber das Sprüchwort beibehalten, und der oberkeitliche Schimmel blieb ein Lieblingssperd, das jederzeit gern geritten wurde.“ Von da wird man auf den einzigen Eintrag vom Amtsschimmel selbst (*Schweizerisches Idiotikon* 1920: 776) verwiesen, der aus einer handschriftlichen Sammlung ohne Datierung stammt, die Felix Sulger aus Stein am Rhein, gestorben 1875, hinterlassen hat: *'s will Jeden uf dem Amtsschimmel rite*“. Eine Anfrage beim Leiter der Arbeits-

stelle des Schweizerdeutschen Wörterbuchs, Prof. Dalcher, ergab, daß beide Redensarten heute in der Schweiz nicht mehr üblich seien und weitere ältere Belege für das Stichwort *Amtsschimmel* dort nicht vorlägen. In der Originalpublikation von 1824 sei auch nicht mehr als das im Wörterbuch l. c. Zitierte zu finden.

Paul – Betz (1966: 206) liefert nun s. v. *Amtsschimmel*: „Aus österr. Simile ‚Formular‘: Wer alles nach dem gleichen Schema erledigt, ist ein *Similereiter*, *Schimmelreiter* (Wien 1864); *die ganze abstrakte Verworrenheit des Amtsschimmels*, Rosegger 1886.“ Dazu wird noch eine als veraltet gekennzeichnete Deutung ‚Futterkrippe‘ aus Wander (1867) gegeben und auf die Schimmel der Schweizer Amtsboten (1824) aus dem *Schweizerischen Idiotikon* verwiesen. Das zunächst unauffindbare Zitat aus Rosegger macht neugierig; es könnte sich doch dabei nicht um ein Pferd handeln. Dasselbe gilt für die Angabe aus Wander (1867: 74), wo allerdings s. v. *Amtsschimmel* nicht mehr steht als: „Den Amtsschimmel will jedermann reiten“, womit man wieder beim *Schweizerischen Idiotikon* ist. Wie man zu der Bedeutung ‚Futterkrippe‘ gekommen ist, bleibt dunkel. Mit der dankenswerten Hilfe des Archivs der Arbeitsstelle für das Grimm’sche Wörterbuch bei der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR in Berlin gelang es immerhin, die Rosegger-Stelle ausfindig zu machen. Sie steht in dem Buch *Die Älpler in ihren Wald- und Dorfgeschichten* (Rosegger 1913: 69). Nach dem Kontext ist eindeutig hier der *Amtsstil*, die *Amtssprache* gemeint und nicht etwa die bürokratische Arbeitsweise, wie wir das Wort heute verstehen. Nach dem Vorwort S. 13 wurde das Buch in seinen Grundzügen bereits im Jahr 1872 geschrieben, später allmählich erweitert. Es dürfte somit nicht einfach sein, Roseggers Verständnis dieses Wortes genauer zu datieren.

Auf Verwendung von Kollegen Manfred Mayrhofer in Wien erhielt ich von dem Wiener Rechtshistoriker Prof. Dr. W. Goldinger unter anderen wertvollen Hinweisen eine Aufklärung im Zusammenhang mit dem Rosegger-Zitat aus Paul – Betz. Im Jahre 1886 schrieb Rosegger in der von ihm selbst herausgegebenen Zeitschrift *Heimgarten* in Bd. 10 S. 357 ff. einen Artikel mit dem Titel „Der Kanzlei-Schimmel“, womit er gegen den österreichischen Kanzleistil zu Felde zieht. Er gibt darin auch Umsetzungen amtlicher Schreiben in ein für den Bürger verständliches Deutsch als Muster. Das Wort *Amtsschimmel* erscheint in diesem Artikel nicht; immerhin ist dort die Rede von dem alten *Kanzleischimmel*, der den Hafer nicht verdient, den er frißt, usw. Am Schluß werden die „löblichen Behörden“ aufgefordert: „Steigt herab von Eurem Kanzleischimmel



und laßt ihn laufen.“ Hier ist deutlich die Vorstellung eines Pferdes mit diesem Wort verbunden, auch wenn der Stil gemeint ist.

Für den Schimmel auf den Akten als Benennungsmotiv ist offenbar noch nie ein Beleg bekannt geworden. Immerhin brachte die Süddeutsche Zeitung am 28. Sept. 1983 ein Foto von einer Bronzeplastik mit Brunnen in Gestalt ‚des symbolischen Amtsschimmels‘, zu dessen Füßen die Beamten Akten von Hand zu Hand schieben. Das monumentale Kunstwerk war in jenen Tagen vor dem Rathaus in Dingolfingen aufgestellt worden. In dem erläuternden Text heißt es dann zum Schluß: „Das Wort Amtsschimmel hat eigentlich nichts mit Rössern zu tun, sondern mit dem Schimmel, den Akten ansetzen.“ Den Vogel scheint aber hier Wasserzieher – Betz (1966: 114a) abzuschießen, wo u. a. behauptet wird, daß das Wort „nach dem Hannoverschen Schimmel im Amtswappen“ geprägt sei.

Vielleicht sollte mit dieser Deutung der Etymologe im Anblick des munter davongaloppierenden Wappentieres zur Aufgabe seiner Bemühungen angeregt werden. Aber ein Beleg bei Sanders (1885: 448b) läßt ihn neuen Mut schöpfen. Dort wird auf Max Jähns, *Ross und Reiter in Leben und Sprache, Glauben und Geschichte der Deutschen* (Leipzig 1872), S. 48, verwiesen, wo es heißt: „Ein ‚Schimmelreiter‘ ist Jemand, der in seinem Amt nach ‚Schimmeln‘ arbeitet, d. h. nach alten Schablonen oder Vorakten one in den Sinn des vorliegenden Falles einzugehn. Solcher Leute gibt’s nur allzuviele, und daher kommt das Sprichwort: ‚Jedermann will den Amtsschimmel reiten!‘“ Das Wort ‚Schimmel‘ wird in einer Anmerkung weiter erläutert: „Dise Bezeichnung kommt möglicherweise von *simile*, dem lat. Wort für Vorakte, Schablone.“ Von Kollegen Mayrhofer (Wien) erfuhr ich, daß im Österr. *Schimmel* = ‚Schema‘ gebraucht werde; auch das *Österreichische Wörterbuch* (1979: 311c) gibt s. v. *Schimmel* die Bedeutung ‚Schablone, Schema‘ an. Den *Schimmelreiter*, den Paul – Betz l. c. neben *Similereiter* (Wien 1864) zitiert, kannten die von mir befragten österreichischen Kollegen freilich nicht. Er steht auch bei Storfer (1935: 312–313); woher der Wiener Beleg von 1864 bei Paul – Betz stammt, war nicht zu ermitteln.

Auf eine Verknüpfung von österr. *Schimmel* ‚Schema, Schablone‘ mit *Amtsschimmel* hat mich wiederum der österreichische Rechtshistoriker Professor Goldinger (Wien) hingewiesen: Der österreichische Verwaltungsreformer Graf Kielmansegg verlangte in einem Vortrag vom 15. 10. 1906 vor österreichischen Verwaltungsbeamten,<sup>1</sup> den Wünschen und Bedürfnissen der Bevölkerung nach „größerer Koulanz der Behörden und einer Schnelligkeit ihres Verfah-



rens“ entgegenzukommen; dazu führte er wörtlich aus: „Dahin abzielende Forderungen werden in den parlamentarischen Körperschaften immer wieder und wieder erhoben, ebenso auch in den Zeitungen, die fortwährend über den Amtsschimmel spotten. Haben die Zeitungen ein Recht dazu, existiert dieser so oft zitierte Amtsschimmel in Wirklichkeit? Ich sage ja, er wird trotz alles Gespöttes fleissiger geritten denn je. Das Simile, der ‚Schimmel‘, wird fort und fort abgeschrieben, unbekümmert um die Änderung der Zeiten“. In einem Vortrag vom 24. 10. 1906 ist ebenfalls noch einmal eine hierfür interessante Bemerkung eingefügt:

Es wird bekanntlich in fast allen Ämtern auf die Similia oder euphemistisch ‚Präjudikate‘ genannten Akten noch immer ein so grosser Wert gelegt. Ich will dem nicht entgentreten, wenn Similia und Präjudikate nur vernünftig benützt und nicht einfach abgeschrieben werden.

Bei der „ganzen Verworrenheit“ der Beleglage kann man vorerst nur versuchen, den wie in einer Manege im Kreis herumtrabenden Amtsschimmel einzufangen. Von 1824 stammt der erste Beleg des Wortes aus der Schweiz in dem Sinne, daß offenbar die Beamten weiterhin auf dem „oberkeitlichen Schimmel“ reiten wollten, obwohl die Amtsschimmel als Statussymbole der Amtsboten abgeschafft waren. Es ist nicht zu klären, ob damit die Arbeitsweise oder die Ausdrucksweise der Beamten aufs Korn genommen wurde, einfach deshalb, weil jeder weitere Beleg aus der Schweiz fehlt und die Redensart heute nicht mehr verstanden wird. Immerhin wurde sie 1867 in einer deutschen Sprichwörtersammlung gebucht, leider ohne Interpretation. Das Wort *Amtsschimmel* begegnet dann etwa um die gleiche Zeit (1872?) bei Peter Rosegger in der Bedeutung ‚Amtsstil‘, die noch bis zum ersten Weltkrieg bekannt war. Max Jähns (1872: 48) nennt einen *Schimmelreiter* denjenigen, „der in seinem Amt nach ‚Schimmeln‘ arbeitet, d. h. nach alten Schablonen oder Vorakten ...“ und zitiert diese Art von bürokratischer Arbeitsweise als den Ursprung des bekannten schweizerischen Sprichwortes. Hier ist *Amtsschimmel* also mit österr. *Schimmel* aus *Simile* = ‚Vorakten, Schablone‘ bereits verknüpft, wofür aber bisher echte Belege erst nach 1900 bei Graf Kielmansegg bekannt geworden sind. Bei letzterem wird aber auch größere Kulanz und Schnelligkeit von den Behörden in ihrer Arbeit gefordert, wo der Amtsschimmel „fleissiger geritten (wird) denn je“. Hier ist auch vom Spott der zeitgenössischen Presse über den Amtsschimmel die Rede. Roseggers Verständ-

nis des Wortes ging lediglich auf den Stil, was auch für das nur bei ihm bisher bekannte Wort *Kanzleischimmel* gilt. In demselben Artikel begegnen mehrmals *Kanzleistil* wie auch *Kanzleiton*. Beides hält Rosegger für eine typisch österreichische Eigenheit, denn er meint: „Draussen in Deutschland reden die Herren in der Regel deutlich.“ (Rosegger 1886: 358a). Offenbar meinte er, *Amtsschimmel* durch *Kanzleischimmel* seinen österreichischen Lesern verdeutlichen zu müssen. Von einem Anschluß an *Schimmel/Simile* ‚Vorakte, Formular‘ ist freilich bei ihm nichts zu spüren.

Somit zeichnet sich bisher nur folgende Möglichkeit der Bedeutungsentwicklung ab: Das schweiz. *Amtsschimmel* ‚Dienstpferd der Amtsboten‘ wurde nach seiner Abschaffung in Österreich unter Anschluß an das dort übliche *Schimmel/Simile* als 1) ‚bürokratische Ausdrucksweise‘, 2) ‚bürokratische Arbeitsweise‘ aufgefaßt. Die Vorstellung von einem Pferd ging aber dabei nicht verloren; es wurde ja die schweizerische Redensart „den Amtsschimmel will jedermann reiten“ in den 60er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts noch gebucht. Man kann nur vermuten, daß damit schon ein dem Bürger wenig verständliches Gehabe der Beamten verknüpft war. Die Redensarten „da trabt/wiehet der Amtsschimmel“ bzw. „man hört ihn traben/wiehern“ u. ä. sind sicherlich sekundär als Charakterisierung bürokratischen Verhaltens geprägt worden. Leider fehlen dafür noch exakt datierte Belege. Alles andere gehört ins Reich der Fabel, woran die Etymologie seit den Griechen und Indern nicht gerade arm ist.

Nun zum anderen Beispiel: *Akt* in der Kunst. 1982 veröffentlichte der polnische Sprachwissenschaftler W. Mańczak (Kraków) einen kurzen Artikel „Der Ursprung von dt. *Akt* <nu>“ (Mańczak 1982). Danach sei dieses bislang nirgends sinnvoll erklärte Fachwort der bildenden Kunst aus \**ein Nackt* durch falsche Worttrennung zu *ein Akt* geworden. Man bezeichne ja in den anderen europäischen Sprachen die Abbildung des unbekleideten Menschen in dieser Weise: frz. *nu*, ital. span. *nudo*, engl. *nude*. Ich möchte dazu noch ndl. *naakt* fügen.

Ich gebe zu, daß ich einmal an die Möglichkeit einer solchen Entstehung über das Niederländische gedacht habe: von ndl. *een naakt* zu dt. *ein Akt*. Jedoch fehlt dafür jeglicher Beleg. Im Gegenteil, die Kunstliteratur gebraucht im 18. Jahrhundert hier Formen wie: *nackende Körper*, *Gestalten*, *das Nackende*; so Heinse, *Ardinghello* (1787) öfter; *Zeichnung des Nackenden* bei Winkelmann (1763), wo auch *nackte Figuren*, oder bei Heinse *das Nackte der Brust* u. ä.

(vgl. Grimm 1889: 246). Das Wort *Akt* kommt bei Winkelmann nicht vor. Aber auch *ein Nackt* für Aktzeichnung u. ä. findet man im Grimm'schen Wörterbuch s. v. *nackt* nicht. Wiederum konnte mir das Berliner Archiv für die Neubearbeitung des Grimm'schen Wörterbuches Erstbelege für *Akt* liefern. Der eine steht bei dem bereits genannten Wilhelm Heinse, *Ardinghello und die glückseligen Inseln* (1787) (Vorabdruck dieser Stelle bereits 1786) in einer Beschreibung von Raffaels ‚Madonna von Foligno‘ (S. 338 der Gesamtausgabe von Carl Schüddekopf, Leipzig 1902, Bd. IV): „Welch eine feurige, eifrige Frömmigkeit und Wahrheit im Kopfe des Heiligen von Assisi, und welch ein schöner kniender Akt!“ Auf dem Bild, heute im Vatikan, sieht man Franz von Assisi mit drei weiteren männlichen Figuren, alle völlig bekleidet. Daß *Akt* hier auch sprachlich nichts mit *nackt* zu tun haben kann, beweist eindeutig die Tatsache, daß wenige Zeilen später in der Beschreibung eines anderen Madonnenbildes mit dem kleinen Christus und dem kleinen Johannes am gleichen Ort gesagt wird: „Zwey holde nackte Bübchen in schöner Bewegung“. Damit ist wohl eindeutig gesichert, daß *Akt* lediglich auf die Bewegtheit der Figuren, aber nicht auf ihre Nacktheit geht. Dafür gebraucht der Autor hier das herkömmliche *nackt*, welche Form übrigens bei ihm viel seltener ist als *nackend*. Daß *Akt* in dieser Zeit mit Bewegtheit im Gegensatz zu Starre zunächst etwas zu tun hat, zeigt ein anderer Frühbeleg, ebenfalls aus dem Grimm'schen Archiv: Conrad Gessner (1801: 258) schreibt in einem Bericht aus dem Jahre 1787 aus Rom von Bildern eines jungen Künstlers namens Golfier: „Dann zeichneten sich noch besonders einige gemahlte Ackten aus, an denen die Farbe und einzelne Parthien sehr schön sind; aber dann wieder so übertrieben, dass auch in den ruhigen Stellungen jede Ader, wie ein Strick, schwillt.“ Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich hier um wenig oder nicht bekleidete Figuren, jedoch zeigt die Wendung „auch in den ruhigen Stellungen“, daß Bewegtheit bei dem Wort *Akt* im Vordergrund steht.

Ein Zusammenhang zwischen *Akt* als Bewegungsstudie und Nacktheit der Figur deutet sich freilich schon früher an, nämlich in Joachim von Sandrarts *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste* von 1675, hg. von A. R. Peltzer, München 1925, worauf mich der Gießener Kunsthistoriker Prof. Dr. Gottfried Boehm dankenswerterweise hinwies. Dort liest man zwar *nackende Kinder* (S. 30), *nackende Frauen* (S. 63), *nackende Bilder* (S. 75) usw., aber Seite 76 auch *treffliche Actionen* auf einem Bild der Hl. Ursula „mit ihrer grossen Gesellschaft“. Entscheidend ist aber die bald folgende

Stelle S. 77 Mitte, wo Kupferstiche des Malers Barthel Böhm (Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts) beschrieben werden:

eine zierliche nackende Cleopatra, viel Bauren und Bäurinnen, Kindertanz, Laubwerk und etliche nach der Läng gemachte sehr heftige Schlachten, allerley *active* Figuren, worinnen zu ersehen, wie herrlich dieser Bartel die nackende Bilder und deren Zeichnung verstanden. Unter denen ist ein Raptus Helenae, ein Titus, Gracchus und andere, deren etliche als Adam und Eva, wobey der Tod vor dem Baum des Lebens steht, ein Marienbild, die unzeitige Geburt, Judicium Paridis, auch etliche ungeschickte Badstuben

Zweifellos ist hier *active Figuren* mit ‚Nacktheit‘ enger verbunden, aber doch wohl nicht ausschließlich. Dagegen spricht die Nennung eines Marienbildes, wohl auch Titus und Gracchus. Auf keinen Fall stützt dieses Nebeneinander von *nackend* und *aktiv* die These einer Herleitung von *Akt* aus *nackt*. Daß die Aktstudie ursprünglich eine Bewegungsstudie war und das Wort auf die Darstellung des nackten Menschen sekundär übertragen worden ist, wurde schon in Kunstlexika und deutschen etymologischen Wörterbüchern behauptet. Die Belege dafür blieb man freilich schuldig. Auch mit der Stelle aus Sandrart kann nur ein Ansatz zu dieser Entwicklung aufgezeigt werden; die Zwischenglieder fehlen noch.<sup>2</sup> Der Beleg von Schulz – Basler (1913: 21 s. v. *Akt*) aus Lewald (1836) hilft nicht viel weiter. Dort werden Gegenstände in einem Pariser Maleratelier beschrieben: „eine Suite von Todtenköpfen, Todtenmasken, ferner Puppen und Acte, Theatercostüme, Waffen, Harnische, Blumen aller Art und dergleichen Gegenstände mehr, die nach der Natur gemalt werden wollen.“ Es hat den Anschein, als handele es sich hier um unbekleidete Gliederpuppen, wie wir sie aus den heutigen Schaufensterdekorationen kennen. Der Kontext gibt leider keinen weiteren Aufschluß. Dafür spricht vielleicht der andere Beleg bei Schulz – Basler (1913: 21) aus Gutzkow (1852), wo die Schilderung eines Malerateliers wie folgt schließt: „Der Raum, den Berg allein einnahm, war noch nicht einem kleineren, von Tapeten gebildeten, oben offenen Kabinett versehen für die Aufnahme lebender Akte.“ Hier ist also *Akt* auf das lebende Modell übertragen, wie das auch in den Kunstlexika ohne Belege angegeben wird. Im übrigen gebrauchte man im 18. Jahrhundert für das Malen nach unbekleideten Modellen das Wort *Akademie* im Deutschen,<sup>3</sup> Französischen (*académie*: Imbs 1971: 297c; belegt seit 1653) und Englischen (*academy*:

Whitney 1889: 28b; nicht im *OED*). Auch das lebende Modell wurde gelegentlich so benannt. Mit der Bezeichnung *Akt* steht das Deutsche doch offenbar weitgehend allein. Nur im Niederländischen findet man einen Anklang in *actiefoto*, vgl. van Dale (1961: 48b) „actiefoto ... foto waarvoor niet geposeerd is, maar die genomen werd terwijl het object in handeling of beweging was“. Hier ist aber wiederum ganz eindeutig nur die Bewegungsstudie gemeint. In französischen wie italienischen Wörterbüchern konnte ich keinerlei Anhalt unter den Entsprechungen von dt. *Akt* entdecken.<sup>4</sup>

Am Rande sei noch bemerkt, daß mir eine Herleitung von *Akt* aus *nackt* schon seit meiner Jugend aus einem Kalauer bekannt ist: „Die Künstler können vorn (d. h. am Wortanfang) kein *n* sprechen; deshalb sagen sie *Akt* für *nackt*.“<sup>5</sup> Selbstverständlich konnte unser polnischer Kollege davon nichts wissen.

### Anmerkungen

1. Erich Graf Kielmansegg, *Geschäftsvereinfachung und Kanzleireform bei öffentlichen Ämtern und Behörden*. Ein Informationskurs in 6 Vorträgen, Wien 1906, S. 5; 135.
2. In den Fremdwörterbüchern des 19. Jahrhunderts gibt es erst bei Joh. Chr. Aug. Heyse (1865: 12 s. v. *Act*) die Angabe: „Mal(erei) eine zum Nachbilden gewählte Stellung eines Modells“, desgleichen Heyse (1873: 12): „... in d(er) Mal(erei) die Attitude od(er) Stellung des Modells, dah(er) Actstehen ...“. Ähnlich Sanders (1891: 31b), mit dem Beleg aus Gutzkow. — Die Angabe bei Paul – Betz (1966: 15b): „„lebendes Modell“ schon um 1700, „nacktes Modell“ erst um 1900“ ist ohne Stellenangaben wertlos und offenbar nicht nachzuweisen.
3. Vgl. Adelung (1793: 191 s. v. *Akademie* [fehlt in der Ausgabe von 1774]): „Bey den Mahlern sind Akademien und Studien nackte Figuren, welche entweder nach der Natur oder nach einem Modelle gezeichnet werden.“ Diese Unterscheidung zwischen „nach der Natur“ und „nach einem Modelle“ könnte die Vermutung stützen, daß Lewald (1836) mit *Puppen und Acte* unbekleidete Gliederpuppen gemeint hat, sofern er überhaupt die nötige Sachkenntnis besaß. — J. H. Campe (1801) registriert *Academie* in dieser Bedeutung nicht mehr.
4. Imbs (1971: 297c — Beleg von 1653): „Un académie. C'est une figure desseinée conformément au modèle qui est un homme que les peintres payent pour les servir en le dépouillant tout nud et qu'ils mettent en acte c'est-à-dire en posture“. — Leider findet sich bei Imbs (1971: 587 s. v. *acte*) kein Hinweis auf eine spezielle Verwendung dieses Wortes im Sinne von dt. *Akt*. Dasselbe gilt für ital. *atto*, das zwar auch in der Malerei für die Bewegung des Körpers verwendet wird, aber nicht in engem Bezug zu *nackt*, vgl. Battaglia, *Grande Dizionario della lingua italiana* I (1961) 824.
5. Eine literarische Verwertung findet sich bei dem Humoristen Heinrich Spoerl, *Man kann ruhig darüber sprechen. Heitere Geschichten und Plaudereien* (Berlin

1937), in der Erzählung „Norderney am Rhein“, wo der Badebetrieb am Rhein geschildert wird. Dort heißt es auf S. 87: „Da ist eine, die läuft herum und hat nichts an. Kein Trikot, kein Höschen, kein Tüchlein, kein Garnichts. Sie ist, mit Verlaub zu sagen, splitter-, pudel – hm – die Maler, die alle kein ‚n‘ sprechen können, würden Akt sagen.“ (Die Auffindung der Stelle verdanke ich Herrn Volkmar Longmuß, Berlin-Zehlendorf.)

Nachtrag: Kollege Winter wies mich dankenswerterweise hin auf J. H. Kaltschmidt, *Neuestes und vollständigstes Fremdwörterbuch* (Leipzig 1843), wo *Akt* fehlt, dafür S. 10 unter *Action* u. a. die Bedeutung ‚Stellung, Ausdruck e. Figur‘ sich findet. Man vergleiche dazu die obengenannten ‚Aktionen, aktive Figuren‘ und ndl. *actiefoto*. In dem *Gesamt-Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* desselben Autors von 1834 finden sich diese Bedeutungen noch nicht. – In *Der Sprachdienst*, 29. 1985: 53 unten links findet sich *Amtsschimmel* in der Bedeutung ‚Amtssprache‘ angeblich so von der Bonner Ministerialbürokratie gebraucht (ohne Angabe der Stelle).

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# Deconstruction and analysis of meaning in literature

Archibald A. Hill

As an academic who has spent a good many years in teaching both literature and linguistics, and in watching and even participating in literary and linguistic analysis, I can not help being repelled by some of the recent developments in literary study. I refer to that school of litterateurs who call themselves deconstructionist, revisionist, or hermeneutical critics. The school certainly has attracted a great deal of attention, even notoriety.<sup>1</sup> I believe that any one who reads such manifestos of this school as *Deconstruction and Criticism*, or *Criticism in the Wilderness*, will be familiar with the two main tenets of this group. They are, first that there is no such thing as a text of a poem — only the separate, individual, and subjective texts set up in the minds of the hearers and readers. The second tenet is that all such individual textual interpretations are to be judged altogether as art forms, so that all are equally true or false, though not all are equally rich and learned.<sup>2</sup>

In what follows I shall largely confine myself to specific criticisms of lyric poetry by Gregory Hartman. This is not because I feel that Hartman is especially extreme, or indeed, wrong-headed, but because he offers detailed interpretation of the texts of a number of poems in such a fashion that they can be fully tested.

Thus in discussing *Leda and the Swan*, he gives an interpretation of the syntax of the lines

Being so caught up,  
So mastered by the brute blood of the air,  
Did she put on his knowledge with his power ...

What is at issue here is the identity of the word *Being*. It seems clear that it is a participle, referring to Leda. Yet Hartman asks the question “Who is (the) Being so caught up?” He is evidently interpreting *Being* as a noun, referring, not to Leda, but to an unknown.

Hartman also finds alliteration as an ornament and part of the design in the line

*He* holds *her* helpless breast upon his breast.



I do not agree that there is meaningful alliteration here. The two pronouns are weakly stressed in normal pronunciation, and so would lose the initial consonant. Moreover, though *helpless* has a poetic strong on the first syllable, in pronunciation it has secondary stress. I thus think that the four occurrences of the letter *h* are not part of a design in sounds, but are simply the result of chance.

In the line

How can those terrified vague fingers push  
The feathered glory from her loosening thighs?

he speaks of a caesural pause, before *vague*. Yet in my speech there is not merely one pause in the line, but three. By pause I mean the entity that by linguists of my generation was called a "single-bar juncture". That is, *terrified* and *vague* belong to different order classes of modifiers, and thus require single bars before and after *vague*. The result is that both modifiers equally modify the head of the phrase, *fingers*. The verb which follows, *push*, begins a new phrase, and is thus also preceded by a single bar. It would seem that Hartman recognizes only single bars that fall near the middle of the line, like the classical caesura. One wonders how Hartman would handle the line from Shelley — *An old, mad, blind, despised and dying king*.

A final example of what seems to me mistaken interpretation of *Leda and the Swan* is in Hartman's comment on the name *Agamemnon*, of which he says

"Agamemnon", similarly, is more and less than a name. It is a sound shape with a curious hum and a recursive inner structure. The m's and n's bunch together, so that "Agamemnon dead" is the climactic "And" writ large. The consequence leaves the cause behind, for who could bear that visionary knowledge, that AND? Only a nonperson, a god, or a woman metamorphosed into divine impassibility.<sup>3</sup>

The passage, as I have said, seems to me mistaken. I am, however, aware that there is some evidence that sound-symbolism exists. Experiments on vowel sounds like /iy/ and /ow/ have shown that if a random audience of speakers of English are told that one of these vowels indicates something little, they normally tend to pick /iy/ as the indication of littleness. But it is also true that this kind of symbolism does not lead very far. For instance, the meaning of the English words *big* and *small* is the exact reverse of the expected

vowel qualities. Further, in the analysis of literature, sound symbolism is nearly always quite overlaid and obscured by the meanings and associations of the words. As for *Agamemnon*, the sounds are normal English and in normal English combinations, so that I fail to see how they can indicate a "climactic AND writ large".

After leaving *Leda and the Swan*, Hartman (1980: 126) goes on to Emily Dickinson, and says of her all-purpose mark of punctuation, the dash —

Why does this formal mark, this hyphen with zero meaning, have intraverbal force? Perhaps because it is like the line between dates on tombstones. It may be an arbitrary sign or it may be nakedly mimetic. In any case, the decorous proposition that nature is style is radicalized: this elliptical, clipped mark evokes style as nature. That hyphen-hymen persephonates Emily. At every pause, which it institutes, it can remind us of her wish to be a bride of quietness.

It is true that here Hartman seems to realize that Emily's hyphens have the function of indicating pauses. But he is surely going to extremes when he finds in such pauses (pauses occur in all speaking and writing) an indication of a wish to be a "bride of quietness". What they do certainly indicate is phrasal and sentence boundaries, something Hartman does not mention. That is a sentence like *He spoke roughly, like a bully* is different from *He spoke, roughly like a bully*.

I am quite aware that Hartman achieves a richness and impressiveness in his writing about literature, and that therefore his criticism has deep literary value. Thus no less a critic than Helen Vendler (1983: 163) has said of it that

If [Americans] possessed an ampler range of thought (and Hartman wants to import into our culture the Frankfurt school and the Hegelian philosophical tradition as well as a broad canon of European literature), our discourse would be deeper, fuller, and freer, too.

Yet as I have indicated, no matter that Hartman's discourse is deep, full, and free, it seems to me mistaken. I shall now try to state the source of the mistake, and trace something of its history. First of all, there are two kinds of meaning, the meaning of the sum total of the text of a discourse, poem, story, or everyday utterance, and the meaning of words considered in relation to other words like

them in meaning or form, considered without relation to the contexts in which they occur.

In textual analysis, it is characteristic that words or constructions which might be ambiguous out of context, are disambiguated by the surrounding context, linguistic or extra-linguistic. Here is a typical isolated, and therefore ambiguous sentence. *From where we stood, we could see a cow and her calf.* One might not realize the ambiguity, but note how the meaning is changed if the total discourse runs something like this:

We climbed the cliff and looked out to sea. Two great shapes appeared in the open water. From where we stood we could see a cow and her calf.

That is *cow* and *calf* here do not refer to bovines, but to whales. If on the other hand, I consider the possible meanings of *calf* out of context, I would have to list at least the young of bovine species such as cows and buffaloes, the young of marine species such as whales and dolphins, and the fleshy part of the lower human leg.

In everyday discourse, the words normally occur in contexts fully known to hearer and speaker, so that the meaning is fully plain. In literary discourse, two things happen. First, the nonlinguistic context is seldom clear, and must be derived from the text itself, and second, the text is permanent, since it remains as written or printed words on the page. The normal way of interpreting, therefore, is to make a conscious study of all the possible meanings of the words in the text, and only then to decide on the total meaning. All too often, indeed, the reader of literature will lose his way in all kinds of subjective reverie. In the somewhat silly *cow* and *calf* utterance that I have used, the reader may think of all sorts of associations with cows — milk, horns, mooing, cud, barns, and hay — forgetting that these have nothing to do with whale cows and calves. In effect such a reader has indeed created a subjective text quite different from that actually given on the page.

The distinction between the two kinds of meaning, textual meaning, and noncontextual word-meaning, greatly interested the well-known linguistic scholar, Ferdinand de Saussure, who was the author of the dichotomy between *langue* and *parole*. Unfortunately de Saussure seems to have understood *langue* somewhat better than *parole*, since he outlines families of noncontextually defined words like *education*, *training*, etc., and by similarity in form, *education* and *formation*, etc. As to textual meaning, that which falls in *parole*,

he says only that "the mind naturally discards associations that becloud the intelligibility of discourse" (Saussure 1959: 126–127).

As might be expected, de Saussure has been seized on as furnishing valued confirmation of deconstructionist views of literary meaning, based altogether on the associations of individual words, not on interpretation of words as found in context. For a linguist of my particular variety, it is richly ironic that a linguistic work as well known as the *Course* should be interpreted as the foundation for a school of analysis that is fundamentally antilinguistic.

It should be remembered that de Saussure's work preceded the detailed work in sentence phonology of the second quarter of this century, and the rigidly nonintrospective analysis of scholars like Bloomfield. Only after it was made clear that matters such as pause, stress, and pitch in their totality, were a part of linguistic signalling, and thus part of the text, and after Bloomfieldians like the late Martin Joos put meaning onto the Bloomfieldian foundation, could linguistic interpreters make something like a coherent theory of contextual meaning. I refer here primarily to the Joosian statement that the meaning of any word in context is that possible meaning which adds least to, or changes least, the totality of the context. All other possible meanings are irrelevant to the text under examination (see Hill 1976: xi–xii et passim).

If the student relies solely on noncontextual meanings, he will be led away from any close study of the phonology, syntax, and structure of the text, to the belief stated by Bloom and Hartman that all interpretations are equally true or false. Thus Hartman has ample precedent for regarding *Being* in *Leda* not as a participle but as a noun. He also has precedent for deriving his idea of the meaning of a poem from visual rather than audible signals, as he does with Emily's use of hyphens. He, furthermore, has ample precedent for the reverie about a sound-symbolism occasioned by the name *Agamemnon*. He finally has precedent for something else which he does not do, though others of the deconstructionists regularly practice it. This is the use of etymology as part of the meaning of a word.<sup>4</sup> Such uses of etymology are a part of what Hartman has called, in another connection, the "overloading of language".

I believe, then, that the deconstructionists make a fundamental mistake in confusion of meaning as part of *langue* and as part of *parole*. The mistakes of specific interpretation which I have discussed seem to me to derive altogether from this basic confusion. Hartman has made an eloquent plea for uncertainty of interpretation as a

valuable analogy for the uncertainty of ultimate truth. Surely there is room for this ultimate uncertainty, but it also surely should not be allowed to keep the student from making a reasonable hypothesis about the contextual meaning of poems.

### Notes

1. In going through the program of a recent meeting of the MLA, I found no less than thirteen discussions, advertisements of books and the like, concerned with deconstructionist topics. No other kind of study of literature came anywhere near that number.
2. For the first of these beliefs, see this passage by Bloom (1979: 7):  
When I observe that there are *no* texts, but only interpretations, I am not yielding to extreme subjectivism, nor am I necessarily expounding any particular theory of textuality... Emerson made my observation before me, in many contexts, and many others had made it before him.  
For the second belief, see Hartman (1980: 282):  
On every side there is a self-incriminating lust for evidence. Hermeneutics is an art that grows out of perplexity, out of finding an enigma where we expected a kerygma. Evidence fails or is disabled, and unusual or ungovernable types of interpretation come into play... No wonder some are scared witless by a mode of thinking that seems to offer no decidability, no resolution. Yet the perplexity that art arouses in careful readers is scarcely licentious. It is the reality; it is only as strange as truth.
3. The discussion of "Leda and the Swan" is found in Hartman (1980: 21–36).
4. Miller (1979: 217–253) prefaces his essay with nearly three full pages devoted to the whole set of words related etymologically to "parasite". The etymologies are right enough, but deconstructionists sometimes employ shaky etymologies. Thus Bloom (1979: 1) states that *meaning* is closely related to *moan*. "A poem's meaning is a poem's complaint, its version of a Keats' Belle Dame, who looked *as if* she loved and made sweet moan." The etymology is rejected by the *OED*, and Webster III says merely that "perhaps" the two words are related. In any case, I find it surprising to say that a poem, no matter how happy its tone, is moaning.

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## An eastern etymon for *sarape*?

Beverly G. Hill

The modern English word *serape* is borrowed from Mexican Spanish *sarape/zarape* (Murray et al. 1933: 9: 489). Beyond this, however, its history remains obscure. The earliest citations in English appear in the 1830's: 1834 *zarape* (Onions and Craigie 1933: 205); 1839 *sarape* (Calderón de la Barca 1966: 56). For Spanish, Boyd (1974: 205) notes that '... sarapes or blankets are mentioned frequently in late colonial New Mexican documents ...', the earliest he cites dating from 1814. Unfortunately, neither these nor other attestations have found their way into the Spanish dictionaries; thus it has not been possible to determine when the word first appeared in the Spanish of either continent.

Most works on contemporary Spanish recognize *sarape* as an Americanism of Mexico (Real Academia Española 1970: 1181). Etyma from two separate Mexican Indian languages have been advanced, but there is in fact little positive evidence to support these etymologies, and they are not generally acknowledged (Friederici 1960, Buesa Oliver 1965). In this paper, I will suggest instead an Old World source: Old Iranian *\*θārapi-/sārapi-*.

A Nahuatl origin for *sarape* was proposed by Mena (1925: 373): Nahuatl *tzalan* 'entretejido' + *pepechtli* 'manta gruesa, alcohada, para tenderla sobre algo' > *tzalanpechtli* > *tzalapech* > *tzalape* > *zarape*. *Pepechtli* is defined by Molina (1571: 80v) as 'cholchon o ropa sobre que nos echamos a dormir, o albada, ocimiento'. This looks promising, but as Becerra (1954: 86) points out, *tzalan* is not 'entretejido' but 'entre', or 'por medio' (Molina 1571: 151v), or 'en medio' (Simeon 1875: 175). Moreover, Nahuatl grammars show *tzalan* compounding not prepositionally as required by Mena, but postpositionally: '*Quauhtzalan*, au milieu des arbres' (Simeon 1875: 175, fn. 3; additional examples in Dávila Garibi 1939: 254). Writers on Nahuatlisms do not recognize *sarape/zarape* as being one (Castillo 1919, Alcocer 1936, Robelo 1944, Bar Lewaw 1963).

Having expressed his objection to Menos' Nahuatl etymology, Becerra (1954: 86) offers an alternative in the Tarascan *tsarakua* 'estera con que se amparan del agua'. Sources on Tarascan, however, do not offer much support even for the existence of the proposed



etymon. The 1559 dictionary treated by Gilberti (1901) does not list it, nor does Swadesh (1969).<sup>1</sup> Since neither early nor late sources support a connection between *tsarakua* and *sarape*, it must be concluded that this, too, is an unproven etymology.

Given the doubtful status of the competing New World etymologies, can we find a likely source in the Old? There seems to be no continental record of *sarape/zarape* until its identification as Mexican in the 20th century. It does not appear at all in earlier sources for Spain (Boggs et al. 1946; Minsheu 1599; Real Academia Española 1737), nor does it figure in Messner's (1979: 32–33) list of clothing terms in the 12th century *Cantar de Mio Cid*. Nevertheless, the word could well have escaped early documentation, as it seems, indeed, to have done in the Americas until the late 18th century (no mention, for instance, in Boyd-Bowman 1971). As Hall (1974: 234) notes, the choice of words in dictionaries sponsored by the national language academies in the 18th century '... was often limited by puristic considerations ...'.

On the other hand, Luria (1954: 792) observes that the popular speech of Mexico shows frequent archaisms, preserved from the non-standard provincial dialects of those who formed the majority of Spanish settlers in the New World. His interest is chiefly phonological, but the observation must also hold true for the lexicon. In particular, we might look to the Spanish Jews, forced by the Expulsion Edict of 1492 to emigrate or convert, as possible bearers of *sarape* to Mexico.

Summarizing the evidence for Spanish Jewish ranchers and horse-men in late 16th-century New Spain, Steiner (1983: 37) asserts that '... the influence of their style of living and beliefs ... persists in many of the traits of western ranching and horsemanship', and argues further that the traditional taciturnity of the rancher '... is not a quality rooted in the flamboyant verbosity of the conquistadors. But may it not have originated with the early western ranchers who had to hide their beliefs and hide themselves, the *conversos*, the hidden Spanish Jews?'.

How might *sarape* have come to be known in Spain? Old Iranian *\*θārapi-/sārapi-* is first attested as a probable loan-word in Middle Elamite, transliterated in the Susa Tablets of 650 BC (Hinz 1969: 72) as *sa-har-pi* and *sa-ar-pi* and in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets as *sa-ra-pi-iš* 'ursprünglich wohl "Kopftuch", dann allgemein "Umhang, Mantel, Decke"' (Hinz 1975: 239).

\**sārapī-* next appears in its Greek loan form *sárapis*. The earliest reference is Hesychius of Alexandria's (1862. 5: 10) citation of Ktesias' *Persica*. Ktesias, once a physician at the Persian court (Starr 1975: 50), mentions a *sárapis* worn by the queen mother in 401 BC (Hinz 1969: 74). The exact source — Median, Persian, or Elamite — and shape of this garment are still disputed in the literature. However, the more common recent view is that the *sárapis* was the full-length pleated robe shown in the Persepolis sculptures.<sup>2</sup>

There is no direct record of \**sārapī-* in an Iranian language until early modern Persian, when it surfaces in the *Shahnameh* of Firdousi (c. 940–1020 AD) as *sarāpā(y)* 'von Kopf zu Fuss, gänzlich' (Wolff 1935: 515). Vullers (1855.II: 290), drawing on 18th-century lexis based in turn on older literature, including the *Shahnameh*, gives a fuller definition as 'a pede ad caput, omnino, prorsus' and secondarily as 'vestis honoraria'.

The same distinction between primary and secondary meanings is observed by contemporary Persian dictionaries (Steingass 1963: 667; Junker–Alavi 1968: 410; Moʿīn 1875: 1849).

Perhaps *sarāpā(y)* reflects a folk etymological restructuring based on middle or early modern Persian *sar* 'head' and *pay* 'foot'. Certainly the voluminous pleated garment depicted at Persepolis enveloped the wearer from neck, if not head, to foot. But since the Achaemenian robe must have been going out of fashion by the end of the fourth century BC (Goldman 1964: 148), the presumably specific signifié of the ancient \**sārapī-* must have been extended into the more general sense 'robe of honor' before the original garment disappeared from Persian wardrobes. By the time of Firdousi, this definition based on social function had been displaced to a secondary role.

Before that time, however, *sarāpā(y)* had passed into eastern Turkic as *sārpaj* 'Ehrenkleid'/'*sārāpa(i)* (Räsänen 1971.2: 412; Vasmer 1953–1955: 579).<sup>3</sup> Thence it entered Old Russian, where it is documented from the 14th century on (Prokhorov 1975.22: 618). Although *sarāfan* is the term for the female national dress of Russia, specifically of the northern region (Efimova et al. 1976: 12), it referred originally to '... a man's long caftan having a special cut; worn by governors of provinces in ancient Russia ...' (Sreznevskij 1893–1903.III: 262–263).<sup>4</sup> This fits well with a history in which Persian and then Turkic *serāpā(y)* was applied to garments signalling a certain status.<sup>5</sup>

To summarize, the Old Iranian *\*θārapi-/sārapi-*, referring probably to a full, flowing robe, passed as *sarāpā(y)* into Turkic denoting a garment worn on special occasions or marking some special worth of the wearer. This in turn was borrowed into Old Russian as *sarāfan*”, modern Russian *sarāfan*. There it referred initially to a special kind of man’s robe and later was applied to the characteristic female national dress. This referential shift from a specific Persian garment to a category of garment defined by function allows us to speculate that the word in the latter sense could also be the source of Mexican Spanish *sarape*.

If, as we postulate, *sarape* was brought to Mexico by *conversos*, the word must have been known to them in Spain. Unfortunately, it is not discussed in those sources on Judeo-Spanish which I have been able to examine (Remiro 1915, 1917, 1918; Levy 1929). A preliminary investigation of the possible conduits from Persian is also disappointing. Despite the bilingual nature of Jewish-Arab culture in Spain, particularly in the 11th–12th centuries (Roth 1972.15: 225), there seems to be no evidence of our word in Arabic or Arab-Spanish (Dozy 1845, Dozy–Engelmann 1869, Wagner 1934).

Spanish Jewish contacts with Persian Jews were less intimate than those with Arabs, but had a longer history. The Jewish population of the Persian empire, established through the Babylonian Diaspora in the 8th century BC, grew into large and well-organized communities, notably from the 3rd century BC to the 11th century AD (Roth 1972.13: 306–311). Contacts with Spain were both intellectual and commercial. Babylonian *geonim* corresponded with their scholarly Spanish counterparts during the 8th to 10th centuries (Roth 1972.15: 222), while the mercantile activities of the Spanish Jews by the 10th to 11th centuries ‘... erstreckten sich bis zu den Grenzen der damals bekannten Welt’ (Herlitz–Kirschner 1927.IV/2: 525). Persian Jews were similarly active in international commerce; moreover, periodic persecutions induced many to emigrate: eastward chiefly, but occasionally to the west (Herlitz–Kirschner 1927. IV/1: 866; Roth 1972.13: 311).

After the Arab conquest of Spain in 711, many Jews from Asia and Africa who had been serving in the Arab armies settled there (Herlitz–Kirschner 1927.IV/2: 524), as did Spanish Jews who had earlier escaped to North Africa from Visigothic persecutions – a cycle of expulsion and re-invitation that was to repeat itself in the subsequent history of Spain (Roth 1972.15: 222, 226, 230).

Thus there were numerous opportunities for our word to travel from Persia to Spain via Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Arabic, or even Babylonian Aramaic, in which the geonic texts and part of the Babylonian Talmud were written (Roth 1972.3: 277–278). Judeo-Persian, written in Hebrew script, preserves vernacular characteristics excluded from classical literary Persian written in Arabic script (Lazard 1978: 313). Of the extensive literature on these three languages, however, I have been able to examine only a minuscule portion, and with negative results (Benveniste 1954, Altheim – Stiel 1963, Blau 1965, Mainz 1977).<sup>6</sup>

Provided that this hypothesis on the origin of *sarape* survives critical examination by more knowledgeable scholars, the reader may yet wonder how a term denoting ‘dress of honor’ could ever be attached to the simple all-purpose blanket of the Mexican peon and the American cowboy. Spicer (1941: 58), however, reminds us that today’s simple garment has an illustrious history: the ‘... *charro*, or Mexican cowboy, costume ... descended from colonial times... His tight black trousers are ornamented down the outside leg seams with heavy gold or silver embroidery and rows of closely placed gold or silver buttons. The short jacket, worn over a silk shirt, also is richly embroidered and decorated with buttons. A gay *serape* is flung carelessly over the shoulder ...’.

Though different in all details from the Achaemenian robe and the Old Russian caftan, the Mexican sarape shares with them its role as an essential feature of a ‘dress of honor’. Its distinctive status even in the post-colonial period is summed up in Bayard Taylor’s 1855 poem ‘Manuela’ (Grant 1942: 286):

*She would know him mid a thousand by his free and gallant air;  
By the featly-knit sarápè such as wealthy traders wear.*<sup>7</sup>

## Notes

1. Besides Gilberti, Swadesh uses Juan Bautista de Lagunas’ 1574 *Arte y diccionario en lengua michoacana*. León (1888) and Alcocer (1936) list numerous Tarascan loans into Spanish, but not *sarape*.
2. For illustrations see Schmidt (1953: pl. 75, 117, 121) and Tilke (1923: pl. 9: 1–7). Walser (1966: 33, 68–69) and Gervers-Molnár (1973: 55, fn. 48) summarize various causes of confusion. Goldman (1964: 133–149) discusses probable antecedents of the garment.

3. By contrast, dictionaries of modern Osmanli Turkish give *serapa* only in the sense 'from head to foot, totally, wholly' (Redhouse 1968: 1001; Hony 1957: 312). This suggests that Turkish *serapa* was borrowed from modern Persian *sarāpā* independently of the earlier eastern Turkic *sārpaj* derived from late middle or early modern Persian *sarāpā(y)*.
4. Preobrazhensky (1955: 252), in fact, suggests that the irregular development of *-f-* in an expected *\*serapan* may be due to the influence of *kaftan*.
5. The extension of *sarapan* to woman's festival costume may have moved along these same lines; however, if the earliest female *sarapan* sometimes had 'false flap sleeves' (Prokhorov 1975.22: 618), the similarity to the empty hanging sleeves of the *caftan* might have motivated the extension. Conceivably, both sleeves and label could have been applied to the female 'dress of honor' by functional analogy.
6. Changes affecting *-p-* in Aramaic and Arabic may narrow the intermediary choice to Judeo-Persian. Spanish itself seems to offer no phonological barriers.
7. I gratefully acknowledge the patient searches and sharp eyes of Alan Cohn, Humanities Librarian at Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, and translations from Russian by Ewa Jodlowska and from Farsi by Fereidun Sanjabi.

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## Orthographica onomastica

Henry M. Hoenigswald

To this day, *Rhine* (*Rh[e]in*) and *Rhône* have an *-h-*. The reason is clear: the rivers, Lat. *Rhēnus* and *Rhodanus*, had first become known through Greek sources, and in the well-regulated system whereby Greek names were transliterated (the marginal vagaries of textual transmissions aside) an initial rho — here representing a Celtic /r/ — appears as *Rh-*.

The case of the *Chatti*, *Chauci*, and *Chērusci* is more informative. A *ch* must mean something or Arrius, Catullus 84, would not be sounding ridiculous saying *chommoda* for *commoda*. The choice has, therefore, been taken as testifying to the phonetic shape of IE \**k* in early Germanic (*Chatti* = mod. *Hessen?*). This may be quite valid as far as it goes; but once again it may well be the Greeks who are responsible. Not only is the availability of *ch* as distinct from *c* a Hellenizing affectation, but the very *Kháttoi*, *Khaûkoi*, and *Khērouskoi* who figure in Strabo's sources no doubt reach Caesar and Tacitus in the same way as do *Rhēnos* and *Rhódanos*.<sup>1</sup> The fact that the Romans were to gain a more intimate acquaintance with Germanic tribes than the Greeks had causes us to forget sometimes that the nomenclature was already fixed.

At the other extremity of empire the Scythian *Dāai* (*Dāai*, *Dāoi*) had been familiar, in this form, to Herodotus and to later Greeks. They are the *Daha-* of Old Persian (Akk. *da-a-an*; Elam. *da-ha*).<sup>2</sup> The hiatus inevitably replaces Iranian *-h-* (presumably < \**-s-*). Yet, when those Transcaspian tribesmen emerge in Latin writings from Vergil and Livy onward, they do so as *Dahae*, with remarkable consistency if against all precedent, since it is by no means the case that the letter *h* is freely used as a hiatus-filler: °*Nausicaha*, °*Phra-hates*, °*Menelahun*, °*Tahygetus* are quite unheard of in standard practice.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, unless one wishes, quite fantastically, to operate with an internal rough breathing on the order of *tahôs* 'peacock' (another Neareastern loanword), established in one Greek orthographic tradition but missing in the one we know, it will be necessary to investigate the possibility of channels of transmission (on the Parthian frontier?) other than those depending on Greek writing.

*Notes*

1. This is misjudged by Herman Hirt, *Handbuch der urgermanischen Grammatik* 1 (1931), 83. On the Latin evidence, see the entries in the *Theasaurus Linguae Latinae*.
2. Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian*<sup>2</sup> (1953), 190; Wilhelm Brandenstein and Manfred Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (1964), 113–114; Walther Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (1975), 79; Manfred Mayrhofer, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* I.1 (1979), 35.
3. On Roman transliteration practice see Manu Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*<sup>2</sup> (1977), 124–125; on the testimony of Lat. *h*, *ibid.* 173–175. The tradition on word-initial rough breathings was, of course, incomparably more solid. On *tahôs* see Eduard Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* 1 (1939), 219. — I am obliged to David Utz for advising me on certain important details.

## Old Irish *boí* ‘was’

Jay H. Jasanoff

The preterite of the Old Irish substantive verb, like that of the copula, is largely based on a stem *\*bā-*, which is still palpable in forms like conj. sg. 1, 2 *·bá*, pl. 1 *·bámmar*, 2 *·baid* and 3 *·bátar*. The 3 sg. *·boí*, *·baí* (absol. *boí*, *baí*), however, stands apart; this form cannot continue an imperfect or aorist of the type *\*bāt* and is instead usually referred, together with its unstressed variant *-bae*, to an Insular Celtic 3 sg. *\*bowe* or *\*bāwe*. Evidence for *\*bowe* or *\*bāwe* is also found in Brittonic. The Middle Welsh 3 sg. pret. *bu* seems to rest on an apocopated variant *\*bow’* or *\*bāw’*, and as such may be directly equatable with OIr. *-bo*, *-bu*, the conjunct 3 sg. preterite of the copula. Probably related, though difficult to account for in detail, are the remodeled forms of the remainings Brittonic languages (MBr. *boe*, Corn. *bue*).<sup>1</sup>

Scholars who have operated with a preform *\*bowe* have commonly taken this to reflect an *o*-grade perfect of the Proto-Indo-European root *\*bheuh<sub>x</sub>-* ‘be, become’.<sup>2</sup> On closer inspection, however, the assumption of a pre-Celtic perfect of the type *\*(bhe)bhóuh<sub>x</sub>e* raises more problems than it solves. One of the most remarkable — and least often appreciated — idiosyncrasies of the root *\*bheuh<sub>x</sub>-* is its pronounced aversion to full-grade vocalism. In forms which are properly verbal this tendency is virtually a rule. Thus, the root aorist of *\*bheuh<sub>x</sub>-* is unambiguously attested in Indo-Iranian, Greek and Slavic, in all three of which it shows an invariant zero-grade (cf. Ved. 3 sg. *ábhūt*, Gk. *éphū*, OCS *by(stǔ)*). The corresponding subjunctive is represented in Vedic by 3 sg. *bhúvat* and in Gathic Avestan by 3 pl. *buuaintī*, again with zero-grade for expected *\*bháva-*. In the future in *\*-sġe/o-*, normally a full-grade formation, the Avestan participle *būšiant-* makes an obvious word equation with Lith. *būšiant-* and OCS *byšqšt-*; beside these, the “regular” Vedic form *bhaviṣyánt-* is clearly secondary.<sup>3</sup> Likewise an innovation, though rarely noted as such, is the Indo-Iranian thematic present seen in Ved. *bhávati*, Av. *bauuaiti*, the functional position of which is occupied by a zero-grade *ġe/o-* present elsewhere (cf. Gk. *phúomai*, Olcel. *búa* ‘dwell’ < *\*bhuh<sub>x</sub>-ġe/o-*; Lat. *fiō* ‘I

become', OE *bīo(m)* 'I am', apparently < \**bhu-īe/o-*). Old Irish, which agrees with Greek, Germanic, and Italic in showing a present of the *īe/o*-type (cf. consuet. pres. 1 sg. *·bíu* 'I am wont to be'), also attests zero-grade vocalism in the future (subst. vb. 1 sg. *bia*, cop. *be* (= MW *byddaf* < \**bhu-īā-*), in the verbal noun (*buith*, *both* < \**bhu-tā*), and in the "*ā*-subjunctive" and "*ā*-preterite" forms of the copula and substantive verb (stem \**bā-* < \**bhu-ā-*; cf. cop. 3 sg. pret. *ba*, subj. *ba*, *-b*, *-p*, subst. vb. pret. 1 sg. *·bá*, etc.).<sup>4</sup> Significantly, the only apparent reflex of a full-grade root form in Irish, or in Celtic generally, is the alleged \**bowe* itself.

It is by no means clear whether the root \**bheuh<sub>x</sub>-* made a perfect at all in Proto-Indo-European, but to the extent a perfect is found in the daughter languages the evidence points to an invariant stem \**bhebhuh<sub>x</sub>-*. No great significance need be attached to Gk. *péphuka*, *-e* or to the unique Umbrian fut. perf. 3 pl. *fefure* (< \**fefuzent*) 'fuerint', since in these languages the generalization of the zero-grade stem would have been completely predictable. In Germanic too, however, a non-ablauting 3 sg. \**bebūwe*, pl. \**bebūwun*, with analogical \**-ū-* for \**-ǔ-*, must be reconstructed for the preterite of \**bū(j)an* 'dwell, build' (cf. OIcel. *bjó*, pl. *bjoggu*, OHG 3 pl. *biruun* for \**bibūun*). Such a form is also found in Ved. *babhūva*, which in view of its isolated synchronic status is unlikely to have replaced an earlier, "regular" \**bubhāva*. The fact that an apparent \**bhubhāva* is attested in Avestan as *buuāuua* (Yt. 13. 2) means nothing more than that Indo-Iranian 3 sg. \**bhabhuva* was normalized to an ordinary *o*-grade form in the ancestor of the Younger Avestan dialect.<sup>5</sup>

To be sure, it might be argued that just as a virtual \**bhebhóuh<sub>x</sub>e*, with *o*-grade, was introduced in Iranian, an analogical \*(*bhe*)*bhóuh<sub>x</sub>e* or \*(*be*)*bowe* could have arisen secondarily in pre-Celtic. The two branches, however, are in no way parallel. In Iranian, full-grade forms of the root \**ba<sub>y</sub>-* are notably on the ascendant, and the creation of a regular perfect \**bubāya* would have received powerful support from the innovated present \**ba<sub>y</sub>ati* (Av. *bauuaiti*). Celtic, on the other hand, has no other full-grade forms of \**bheuh<sub>x</sub>-* at all; indeed, the substitution of the originally proclitic and compositional stem form \**bwā-* for orthotone \**buwā-* in the preterite and subjunctive (cf. OIr. *ba* beside Lat. *fuat*) shows that in pre-Irish and pre-British the tendency was rather to reduce the synchronic "root" of the verb 'to be' to the mere cluster \**bw-*. Within the context of the early Insular Celtic verbal system a 3 sg. \**bowe* 'was' would not have had the

character of a regularized analogical form; it would have been completely anomalous.

Nothing is gained by starting from the alternative *\*bāwe*. The only reasonable source for such a form would have been an earlier lengthened-grade perfect *\*bōwe*, reflecting an ideal *\*(bhe)bhōuh<sub>x</sub>e*; but the difficulties that stand in the way of assuming an *o*-grade *\*bowe* hold *a fortiori* for *\*bōwe*. There is absolutely no comparative support for a PIE *\*(bhe)bhōuh<sub>x</sub>e*, or for any other forms of *\*bheuh<sub>x</sub>-* with a lengthened grade.<sup>6</sup> A new *\*bōwe* could hardly have been created on the model of the Celtic preterite type seen in OIr. 3 sg. *táich* 'ran' < *\*tōke* and MW *go-di-wawd* 'overtook' < *\*wōde*: whatever its origin, this formation is confined to about a half-dozen examples in Old Irish and even fewer in Brittonic, all from roots ending in a stop.<sup>7</sup>

How then is the *\*bowe* or *\*bāwe* that underlies OIr. *boi*, *-bae*, *-bo* and MW *bu* to be explained? One line of approach would be to start from a regular Proto-Indo-European or early pre-Celtic *\*bhe-bhuh<sub>x</sub>e* and to assume that an unreduplicated variant, originally confined to compounds (cf. Thurneysen 1946: 409–410, 431), was continued into Celtic as *\*buwe*. In the absence of any precisely similar cases it is just possible that *\*buwe* could have developed via *\*bowe* to the attested forms. A special lowering of *\*-uw-* to *\*-ow-* before *\*-o* is attested in Brittonic, where Cowgill has recently shown (1985: 20 ff.) that the masculine forms of the numeral 'two' (OW, MBr. *dou*, Corn. *dow*) presuppose a *\*dowa* from Common Celtic *\*duyo* (= Gk. *dúo*). If this change also occurred before *\*-e* – and there are apparently no counterexamples – the British forms could be explained without recourse to an inherited *o*-grade.<sup>8</sup> In Irish, however, the situation is somewhat different. Here the lowering of *\*-uw-* to *\*-ow-* in *dau*, *dó* 'two' < *\*doya* < *\*duyo* seems to be a normal case of the shift of *\*i* and *\*u* to *\*e* and *\*o* before syllables containing an *a*- or *o*-vowel – a change which conspicuously fails to take place before *\*e* (cf. voc. *a fīr* 'O man!' < *\*wire* vs. nom. *fer* < *\*wiros*). There is thus not the slightest independent reason to posit a lowering of *\*-uwe* to *\*-owe* in pre-Irish, as there is in pre-British. Nevertheless, the possibility of such a development cannot be completely excluded.<sup>9</sup>

An account like this, relying as it does on an *ad hoc* loss of reduplication followed by an *ad hoc* change of *\*buwe* to *\*bowe*, is far from wholly satisfactory. Moreover, there is reason to suspect that even if a form *\*buwe* once existed, it would have been trans-

formed beyond recognition before it could have been affected by the putative lowering rule. We have seen above that the inherited stem *\*buwā-* was lost in Insular Celtic, its place having been taken by the monosyllabic variant *\*bwā-*. This replacement must have been a morphological process: at a certain point in the prehistory of Irish and Brittonic, presumably while they still constituted a single speech community, subjunctives and preterites of the type 1 sg. *\*buwām*, 3 pl. *\*buwant*, etc. were replaced by (originally clitic) forms of the type *\*bwām*, *\*bwant*, etc. Given the complete disappearance of the "long" stem *\*buwā-*, it is almost inconceivable that a 3 sg. preterite *\*buwe* could have escaped the parallel reduction to *\*bwe*. Such a form, however, would have given *\*bé* rather than *boi* in Old Irish. The failure of *\*buwe* to undergo morphological shortening would be explainable if we could assume that the lowering of *\*buwe* to *\*bwe* took place before the reduction of *\*buwā-* to *\*bwā-*, thus destroying the phonetic parallelism between *\*buwe* (> *\*bwe*) and *\*buwām*, *\*buwant*, etc. before a new monosyllabic *\*bwe* could be created, or an old *\*bwe* generalized.<sup>10</sup> In that case, however, it would be necessary to claim that the special rule which took *\*-uw-* to *\*-ow-* was so idiosyncratic that it operated before *\*-e* but not before the low vowels *\*-a* and *\*-ā*.<sup>11</sup>

There is another solution which avoids these difficulties. It is possible to think that the starting point for *\*bwe* was a Proto-Indo-European or early post-Indo-European perfect *\*bhebhuh<sub>x</sub>e*, but that as in other reflexes of the perfect in Celtic (cf. OIr. 3 sg. pret. *memaid* 'broke', *lelaig* 'licked', MW *cigleu* 'heard', etc.), the inherited reduplication of this form was retained. Whether by phonological or morphological processes, the outcome of *\*bhebhuh<sub>x</sub>e* would have been a pre-Insular Celtic *\*bebwe*. A purely phonological development cannot be excluded: Vedic forms like perf. 3 sg. *jajāna*, mid. *jajñé* (: *jan<sup>i</sup>* 'beget') and impf. 3 sg. *ápiprata* (: *prā-* 'fill') suggest that the loss of root-final laryngeals after sonorants in reduplicated stems was to some extent a regular process in the parent language.<sup>12</sup> But even if Celtic originally inherited a trisyllabic *\*bebuwe*, with the laryngeal "retained", the eventual reduction of *\*bebuwe* to *\*bebwe* would have been a virtual certainty. All reduplicated preterites to roots of the form *C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V-* are of the canonical structure *C<sub>1</sub>-reduplication vowel-C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-* in Old Irish; no syllabification effects of root-final laryngeals are retained, as can be seen from forms like 3 sg. *·ciuir* 'bought' < *\*kikre* (root *\*kreih<sub>1</sub>-*), *·ro-t[h]iú[i]l* 'took away' < *\*tite* (root *\*tleh<sub>2</sub>-*), and *·géuin* 'knows, knew' < *\*gegne* (root

\**ġneh<sub>3</sub>*).<sup>13</sup> Within the context of Insular Celtic the only possible reduplication pattern for a verb whose present was \**bwīiū* 'I am wont to be' and whose subjunctive was \**bwā-* would have been \**bebw* ...<sup>14</sup>

What, we may now ask, would have been the regular outcome of \**bebw* in the attested languages? As in almost every other branch of the Indo-European family, our information about the treatment of the cluster \**bw* (< \**bhu*) in Celtic is based entirely on the behavior of the root \**bheuh<sub>x</sub>* itself. In initial position the phonological reflex of \**bw-* in Irish and Brittonic is clearly \**b-*, whence [β] or [v] in leniting environments; this, to judge from forms like Celtiberian (Botorrita) *PionTi* C = OIr. *·biat?*), was probably the regular outcome in Continental Celtic as well. For the development in word-internal position, however, direct evidence is almost entirely lacking. The Old Irish noun *subae* 'jubilation' (< \**subiio-*), which Pokorny (1959: 148) takes as a compound of \**bheuh<sub>x</sub>*, is likelier to contain the root \**g<sup>h</sup>ieh<sub>3</sub>* 'live' (cf. Gk. *hugieia* 'health' and W *gwynfyd* 'bliss'). Although verbal compounds with \**bheuh<sub>x</sub>* in second position are legion, sequences like OIr. perfective pret. 3 sg. *·rabae* and Corn. 3 sg. *gothvyth* 'knows, will know' (cf. MW *gwybyd* 'id.', with probably secondary *-b-*) are too obviously built on the corresponding simplex forms to be probative. It is thus entirely legitimate to consider the possibility that the medial \**-bw-* of \**bebw* was treated differently from word-initial \**bw-*, and that the immediate reflex of \**bebw* in pre-Insular Celtic was not \**bebe* but \**bewe*. From \**bewe* a subsequent development to \**bowe* and the attested *boi*, *-bae*, *-bo*, MW *bu* would have been completely regular.

In principle, the change of \**bebw* to \**bewe* could simply have been a sporadic dissimilation, analogous to that seen in OIr. 3 sg. *·selaig* 'felled' (: pres. *sligid*), with \**sel...* for \**sesl...*, or *·senaig* 'dripped' (: pres. *snigid*), with \**sen...* for \**sesn...* But in view of the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is probably simpler to suppose that \**-bw-* > \**-w-* was a regular sound change in word-medial position. The introduction of such a rule, if sufficiently early, would probably have been favored by the synchronic rule of Common Celtic which converted the parallel cluster \**-mw-* to \**-w-* in compounds containing the preposition \**kom-* (cf. OIr. *coir*, *cóir*, MW *cyweir* 'proper' < \**kom-wari-*; MW *cywir* 'correct', Gaul. PN *Couirus* < \**kom-wīro-*).<sup>15</sup> For \**-bw-* itself there are no other generally agreed upon examples; in my opinion, however, a similar development of \**-bw-* to \**-w-* can be advantageously assumed for the history



of another problematic formation in Old Irish, the *f*-future. A brief digression will make this clear.

Useful summaries of the literature on the *f*-future can be found in Quin (1978) and Bammesberger (1979). On the one hand, it is *a priori* very likely that forms like *scairfid* (*scarfaid*) 'will separate' (: pres. *scaraid*) continue original two-word sequences of the type found in Lat *dūcēbam* and OCS (impf.) *veděaxŭ* 'I was leading'; on the other, it is clear, regardless of what one thinks of *boí*, *-bae*, *bu*, etc., that *\*-bhŷ-* cannot have yielded OIr. *-f-* directly.<sup>16</sup> Let us begin by supposing that a sequence of the type *\*skarē b(u)wāti*, originally 'might be separating', later 'will separate', yielded a univerbated compound *\*skarī-bwāti* in pre-Irish. Beside this there would presumably also have existed a tmesis compound of the type *\*skarī... buwāti*, standing in the same functional and stylistic relationship to the univerbated *\*skarī-bwāti* as did, e.g., *\*to...bereti* (the later *do-beir* 'gives'; cf. Watkins 1963) to *\*to-bereti* (the later *·tabair*), or older Lat. *facit āre* (Lucr.) 'makes dry' to Class. Lat. *ārefacit*. The subsequent fate of *\*skarī... buwāti* can be predicted: just as the tmesis compound *\*to...bereti* was remade to *\*to-s bereti*, the immediate source of *do-beir*, *\*skarī... buwāti* would eventually have come to form a sentence-initial complex *\*skarī-s bwāti*, with the substitution of *\*bwā-* for *\*buwā-* and the insertion of the semantically vacuous enclitic *\*(e)s* in second position (cf. Cowgill 1975). It is this *\*skarī-s bwāti* that seems to have developed, via the intermediate stage *\*skarīswāti*, to OIr. *scairfid*, *-fea*. There are two ways the change might have occurred: either the synchronic analysis of *\*skarī-s bwāti* as a periphrasis was lost early, and a regular reduction of *\*-sbw-* to *\*-sw-* converted the newly univerbated *\*skarīsbwāti* to *\*skarīswāti*;<sup>17</sup> or *\*skarī-s bwāti* became *\*skarī-s wāti* under the analogical influence of the old univerbated ("prototonic") form *\*skarī-wāti*, which had developed from *\*skarī-bwāti* by the rule of intervocalic *\*-bw- > \*-w-*. Under either scenario the new *\*skarīswāti*, no longer felt to be a compound, would eventually have taken over the functions of the inherited *\*skarī-wāti < \*skarī-bwāti* in sentence-internal position, and an analogical *\*skarīswāti-s*, rendered synchronically transparent by the reapplication of the particle *\*(e)s*, would have been introduced to serve as the new sentence-initial form.<sup>18</sup>

If the above account is correct, the *f*-future would provide independent evidence for the change of *\*-bw-* to *\*-w-*. It is not necessary, however, to adopt this analysis in order to appreciate the advantages of assuming a development *\*bhebhuh<sub>x</sub>e > \*bebwe > \*bewe >*

\**bowe* > *boi*. The proposed sequence of changes eliminates the need for supposing that Celtic, alone among the Indo-European languages, inherited or acquired an unreduplicated *o*-grade perfect of the type \**bhóuh<sub>x</sub>e*, or an even less acceptable lengthened-grade \**bhōuh<sub>x</sub>e*. There has, of course, been a price to pay: the simplification of \*-*bw-* to \*-*w-*, however natural in phonetic terms, remains without absolutely certain parallels. Historical explanations, however, cannot be judged in a vacuum. The appropriate question to ask in the present context is not whether a theory which involves an *ad hoc* sound law or dissimilation is better than one which does not, but whether the cost of assuming a change of \*-*bw-* to \*-*w-* is offset by the advantage of starting from \**bhebhuh<sub>x</sub>e*, the only pre-form which corresponds to the realities of the early Celtic verbal system. The answer, I think, is clear: unless and until the possibility of a development from \**bhebhuh<sub>x</sub>e* / \**bebwe* to \**bewe* can be eliminated, the above derivation of *boi* offers the simplest available solution to a troublesome problem.

### Notes

1. These forms, originally disyllabic, appear to have been recharacterized by the addition of an ending which otherwise appears in the 3 sg. of the imperfect (cf. MBr., Corn. *care* 'used to love'). Pedersen's derivation of MBr. *boe* from \**bo[w]e* with elided \*-*w-* (1913: 379) does not seem to be phonologically possible.
2. This is, e. g., Thurneysen's preferred view (1946: 483, etc.); it is assumed, at least in passing, by most other writers.
3. The relationship of Av. *būšiiant-* to Ved. *bhaviṣyánt-*, and the special position of the participle in the history of the *sīe/o*-future, are discussed in Jasanoff (1978: 103–107).
4. The *ā*-element of these forms, and of the corresponding Latin subjunctive, was probably originally the mark of a "conditional" made by adding \*-*h<sub>2</sub>-* to the inherited aorist subjunctive \**bhuh<sub>x</sub>-e/o-*; cf. Jasanoff (1983: 75 ff.). Rix (1976: 214) takes the Latin forms from a full-grade root aorist \**bh<sub>u</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>-*, but this accounts neither for the functions of *fuat* and *-bat* nor for their obvious connection with forms of the type *ferat* 'may carry' (= OIr. subj. *-bera*) and *erat* 'was' (< \**esāt*; cf. MW *oed* 'id.').
5. The 3 pl. *bābuuarə* (Yt. 13. 150), with secondarily lengthened reduplication, furnishes indirect evidence for an Iranian stem \**babū-*; cf. Strunk (1972).
6. The equation Ved. *bhāvayati* 'causes to flourish' = OCS *izbaviti* 'free, redeem' is illusory. The productively formed causative *bhāvayati* is not attested until the Atharvaveda, while Slavic \**baviti* is an apparent creation from \**byti* on the model of pairs like \**plyti* 'float': caus. \**plaviti* and \**nyti* 'be weary': caus. \**naviti* (cf. Vaillant 1966: 423–424; I am indebted to E. Wayles Browne for helpful discussion on this point.) An older causative is perhaps to be seen in OIcel.

- byggva*, -ja 'dwell, settle, cause to be dwelt in' < \**būwijan* < \**bhuh<sub>x</sub>-éje/o-*, again with analogical \**-ū-* from the strong verb \**bū(j)an*. The vocalism of OSw. *bóa* (= OIcel. *búa*) has nothing to do with a Proto-Indo-European lengthened grade, but probably reflects a specifically East Norse lowering of \**-ū-* to \**-ō-*.
7. Not included in this total are the deponent preterites of *ro·laimethar* 'dares' (pret. 3 sg. *·lámair*) and *daimid* 'grants' (pret. *·dámair*), which probably contain a true lengthened \**-ā-* based on their *a*-vocalism in the present.
  8. The rule cannot, of course, have operated before \**-i* (cf. MW *drwy* < \**druwid-*).
  9. Cowgill (1967: 135 ff.) makes a strong case for thinking that the Archaic Irish diphthong \**-uí-* < \**-uwi-*, \**-uwe-* yielded *-oi-* in the language of the Glosses, so that *boi* conceivably goes directly back to \**buwe*. A preform with \**-o-*, however, is still required for the unstressed form *-bae*. I am grateful to Lionel Joseph for valuable comments on an earlier version of this discussion.
  10. It is immaterial for the argument whether we think of \**bwe* as an old clitic form of the same type and antiquity as, e.g., subj. 3 sg. \**bwāt*, or as an analogical creation to \**buwe* on the model of pairs like \**buwāt*: \**bwāt*.
  11. Note that the same objections would have to be met if we sought to derive *boi*, etc., from a thematized root aorist \**buwet* < \**bhuh<sub>x</sub>-e-t*. In addition, it would then be necessary to assume an early analogical loss of \**-t* to account for MW *bu* and the other forms that presuppose an apocopated \**bow*'.
  12. Cf. Mayrhofer (1986: 129), who limits the rule to final \**-h<sub>1</sub>-*. This is hardly a damaging restriction in the present context, since the identity of the laryngeal in \**bheuh<sub>x</sub>-* is unknown (cf. note 4 for the supposed full grade \**bh<sub>u</sub>eh<sub>2</sub>-*). A reduction of \**bhuh<sub>x</sub>-* to \**bhu-/bh<sub>u</sub>-* following an internal boundary is, of course, familiar from the case of \**buwā-/bwā-* and Lat. *fuat/-bat*; note further Ved. *ābhva-* 'monstrous' < \**n<sub>1</sub>-bh<sub>u</sub>-o-*.
  13. Similarly remade are forms like *·lil* 'followed' (: pres. *lenaid*), evidently from \**lile* instead of historically expected \**liloih<sub>x</sub>e*.
  14. Or \**bubw...*, as in other roots with *u*-vocalism. But Celtic, like Sanskrit, seems to have kept the original reduplication vowel in this verb.
  15. Cf. Thurneysen (1946: 123); the alternation of \**ko-* and \**kom-* is a feature which Celtic shares with Italic. It is not clear to me what significance, if any, should be attached to the peculiar behavior under reduplication of the verb *benaid* 'strikes', which shows \**biw-* for expected \**bib-* in both the future (3 sg. *-bi* < \**biwīseti*) and preterite (3 sg. *bí, ·rubai* < \**biwe*). The appearance of \**-w-* for \**-b-* in these forms is attributed by Thurneysen (1946: 405, 428) to the effect of the rhyming verb *fenaid* < \**winati*; could it have been influenced by \**bewe* as well?
  16. I am not convinced by Quin's arguments to the contrary. Bammesberger's interpretation of the *f*-future as a periphrastic construction of the type \**skarant-s bwāti* is unlikely in view of the disappearance of the present participle in Insular Celtic. The other major possibility is Watkins' derivation (1966) from a desiderative adjective in \**-su-* (type Ved. *didṛkṣú-* 'desiring to see') via a denominative present in \**-swā-*. This view presupposes a period during which the *su*-adjectives were enormously productive, spreading from a nucleus of forms like \**g<sup>u</sup>i-g<sup>u</sup>ed-su-* 'desiring to ask' (cf. \**g<sup>u</sup>i-g<sup>u</sup>ed-se-ti* 'desires to ask' > OIr. *gigis*, *·gig* 'will pray') to the weak verbs in \**-ā-* and \**-ī-*. No traces of this former productivity remain, however: so far as I am aware, there is not a single surviving example

- of an adjective in *\*-su-* in Celtic – nor indeed in any other branch of Indo-European outside Indo-Iranian.
17. So long as a synchronic word boundary remained, of course, *\*-s# b(w)-* would have had the same treatment ( $> *{-h\# b(w)-} > {-\emptyset\# b-}$ ) as in an ordinary conjunct form (cf., e.g., consuet. pres. 3 sg. *·bí*, pl. *·biat*, etc.).
  18. Note how this solution accounts for the root-final palatalization in *scairfid*, *-fea*. *\*skarī-* is the regular continuant in Celtic of the combining form *\*skrh<sub>x</sub>-eh<sub>1</sub>-* (cf. Jasanoff 1978: 120 ff.); from this and similar primary A I verbs in root-final laryngeal, *\*-ī-* (or its later reflex, palatalization) would have spread to the weak *ā-* verbs generally, giving rise to forms like *·soirfea* ‘will free’ (: pres. *·soíra*).

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# **Topic-prominence and zero NP-anaphora in Marathi and Hindi**

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## **1.0 Introduction**

Li and Thompson (1976) have proposed a new criterion, subject prominence vs. topic-prominence, for general linguistic typology. Accordingly, they suggested that Indo-European languages could be classified as subject-prominent. Also, Lehmann (1976) proposed that modern Indo-European languages are subject-prominent as opposed to early Indo-European which was topic-prominent. It is the purpose of this paper to present data from two modern Indo-Aryan languages, Marathi and Hindi, and argue that, although these languages codify the subject-verb relationship very often they are primarily topic-prominent. Following Li and Thompson (1976), topic prominence is assumed to be a semantically-based organizational principle as opposed to the syntactically based subject-predicate organizational principle. While both topic and subject may be expressed, one principle of organization may dominate the other in a particular language or language family. Also, the paper examines the use of zero NP-anaphora to advance the claim that topic-prominence dominates in Modern Indo-Aryan.<sup>1</sup>

## **2.0 Subject prominence**

Let us examine Marathi and Hindi in the light of the properties of the subject-prominent languages discussed by Li and Thompson (1976).

## 2.1 Subject-verb agreement

Subject-verb agreement is a basic property of the subject-prominent languages. In Indo-Aryan languages, as in other Indo-European languages, an important property of the subject is that it always has a selectional relation with some verb in the sentence, as in (1) and (2).

(1)

Marathi: *kuṭrā paṭāiā* (3rd sg. masc.)

Hindi: *kuttā ḍarā* (3rd sg. masc.)

dog ran

'The dog ran.'

(2)

Marathi: *mānjari paṭālyāt* (3rd pl. fem.)

Hindi: *billiyā ḍarī* (3rd pl. fem.)

cats ran

'The cats ran.'

## 2.2 Case marking

Under certain conditions, such as sentences where the verb is transitive and is in the perfective aspect, the subject is marked with an oblique case ending. The surface subjects marked with such case markers are logical subjects and the endings on the verbs agree with the grammatical subject.

(3)

Marathi: *tyāna pustak vācla*

Hindi: *usne kitāb paṛhi*

he (agent) book read

'He read the book.'

In this case, the verb agrees with 'the book', the grammatical subject, and 'he', marked as agent, is the logical subject.

## 2.3 Grammatical processes

Reflexivization, equi-NP deletion, and imperativization play important roles in the syntactic structures of Marathi and Hindi. These transformational processes involve subjects of the sentences.

Marathi: *to māṇus itha kām karto, to māṇus ājāri āhe*  
 Hindi: *vah ādmi yahā kām kartā hai, vah ādmi bimār hai*  
           the man here work does the man sick is

2.3.3 Imperativization: The application of this transformation selects the second personal pronoun (honorific or non-honorific) or a vocative form of the noun, and appropriate number and person of the verb.

(7)

Marathi: *tu kām kar; tumhi kām karā; āpaṇ kām karā*  
 Hindi: *tu kām kar; tum kām karo; āp kām kijīye*  
           you work do you work do you work do  
           (non-hon. sg.) (non-hon. pl.) (hon. sg. or hon. pl.)  
           ‘You work.’

If the second person pronouns are chosen, they may be deleted. However, if the vocative form of the noun is chosen, it is retained.

(4)

Marathi: *rām svatāhāca pustak vācat hotā*  
 Hindi: *rām apni kitāb paṛh rahā thā*  
           Ram reflexive book reading was  
           ‘Ram was reading his own book.’

2.3.2 Equi-NP deletion: The grammatical process “equi-NP deletion” is used in the formation of relative clause construction in both Hindi and Marathi. Marathi also uses this process in forming reduced relative clauses. The identity of the subject noun in the main clause with that of the noun in the subordinate clause creates the environment for the application of the “equi-NP deletion.” As a result of the application of the transformation, the noun in the subordinate clause is deleted. The application of the relative clause transformation replaces the deleted NP by the appropriate relative pronoun. The relative pronoun is further deleted in the formation of the Marathi reduced relative clauses.

(5)

Marathi: *jo māṇus itha kām karto to ājāri āhe*  
 Hindi: *jo ādmi yahā kām kartā hai vah bimār hai*  
           who man here work does he sick is  
           ‘The man who works here is sick.’



(6)

Marathi: *itha kām karto to ājāri āhe* (Reduced relative clause)  
 here work does he sick is  
 'The one who works here is sick.'

The above relative clause construction results from the two clauses:

Marathi: *to māṇus itha kām karto, to māṇus ājāri āhe*  
 Hindi: *vah ādmi yahā kām kartā hai, vah ādmi bimār hai*  
 the man here work does the man sick is

2.3.3 Imperativization: The application of this transformation selects the second personal pronoun (honorific or non-honorific) or a vocative form of the noun, and appropriate number and person of the verb.

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Marathi: *tu kām kar; tumhi kām karā; āpaṇ kām karā*  
 Hindi: *tu kām kar; tum kām karo; āp kām kijīye*  
 you work do you work do you work do  
 (non-hon. sg.) (non-hon. pl.) (hon. sg. or hon. pl.)  
 'You work.'

If the second person pronouns are chosen, they may be deleted. However, if the vocative form of the noun is chosen, it is retained.

### 3.0 Topic prominence

Marathi and Hindi are topic-prominent, and this can be seen by applying Li and Thompson's (1976) criteria of topic prominence: the absence of "dummy subjects," the absence or rare occurrence of passive construction, the position of the verb in a sentence, the word-order variation, centrality or basicness of topic/comment structures, and definiteness of the subject NP's.

#### 3.1 "Dummy subjects"

These languages do not have "dummy" subjects comparable to English *it* and *there*. For example, the Marathi and Hindi sentences comparable to the English sentences *It is cold in here* and *There is*

a book on the table are (8) and (9) respectively. In Marathi and Hindi, the place of the dummy subject has been filled by adverbs in (8) and by the noun in oblique case in (9). These sentence-initial elements here serve as topics and not as subjects.

(8)

Marathi: *itha thanḍa āhe*

Hindi: *yahā thanḍ hai*

here cold is

'It is cold in here.'

(9)

Marathi: *ṭeblāvar ek pustak āhe*

Hindi: *ṭe balpar ek kitāb hai*

table on one book is

'There is a book on the table.'

### 3.2 Passive construction

Li and Thompson (1976) pointed out that in topic-prominent languages, passivization appears as a marginal construction, or does not occur at all. Pandharipande (1979) has pointed out that the apparently optional rule of passivization applies obligatorily under conditions that cannot be defined in terms of the function/usage of passive sentences in these languages. For example, the passive construction with overt subject seems to express capabilitative meaning as in (10), whereas subjectless passive constructions seem to be prescriptive as in (11), in which a social convention is expressed and a particular mode of behaviour is prescribed.

(10)

Marathi: *mājhyākaḍun te kām kela gela nāhi*

me by that work did went not

Hindi: *mujh se vah kām nahi kiyā gayā*

me by that work not did went

'I was not able to do that work.' (capabilitative)

(11)

Marathi: *diwālīcā divši laxmiči puḍā keli jāte*

Hindi: *divālī ke din laxmiki puḍā ki jāti hai*

Diwali on day Laxmi's worship goes

'Laxmi is worshipped on the day of Diwali.' (prescriptive)

Thus, because of the functions of the passive as capabilitative and prescriptive the passive construction is losing its original meaning as passive. In fact, Marathi passives are now only capabilitatives and prescriptives.

### 3.3 V-final languages

The characteristic topic prominent languages suggested by Li and Thompson (1976) are verb-final. Lehmann (1976) suggests the parallelism between the development from topic-prominence to subject prominence and that from OV structure to a VO structure in Indo-European. In other words, topic-prominence correlates with OV structure. In Indo-Aryan languages, the dominant sentence pattern is of OV structure: The object precedes the verb, and the verb is sentence final.

(12)

Marathi: *mi ek kutrā pāhilā* (SOV)

Hindi: *maine ek kuttā dekhā* (SOV)

I one dog saw

'I saw a dog.'

### 3.4 Word order

The flexible word order in Indo-Aryan languages allows any constituent to occur in the sentence-initial position and to become the topic. There does not seem to be any constraint on what can serve as the topic. For example, note the variants (14) and (15) of sentences (13). The topics in (14) and (15) are respectively 'for Ram' and 'that book'.

(13)

Marathi: *mi rāmsāṭhi te pustak ghetla*

Hindi: *maine rāmkeliye vah kitāb kharīdī*

I Ram for that book bought

'I bought that book for Ram.'

(14)

Marathi: *rāmsāṭhi mi te pustak ghetla*

Hindi: *rāmkeliye maine vah kitāb kharīdī*

Ram for I that book bought

'For Ram, I bought that book.'

(15)

Marathi: *te pustak mi rāmsāṭhi ghetla*  
 Hindi: *vah kitāb maine rāmkeliye kharīdī*  
 that book I Ram for bought  
 'That book, I bought for Ram.'

### 3.5 Basicness of topic-comment sentences

Word order in Indo-Aryan languages is, to a large extent, determined by topic-comment relation rather than by grammatical relation. Topic-comment structure seems to prevail in these languages. Post-positional noun phrases occupy the sentence initial position when they are topics,<sup>2</sup> whereas subject noun phrases, when indefinite, occur somewhere else in the sentence.

(16)

Marathi: *ṭeblāvar ek pustak āhe*  
 Hindi: *ṭeбалpar ek kitāb hai*  
 table on one book is  
 'There is a book on the table.'

Note that 'on the table there is a book' (where 'table' is the topic of the sentence) is a prevalent pattern as opposed to 'a book is on the table'.

### 3.6 Definiteness of the subject NP's

In Indo-Aryan languages, subject NP's that occur in the sentence-initial position, the position reserved for topics, are mostly definite.

(17)

Marathi: *pustak ṭeblāvar āhe*  
 Hindi: *kitāb ṭeбалpar hai*  
 book table is  
 'The book is on the table.'

In an earlier paper (Junghare 1983), I have discussed the markers of definiteness in Hindi, Marathi, and Bengali. On the basis of the comparative study of these languages, it seems that definiteness is

an unmarked category and indefiniteness is a marked one. All singular nouns not overtly marked as indefinite are interpreted as definite, except in preverbal position where they may be indefinite because of the complex verb formation. Definiteness is additionally marked by postpositions, demonstratives, and word order variation.<sup>3</sup> There are no definite/indefinite articles in these languages. The numeral 'one' is used to specify indefiniteness of the noun.<sup>4</sup> Definiteness of the subjects is indicated by their occurrence in the position of topic, i.e., sentence-initial position. In other words, sentence-initial subjects are generally definite because they occupy the position of topics which are characteristically definite,<sup>5</sup> i.e., identifiable.

Sentences with indefinite NP's in the sentence initial position have an interpretation other than that of indefinite. The sentence in (18) specifies 'one book' as opposed to 'two' or 'three' or any other number. This sentence makes a contrastive statement on the basis of the underlying presupposition of 'how many books?' With the indefiniteness interpretation, the sentence is awkward.

(18)

Marathi: *?ek pustak teblāvar āhe*  
 Hindi: *?ek kitāb tebalpar hai*  
           one book table on is  
           'A book is on the table.'

Thus, the application of Li and Thompson's (1976) categories indicates that Indo-Aryan languages such as Marathi and Hindi are subject-prominent as well as topic-prominent. They are subject-prominent because they have subject-verb agreement, case marking, and grammatical transformations, such as reflexivization, equi-NP deletion and imperativization. They are topic-prominent is evident from: (1) they do not use "dummy" subjects, (2) they make marginal use of the passive construction, (3) they have verbs in sentence final position, (4) they allow a great deal of word-order variation, which creates the possibility for any constituent to become the topic of the sentence, (5) they have a topic-comment dominating structure, and (6) they have definite subject NP's in sentence initial position.

## 4.0 Anaphora

Of the two, the noun phrase anaphora (an anaphoric expression referring to a noun phrase) and the verb phrase anaphora (an anaphoric expression referring to a verb phrase), we will examine the first type in Marathi and Hindi.

Following Gundel (1980), NP-anaphora can be classified into two classes according to their function: (1) referring and (2) non-referring.<sup>6</sup>

### 4.1 Referring anaphora

The function of the referring anaphora is to direct the addressee's attention to a particular referent in the discourse. The occurrence of such anaphora is obligatory when it provides new information about a topic as in the answer (19b) to the question (19a). It is also used to indicate a topic contrast as in (20) or topic shift as in (21). Because of their important functions, these types of anaphora do not get deleted.

(19a)

Marathi: *ḡonna kuṇālā bolāvla?* (Question)

Hindi: *ḡonne kisko bulāyā?*  
John whom called  
'Whom did John call?'

(19b)

Marathi: *ḡonna tilā bolāvla* (Answer)

Hindi: *ḡonne usko bulāyā*  
John *her* called  
'John called *her*.'

(20)

Marathi: *to haslā paṇ ti raḍli* (Topic contrast)

Hindi: *vah hasā lekin vah royi*  
he laughed but she cried  
'He laughed but *she* cried.'

(21)

Marathi: *mi rāmlā sāṅgitla paṇ tyāna aikla nāhi* (Topic shift)

Hindi: *maine rāmko batāyā lekin usne sunā nahi*  
I Ram told but he heard not  
'I told Ram but he didn't listen.'

## 4.2 Non-referring anaphora

Non-referring anaphora, on the other hand, is always bound by a topic which may have been established in a non-linguistic context as in (22) or in a linguistic context as in (23). In the example (22), both the addressee and the speaker are looking at a picture in the addressee's room and the speaker asks:

(22)

Marathi: *kuṭha miḷāla te?*

Hindi: *kahā milī vah?*

where got it

'Where did [you] get it?'

(23)

Marathi: *ḡonna tilā kāy dila?* (Question)

Hindi: *ḡonne usko kyā diyā?*

John her what gave

'What did John give her?'

(23a)

Marathi: *ḡonna tilā pustak dila* (Answer)

Hindi: *ḡonne usko kitāb dī*

John her book gave

'John gave *her* a book.'

The primary function of non-referring anaphora is syntactic. Pragmatically, that is, from a communicative point of view, it is redundant and can therefore be deleted in the discourse as in the example (23b), which is another answer to the question in (23).

(23b)

Marathi: *ḡonna ∅ pustak dila*

Hindi: *ḡonne ∅ kitāb dī*

John book gave

'John gave ∅ a book.'

The sentence 'John gave ∅ a book' is perfectly grammatical and acceptable in Marathi and Hindi, because the non-referring pronouns are not syntactically as much needed as in English. In English the sentence, although ungrammatical, is acceptable in discourse. And for that matter the answer 'a book' is acceptable in all three languages.

## 4.2.1 Non-referring anaphora in various languages

Non-referring anaphora is realized differently in different languages. In English, with the exception of the third person singular neuter (where the referring form is *that* and the non-referring form is *it*), the non-referring forms are the same as referring forms except that the former are unstressed and phonologically reduced in casual speech.

Some languages such as Polish and Irish, as Gundel (1980) has pointed out, have short-form clitic pronouns in non-referring function but long forms for object reference. Polish also allows zero in subject position. Some languages have zero NP-anaphora in certain non-referring positions. For example, Fijian has zero in object position, but it requires a pronominal form in subject position. Other languages, such as Mandarin, allow zero NP-anaphora in all non-referring positions.

*Polish*

(24)

*Jan je tutaj. Ja { $\emptyset$ /<sub>go</sub>} widziałam.*  
           is here I him saw  
 'Jan is here. I saw him.'

(25)

Q. *kogo widziałas?* A. *ja jego widziałam*  
       who saw him  
 'Whom did you see?' – 'I saw him.'

*Irish*

(26)

*Bhi Sean auseo. Chonaic me e*  
   was here saw I him  
 'Sean was here; I saw him.'

(27)

Q. *Bhfuil siad auseo?*  
    are they here  
 'Are they here?'



- A. *Chonaic me eisean ach ni fhace me ise.*  
 saw I him but not saw I her  
 'I saw *him*, but I didn't see *her*.'

*Fijian*

(28)

$\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * \emptyset \\ E \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$  *a taura na bilo ka suliya  $\emptyset$  vei Apenisa*

3sg. past take art. cup and give to  
 'He/she took the cup and gave (it) to Apenisa.'

(29)

Q.  $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * \emptyset \\ O \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$  *la ki ve?* A.  $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} * \emptyset \\ Au \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$  *lako tiko ki na koro*  
 you sg. go to where I go ASP to art. village  
 'Where are you going?' 'I'm going to the village.'

*Mandarin*

(30)

*Nei-dung fangzi, Laowang zhu le  $\emptyset$  ban nien le, cunlai  $\emptyset$*   
 that-class. house live ASP half year since  
*meiyou fuguo fangzu.*  
 never pay rent  
 'That house, Laowang has been living (there) half a year; (he) never paid rent.'

(31)

*Zhe-ge Yingwen juzi zhen nan. Wo bu dong  $\emptyset$ .*  
 this-class. English sentence really difficult I not understand  
 'This English sentence is really difficult; I don't understand (it).'

#### 4.2.2 Non-referring anaphora in Marathi and Hindi

Marathi and Hindi have no special non-referring clitic forms. They have the same forms for referring and non-referring function, but they allow zero anaphora. These languages, however, have subject-verb agreement morphemes which are part of the verb morphology. These morphemes cannot be treated as pronouns since they do not

behave syntactically like full NP's and their position with respect to the verb is fixed. The general assumption is that these languages allow zero subjects because they have subject-verb agreement. However, there is no basis to this assumption. As Gundel (1980) has pointed out, subject-verb agreement has very little to do with the occurrence of zero NP-anaphora. Languages like German which have subject-verb agreement do not allow zero in subject position. And languages like Japanese in which zero pronouns are least restricted, i.e., occurring quite often, have no subject-verb agreement whatsoever. Furthermore, languages such as Russian, which have subject-verb agreement and which allow zero subjects, generally allow zero in direct object position. Indo-Aryan languages such as Marathi and Hindi are like Russian. Although they have subject-verb agreement, they allow zero in subject positions and in the positions of direct objects, indirect objects, and possessive noun phrases.

## **5.0 The use of zero NP-anaphora**

On the basis of the relative restrictedness of zero NP-anaphora, a number of languages can be classified (Gundel 1980) in three groups: (1) Languages in which zero NP-anaphora are least restricted: these include Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Thai, and Vietnamese; (2) languages in which zero NP-anaphora are most restricted: these include English, French, and German; and (3) languages in between. Some of the languages in this group allow zero NP-anaphora only in certain positions, while other languages allow zero in virtually all positions. Although pronouns do occur in formal speech and in written language, they are deleted in an informal discourse. This is the case for Hindi and Marathi.

### **5.1 Zero NP-anaphora and topic-prominence**

Gundel (1980) points out that the use of zero NP-anaphora in various languages correlates with their typological placement as topic-prominent or subject-prominent. On the basis of this she makes the following generalization:

The more topic-prominent a language, the less restricted its use of zero NP-anaphora.

According to Li and Thompson (1976) one of the properties of topic-prominent languages is that it is the topic rather than the subject which controls the deletion of a coreferential constituent. Going further, Gundel suggests that in all languages it is the topic that controls non-referring anaphora, including zero NP-anaphora.

In topic-prominent languages the basic sentence structure is determined by the pragmatic relation of topic-comment rather than the syntactic relation of subject-predicate. In these languages topics more consistently occupy a syntactically prominent position in the sentences. Topic NP's that bind the zero anaphora (or control them) are easily recoverable. Pragmatically speaking, as long as the referent (topic NP) is understood by the speaker and/or assumed to be known to the addressee, the speaker does not repeat the referent and deletes the topic NP.

## 5.2 The use of zero NP-anaphora in Marathi and Hindi

Earlier in this paper it was argued that Marathi and Hindi are more topic-prominent than subject-prominent. Therefore, it is expected that zero NP-anaphora will be less restricted in these languages. The following examples illustrate an abundance of zero NP-anaphora or a significant use of the deletion of topic NP's. The zero pronouns occur more in conversational varieties of these languages. This is consistent with the fact that zero NP-anaphora is controlled by the topic which is primarily a discourse notion.<sup>7</sup> In a conversation, the speaker gets constant feed-back regarding the addressee's attention and understanding and accordingly he avoids repeating NP's, consequently using more zero NP anaphora.

### *Marathi*

(32)

*kāhi divas malā bara vāṭat navta. paṇ ātā ∅ bara āhe.*

some days to me good feeling was not but now good is

*∅ ājac mumbaihun parat ālo. aiklyābarobar ∅ ikḍe ālo.*

today Bombay from back came as soon as heard here came

'I wasn't well for a few days. But (I) am all right now. (I) just got back from Bombay today. (I) came as soon as (I) heard.'

[Kavadi — Southworth 1965 II: 23]

(33)

*to eke divši sahastrabhojan ghālu lāglā. ∅ sārya gāvala āmantraṇ*  
he one day feast give began whole town invitation  
*kela. ∅ bahiṇilā ∅ kāhi bolāvla nāhi.*

did sister but invite not

'One day he gave a big feast. (He) invited the whole town. But (he) didn't invite (his) sister.'

['Šukravārči kahāni', a story in Berntsen-Nimbkar 1975: 8]

(34)

*pardeši bātmīdār yet hote, duṣkālībhāgācā daurā*

foreign reporters coming were drought area tour

*karit hote. mag ∅ puṇyālā parat jāun*

were doing then Poona to back going

*bhuke-tahānena vyākullelyā*

hunger-thirst troubled

*mānsānbaddal ∅ manātlyā manāt jāḍ tāipātle*

people-about in minds bold type

*mathale juḷvīt blu dāymanḍmadhye kombḍi khāt hote.*

headlines composing blue diamond in chicken cat would

'Foreign reporters would come and tour the drought area. Then (they) would return to Poona and eat chicken in the "Blue Diamond" composing in (their) minds the headlines in bold type about the people struck by hunger and thirst.'

['Pahila paus', an essay in Berntsen-Nimbkar 1975: 14]

(35)

*∅ dudh āṇlas kā? pahilyāndā ∅ tāpavun ghe.*

milk brought first heat it

*aṇi pelyāt otun ∅ thanḍa kar. nantar ∅ mirāla de.*

and cup in pour cool do then Mira give

*tāpavtānā ∅ phākla tar mānjrilā de kivvā ∅ phekun de.*

while heating spoiled then cat give or throw away

'Did (you) bring the milk? First heat (it), and pour (it) in a cup and cool (it). Then give (it) to Mira. If (it) goes bad while heating then give (it) to the cat or else throw (it) away.'

[Conversational]

(36)

*John I book gave and pencil give but pen gave not*  
*‘I gave John a book and a pencil. But (I) didn’t give (him) a pen.’*

Hindi

(37)

*What said milk not came know that milk-seller*  
*of shop far is*  
*‘What did (you) say? The milk isn’t here yet! (You) know the milk-seller’s shop is quite far.’*

[recorded conversation]

(38)

*I some scholar not am science epics not*  
*learned have poor man am simple am*  
*‘I am no scholar, (I) haven’t read the Shastras and Puranas. (I) am a poor man, (I) am a simple man.’*

[Renu, 1954: 37, a sentence from a novel]

(39)

*hujūr, yah surāji bāldev gop hai. Ø do sāl jehal*  
*sir this freedom fighter Baldev Gop is two years jail*  
*khaṭkar āyā hai; Ø is gāvkā nahi; Ø kannan paṭṭi*  
*spent came has this town of not Channanpatti*  
*kā hai. Ø yahā mausi ke yahā āyā hai*  
*of is here aunt place come has*  
*Ø khaddhaḍ pahantā hai, Jaihinna boltā hai*  
*khadi wears Jai Hind speaks*  
*‘Sir, this is the freedom fighter, Baldev Gop. (He) spent two years in jail; (he) doesn’t belong in this village, (he) is from Channanpatti. (He) is visiting his mother’s sister. (He) wears khadi and says “Jai Hind.”’*

[Renu, 1954: 11]

(40)

*tumhārī beṭī tumhāreliye unī ganjī bin rahī hai.*  
 your daughter for you woolen sweater knitting is  
 Ø *kitāb kholkar* Ø *sāmne rakh letī hai.* Ø *dono hāthme*  
 book opening in front of put both hands in  
*salāī lekar kitābme dekh dekh kar jab binne*  
 needles taking in the book look when knitting  
*lagatī hai, to lagtā hai* Ø *hāth nahi masin hai.*  
 starts then seems hands not machine is  
 'Your daughter is knitting you a sweater. (She) opens a book and  
 props (it) in front (of her). And when (she) takes a needle in each  
 hand and starts knitting and looking at the book you'd think (her)  
 hands were machines.'

[Renu 1954: 351]

(41)

Ø *samosa khāoge?* Ø *bahot acche bane hai.* *Mainē* Ø  
 samosas eat very good made are I  
*kal šamko banāye aur āj subah mirāne* Ø *tale.*  
 yesterday evening made and today morning Mira fried  
 'Will (you) eat samosas? (They) are really good. I prepared (them)  
 last evening, and Mira fried (them) this morning.'

[recorded conversation]

(42)

*Johnko khat milā lekin usne* Ø Ø *dikhāyā nahī.*  
 John letter got but he showed not  
 'John received the letter but he didn't show (it) (to me).'

## 6.0 Conclusion

In the earlier part of the paper (3.0–3.6), Marathi and Hindi have been shown to be topic-prominent languages. This claim is further strengthened by the evidence presented in the latter part (5.2) of the paper, namely, the frequent use of zero NP-anaphora. On the basis of the two languages, Marathi and Hindi, a stronger claim can be made that Indo-Aryan languages in general are more topic-prominent than subject-prominent.

Can topic-prominence be graded? That is, are some Indo-Aryan languages more topic-prominent than others? On the basis of a comparative study of Marathi, Hindi, and Bengali, it has been shown (Junghare 1983) that Marathi is the most topic-prominent, Bengali is the least topic-prominent, and Hindi falls in between.

Lehmann (1976) claims that Early Indo-European was topic-prominent and that by the time of the classical periods of such dialects as Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, subject in Indo-European became prominent. If this is true, then do the Indo-Aryan languages present an advanced stage of the three-stage historical process of change from topic-prominence to subject-prominence and then back to topic-prominence? Or, is topic-prominence in Indo-Aryan a result of an areal influence? Are the languages of the Dravidian family topic-prominent? If so, could they have had an influence on the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages? Also, topic-prominence in other language families of India, such as Austro-Asiatic and Sino-Tibetan, would be worth exploring.

### Notes

1. My thanks to Jeanette K. Gundel and Paul Staneslow for their comments on this paper.
2. A short study of a concordance of Hindi literary material bears this out. A statistical analysis of the concordance is in progress.
3. These and additional markers of definiteness have been discussed with several examples in my earlier paper (Junghare 1983).
4. Only the clear case is stated here. The study of indefiniteness in Indo-Aryan is quite complex and needs further research.
5. The relationship between topic and definiteness has been explored by Wallace Chafe (1976).
6. Jeanette Gundel's term "non-referring" may be confusing (because of the non-referential dummy pronouns in sentences like *It's hot*) has been pointed out by Mushira Eid. In spite of this problem I prefer to use it because it is simpler than the newly suggested term "non-independently referring".
7. Topic as a discourse notion has been quite thoroughly discussed by Keenan and Schieffelin (1976).

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## Yima et la mort

Jean Kellens

Dans un article rédigé au début de l'année 1980 pour les *Mélanges Duchesne-Guillemain* (Kellens 1984a) et consacré à la légende avestique de Yima, je concluais qu'il n'était pas possible de déterminer à partir de quel état primitif du mythe et à la suite de quel processus l'Inde et l'Iran en étaient arrivés à situer leur homonyme héros des origines dans une relation exactement inverse avec la mort. A cette question, directement liée à celle des origines du système religieux novateur qui a marqué les débuts de l'histoire iranienne, faute de documents, la mythologie comparée n'a pu apporter de réponse décisive. On peut seulement poser que la découverte du royaume où Yama accueille les âmes des morts et la construction du *vara*, où Yima préserve du grand hiver toutes les espèces vivantes, dérivent du même motif original. D'une manière générale, mais sans en donner la preuve définitive, on a toujours été enclin à considérer que c'était l'Iran qui avait innové: n'a-t-il pas manifesté de manière grandiose, par l'élaboration du mazdéisme, sa puissante capacité de spéculation réformatrice? Depuis 1980, deux études ont effectivement apporté des arguments très forts à l'appui de cette hypothèse, en exhumant les traces d'une ancienne relation entre Yima et la mort. Jacques Duchesne-Guillemain (1980)<sup>1</sup> a montré que le cor (*suṣrā-*) de Yima devait, à l'origine, avoir joué un rôle dans le gouvernement de la société des âmes. Comment pourrait-il en être autrement, puisque ce cor s'inscrit entre le pipeau (*nāđt-*) de Yama, que mentionne l'hymne rigvédique X 135,7, et la trompette (*ṣūr*) d'Isrâfil, dont il a fourni à la fois le nom et le motif à la tradition musulmane? D'autre part, Bruce Lincoln (1982) a fait remarquer que la manière dont Yima construit le *vara*, en malaxant la terre et l'eau, correspond exactement à l'idée que divers peuples d'origine indo-européenne se font du paradis: un univers cerné de murailles d'argile, transposition mythologique de l'espace clos de la tombe. Or, il me semble que la mythologie mazdéenne a préservé, mais sous le masque, un autre élément de relation entre Yima et la mort. Avant d'en faire l'analyse, qu'il me soit permis de dire que, ma première réflexion sur Yima ayant été offerte à Jacques Duchesne-

Guillemin, je suis heureux de présenter la seconde en hommage à un autre grand savant d'origine belge.

L'Iran mazdéen a, on le sait, une tout autre conception de l'au-delà que l'Inde védique. Il ne se le représente pas comme un royaume des âmes, mais comme un lieu de jugement où chacun reçoit le salaire de ses actes. Les âmes ne sont pas soumises à l'autorité de premier homme qui ait « vécu » la mort; elles comparaissent, dès leur arrivée, devant une sorte de tribunal où interviennent, au moins, Ahura Mazdā, Vohu Manah, le bon Vāiiu, Mira, Sraoša et Rašnu. Néanmoins, certains motifs de la conception védique subsistent. Un fragment avestique (Aog 77 sq.) définit le passage de la vie à la mort comme « le chemin de Vāiiu l'implacable » (*paṇtā...yō vaiiaoš anamarždikahe*), image qui correspond à celle du chemin que Yima repéra le premier (RV X 14,1 *ānu bahúbhyaḥ pānthām anuspaśanām*)<sup>2</sup>. Les deux chiens qui surveillent cette route, selon RV X 14,11 (*yāu te śvānu...pathirákṣī* « tes deux chiens, qui surveillent le chemin »), apparaissent aussi dans l'Avesta. Ils sont mentionnés au V 13,9 (*spāna pəṣu. pāna* « les deux chiens qui gardent le pont ») et, au V 19,30, ils accompagnent la daēnā-jeune fille qui vient à la rencontre de l'âme (*hāu srīra...spānauuaiti* « la belle avec les chiens »). Il reste que, dans toute la tradition mazdéenne, des gāthās aux livres théologiques pehlevi, le point critique d'accès au paradis est un pont dont on ne trouve pas l'équivalent dans la tradition indienne. Cette image n'est pas une variante de celle du chemin, car elle illustre l'ultime formalité d'entrée dans le séjour des bienheureux: au bout du chemin se situe le tribunal des dieux qui, selon les mérites du défunt, permet ou refuse le franchissement du pont. Celui-ci est désigné par l'expression *cinuuatō pərətu-*, où le nom du pont (*pərətu-*) reçoit la détermination génitive *cinuuatō*, et, dans quelques passages tardifs, par le composé *tatpuruša cinuuat.pərətu-*. Il s'agit donc, non pas du « pont *cinuuat* », comme on le voit trop souvent imprimé, mais du « pont du *cinuuant* ». *cinuuant-*, participe présent fonctionnant comme nom d'agent (type *saošiiaṇt-*), semble désigner un être mythique qui n'est pas autrement identifié et dont on ne trouve pas trace ailleurs. Le mot a reçu jusqu'ici trois explications étymologiques différentes:

1. Bartholomae (1961: col. 596–597) rapporte *cinuuant-* à <sup>1</sup>*ci* (col. 441: <sup>1</sup>*kay* « legere ») et traduit l'expression par « Brücke des Scheiders »<sup>3</sup>. Ce serait donc « le pont du trieur », de celui qui sépare les bons des méchants.

2. Nyberg (1937: 205) invoque la racine *ci* « remarquer », qui est bien attestée en védique, et postule « le pont du scrutateur ».
3. Bailey (1939: 115 sqq.) se fonde sur <sup>2</sup>*ci* « payer en rétribution d'une faute » (Bartholomae 1961: col. 464: *kāy* « vergelten ») pour traduire par « bridge of the exactor ».

On a donc utilisé successivement les trois racines *ci* attestées en indo-iranien, chacune offrant un sens qui pût paraître approprié à définir l'ultime obstacle séparant l'âme du paradis. Un indice grammatical décisif permet cependant de départager les trois hypothèses: *cinuuant-* dérive d'un présent à infixé nasal *cinao-/cinu-*. Cela seul contraint à exclure les solutions de Nyberg et de Bailey. *ci* « remarquer » n'est pas attesté en iranien et ne produit un présent infixé en indien qu'à partir du sanscrit de l'épopée<sup>4</sup>. *ci* « payer la rétribution » produit, en indien, un présent thématique *cāya-* exclusivement moyen, en avestique, un présent à redoublement *cikaē-/cici-* exclusivement actif.

Du point de vue grammatical, l'hypothèse de Bartholomae est la seule plausible<sup>5</sup>. Elle ne peut cependant être acceptée sans réserve. Bailey a objecté, de manière imparable, que la traduction par « pont du trieur » était fondée sur le sens du verbe composé avec *vī* et non sur celui du verbe simple. C'est effectivement *vī-ci* qui signifie « distinguer entre », se construisant, à l'actif, avec deux accusatifs (Y 46,17 *ȳə vīcinaot̥ dāθəmcā adāθəmcā* « celui qui distingue le pie de l'impie »), au moyen, avec un accusatif duel (Y 30,6 *aiiā nōit̥ ərəš vīšiiātā daēuuācīnā* « les daēuuas surtout n'ont pas correctement distingué entre ces deux là »; aussi Y 30,3)<sup>6</sup>. *ci* simple, auquel correspond nécessairement le sens de *cinuuant-*, n'est pas attesté en indien et l'est fort mal en avestique. Il apparaît dans un fragment si mal transmis qu'il est inintelligible (N 1) et on peut en faire la conjecture dans trois phrases parallèles d'un bon Yašt (Yt 13,11.22.28), toujours sous des formes dérivées du thème de présent *caīia-*, vraisemblablement transposé, avec thématisation secondaire, de l'aoriste radical *caē-/šī-* (cf. Kellens 1984b: 333). Il est cependant bien vivant en moyen iranien occidental, le moyen perse manichéen ayant *cy-* < \**caya-* et *cyn-* < \**cinu-* (aussi parthe *cyn-*) (cf. Ghilain 1939: 85), qui se prolongent dans le verbe persan *cīdan* (cf. Henning 1933: 181–202). Le sens de « assembler, accumuler », très exactement « mettre en tas », est confirmé, dans la langue des inscriptions sassanides, par le moyen-perse *cyt'k* = parthe *šyty* « monticule de pierres » < \**citāka* (Gignoux 1972: 21, 65).

*cinuuatō pərətu-* ne peut être que «le pont de l'empileur». L'«empileur» désigne celui qui a construit le pont en mettant des pierres les unes sur les autres, et on voit mal qui ce pourrait être d'autre que l'équivalent de l'indien Yama. Il semble donc bien que, à l'origine, dans la tradition iranienne aussi, Yima est intervenu dans l'inauguration du séjour des morts. Quand lui a-t-on retiré ce rôle, et pourquoi? Le rédacteur des gāthās le reconnaissait-il encore dans le *cinuuant* de l'expression *cinuuatō pərətu-*? Et les auteurs des diverses parties de l'Avesta récent? Questions sans réponse. Il faut noter, en tout cas, pour le verser au dossier de mon article des *Mélanges Duchesne-Guillemin*, le fait que Yima intervenait dans la constitution de l'au-delà par un acte de bâtisseur<sup>7</sup>. Comme il construira le *vara*, il construit le chemin du paradis, dont son homologue indien, vraisemblablement par innovation, n'est que l'éclaireur.

### Notes

1. Duchesne-Guillemin (1980) a mis en lumière toutes les conclusions qui découlent du sens de «cor» enfin reconnu à *sufrā-*. Seule me paraît contestable l'analyse qu'il fait du pouvoir des deux instruments remis à Yima par Ahura Mazdā: «le pouvoir physique, représenté par l'aiguillon, et un pouvoir plus subtil, quasi magique, signifié par le corne» (p. 543). Il est plus vraisemblable que ces instruments de pâtre dotent tous deux Yima d'un pouvoir magique de type précis: ils lui permettent de susciter le mouvement de toute chose, comme le pâtre celui de son troupeau (les vivants sont d'ailleurs explicitement confiés à Yima comme la *gaēṣā-* «troupeau» d'Ahura Mazdā). Le cor et la pique sont, de ce point de vue, complémentaires: le cor, par lequel on fait venir à soi, suscite un mouvement centripète et la pique, avec laquelle on conduit, un mouvement centrifuge.
2. L'image du chemin est sans doute à l'origine de deux conceptions plus abstraites du déplacement qui fait accéder l'âme au paradis, celle de la grimpée par dessus le mont Harā (V 19,30) et celle des quatre pas (H 2,15). Voir à ce sujet Kellens (1975: 462 sq.).
3. Duchesne-Guillemin (1936: 137) rend cette traduction, à laquelle il adhère, par «pont du trancheur».
4. Grassmann (1964: col. 446 sq.) attribue à *ci* «remarquer» deux formes dérivant d'un présent infixé. Elles relèvent en fait de *ci* «rassembler», composé avec *vi* au sens de «distinguer *acc.* de *acc.*»: IV 2,11 *cittim ácittim cinavad vi vidvān* «que le savant distingue entre la sagesse et la non-sagesse»; X 86,19 *āyam emi vicākaśad vicinvān dāsām āryam* «moi, je vais, passant en revue, distinguant le *dāsa* de l'*ārya*». Cet emploi correspond à celui du gāthique Y 46,17 *ṣā vīcinaot dāṣamcā adāṣamcā* «celui qui distingue le pie de l'impie».

5. *cinuuat, uš tāna-* (V 18,5) ne peut s'expliquer par <sup>2</sup>*ci*, comme, d'après Klingenschmitt, je l'ai proposé jadis (Kellens 1974: 240), que s'il s'agit d'une construction tardive et incohérente. Mais cet hapax, attesté dans un passage où son sens ne ressort pas avec évidence, doit être considéré comme douteux. La traduction pehlevie *kāmag pad yān* et le composé *uštānō.cinah-* (Yt 19,48) suggèrent que le premier terme dérive de *kan* «prendre plaisir à» (ainsi Bartholomae 1964: col. 596). Mais comment expliquer *cinuuat*<sup>o</sup> à partir de *kan*?
6. Le V 16,2.11, où le thème secondaire *vī.cina-* a supplanté *vī.cinu-*, ne ressortit pas à cette structure syntaxique: *aētaḍa hē aēta mazdaiiasna paṇta vīcinaēta pairi uruuarābii asca varəḍābiiasca aēsmaēibiiō*. Cet emploi de *vī-ci* est cependant hérité: il est pareil à celui attesté en indien par RV I 90,4 *vī naḥ pathāḥ suvitāya ciyāntu indro marūtaḥ* «Qu'Indra et les Maruts nous libèrent des chemins pour bien aller» (aussi IV 37,7, IV 55,4, VI 53,4). Ce parallélisme permet de comprendre ce que signifie exactement la phrase avestique, qui énonce une précaution à observer pour que, en sortant de la maison, une femme réglée ne souille pas les éléments. Il ne s'agit pas de lui choisir un chemin à l'écart de la végétation, comme on le pense généralement (Wolff 1910: 413).
7. Lincoln (1982) termine son article en faisant remarquer que les diverses traditions qu'il a rassemblées présentent le paradis comme une construction d'argile, alors que les proto-indo-européens élevaient des murailles de pierre. Comment juger, à cet égard, la conception que nous venons d'analyser et la technique de construction en pierres qu'elle atteste?

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## Competing generalizations and linguistic change\*

Robert D. King

0. I wish to present the case for an idea that in some ways runs counter to many of the assumptions that have been current in linguistics over the last decade. The idea is not new, as we will see; but, in historical linguistics, it has not been developed in the directions that seem most fruitful to me. At this point I am not inclined to make extravagant claims for the efficacy of this approach to historical change. I do argue, however, that this approach has a certain intuitive plausibility, that there is a modest amount of reasonably solid evidence in its favor, and that it suggests solutions to certain problems in historical linguistics that otherwise remain mysterious.

It is a fact about historical linguistics that we hardly ever settle anything about it once and for all. There are still disagreements about some of the most basic issues, in recent years, for example, about the exact nature of sound change: what is the real-time profile of phonological change? It is almost scandalous, certainly irresponsible, that even today, with all the trained linguists, reliable instruments, and relative abundance of research funds at our disposal, no one has devoted himself to a closely monitored, long-range study of, say, thirty years duration concerning ongoing linguistic change in a single speech community. Workers in the biological and genetic sciences are accustomed to studies of this duration, and such a study would go a long way toward settling the basic questions. As it is, most of us continue to occupy ourselves year after year with variants of the same problem, changing theoretical perspectives as the times demand but rarely reaching the definitive solution. Grimm's Law, the Great Vowel Shift, Grassmann's Law, the Old High German Consonant Shift — the explanations come and go, but the problems remain.

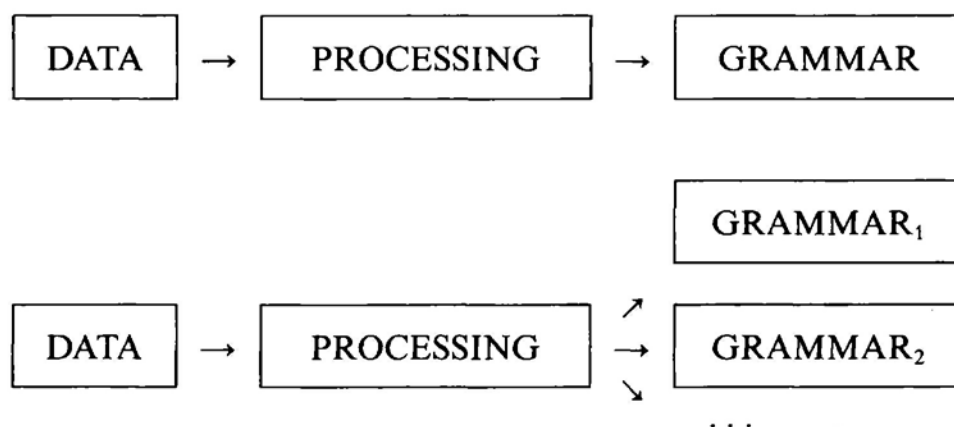
The social sciences are thoroughly familiar with this state of affairs, and linguistics merits special attention only because its data are harder to collect than are, for example, demographic or economic data. And within linguistics the situation of historical



linguistics is particularly difficult. Generally speaking the data of historical change are poor and scanty, ambiguous, and incomplete; in particular, the sociolinguistic data from past periods are extremely inadequate, when there are any of them at all. When one reflects on the intricate kinds of information that Labov was required to elicit in accounting for the deletion of final *-t* and *-d* in Black English, and when one compares that with the pitiful amount of confused evidence that we have on a remote change like Grassmann's Law, it is no wonder that the great problems of historical linguistics remain, remarkably oblivious of theoretical shifts.

I suggest that a rather different way of approaching the problems of historical change is in order. I suggest specifically that our work has been afflicted by a misunderstanding concerning the relation between data and the grammars which speakers create from data. I am referring to what may be called "ambiguous projection", a term which I use to describe the following situation.

1. There has been an underlying assumption in generative grammar until recently that the process by which a speaker "constructs" a grammar is like that schematically represented below:



The data available to the child are processed, and in maturation the speaker eventually arrives at his grammar. The point I wish to emphasize is that, under assumptions generally current (e.g., in Chomsky–Halle 1968), the end result is a grammar, one grammar, one way of accounting for the patterns of the language, shared down to minor details by the speakers of any given dialect.

Is it not possible that, given identical data, different speakers might not internalize strikingly different ways of handling the data,

so that the following diagram is a more accurate depiction of acquisition in the real-language situation?

The point can be illustrated with a relatively well-known example: Trisyllabic Laxing in English. Chomsky–Halle (1968) propose an essentially phonological solution for the vowel alternations in *divine/divinity*, *sane/sanity*, *verbose/verbosity*, etc. The rule, in its essentials, is:

$$(1) \quad V \rightarrow [-\text{tense}] / \_ C_0 V C_0 V$$

It has been observed, however, that in some respects the alternations here do not seem to be phonologically conditioned: there are numerous exceptions to the rule; speakers often fluctuate in usage (*verb[o]sity* and *verb[a]sity* can be heard from the same speaker, *[i]cological* as well as *[ɛ]cological*, and *gene* – *g[i]notype* ~ *g[ɛ]notype*); the rule is not very productive; and so on. These problems with the rule have suggested to some linguists that the forms have to be learned as a list, not derivable one from the other. Though learned as a list, the alternations have to conform to the latitudes for vocalic alternations provided by Vowel Shift.

In this context I am not interested in trying to decide which of the two solutions is correct. The point is that it has been assumed – tacitly but widely – that one of the two solutions is correct, psychologically correct for all speakers of “General North American English”. I would like to propose that both solutions may be correct, different speakers having gone different ways in accounting for the data, some with the phonological solution, others with a non-phonological solution in which pairs like *verbose/verbosity* are learned as separate items. The difference in projecting from data to grammar is due to any number of largely accidental factors: the degree to which the speaker is exposed in his early years to the more learned forms (*sanity*, *divinity*), individual talent in relating words, IQ, language awareness, and so on. This difference – same data, different grammar – is what I am calling “ambiguous projection”.

It must be noted that I am not talking of different dialects here, at least not in the common sense of “dialect”. Everyone speaks the same kind of English; but they do it with different rules and forms, with different grammars. This difference will not normally be apparent since everything is the same on the surface, apart of course from regional features and idiosyncrasies. But the deeper difference becomes manifest when the speaker is forced into a “boundary

situation", an alien context where his competence is pushed to its limit in a novel setting. If, in this situation, his performance is rule-governed, then presumably he has learned a rule corresponding to Trisyllabic Laxing; otherwise he has learned a list.

There happens to be a body of data, small but growing, that suggests what I have sketched here is in fact a real possibility, that there are different psychologically real grammars for a given language. In certain experiments native speakers of English were asked to add certain suffixes to words which do not normally take those suffixes (John Ohala, personal communication). What happens when, for example, *-ity* is added to *tame*, *crime*, *erode*, and the like? This is what is meant by the "boundary situation" spoken of earlier. The results obtained were mixed: given a word like *slave*, some speakers responded with *sl[æ]vity*, others with *sl[e]vity*.

Does this kind of differential behavior mean anything serious as far as the linguist is concerned? Possibly not. It could mean simply that people don't know what to do in boundary situations and, in effect, make a random guess whose outcome is conditioned by the psychological memory of other word relationships. But it may also mean that the speakers are operating with different grammars.

If the results of this experiment were an isolated example, I would be inclined to dismiss them as not having further consequences. But other studies of this same general sort have been conducted, and similar results obtained. Manjari Ohala (1974) showed that some speakers of Hindi have, apparently, a concrete solution, others an abstract one regarding a certain problem in Hindi phonology. Sherzer (1970) demonstrated that speakers of Cuna split into two groups depending on how they played a certain syllable-exchanging linguistic game: the way the game was played indicates that one group of speakers had a more concrete solution (with different rules) than the other. Hale (1973) showed for Maori that the speakers seem to prefer a very concrete analysis to a problem for which a textbook "abstract" analysis is readily apparent. Though not precisely analogous to the other results I have discussed, Hale's findings should make us extremely cautious in our claims to understanding the projection problem. Results of the general type I spoke of before, in which different groups of speakers extract different generalizations from the same data, have been reported by a number of linguists (e. g., Berko 1958, Skousen 1975).

I am not necessarily anxious to conclude from these data that the idea of ambiguous projection is correct. Matters like these are tricky. Linguistic games are, after all, games, and it may be that the rules of the game are different from speaker to speaker; this is certainly true of play languages like Pig Latin, and there is no reason why it shouldn't be true of psycholinguistic experiments (*slave* + *ity* = ?) too, to some degree.

Problematic as the data are, they at least warrant entertaining the hypothesis that speakers of the same language differ in the grammars underlying their speech. It does not, after all, seem unreasonable that we have internalized different ways of governing other forms of ability and behavior, say arithmetic ability and social behavior of certain kinds. The general constraint on most forms of behavior is that we have to actually do things alike pretty much the same; nothing requires that the rules for that behavior be the same.

Having sketched the outlines for the case that different generalizations about linguistic data can be psychologically real — the “competing generalizations” in the title of this paper, I would now like to suggest that the idea may be fruitful for historical linguistics. Certain irregularities in historical change are clarified if we are willing to accept the argument that different speakers have competing generalizations about their language.

2. The problem I have chosen for illustration is a very minor one in the history of German phonology, in itself of little interest apart from German; but the change is fairly recent, the data relatively clear and plentiful, and the problem is explained rather neatly by the idea of competing generalizations.

Most Germanic languages long ago underwent a change by which vowels in accented open syllables became long. To quote Prokosch (1939: 140): ‘The details differ considerably in the several languages, but the principle is the same everywhere: short accented vowels in open syllables are lengthened’.

In standard High German, however, there are a few problems with this formulation of the change, at first glance the kind of slight irregularity that is treated in the footnotes of a handbook. In the handbooks, all of them which I have consulted, the statement is made initially that short vowels in accented open syllables were lengthened. The date is usually put in early New High German, around 1400. This formulation does indeed account for the majority of lengthened vowels:

## (2) Regular lengthening in open syllables

<i>trage</i> > <i>trāge</i> 'I carry'	<i>lade</i> > <i>lāde</i> 'I load'
<i>hase</i> > <i>hāse</i> 'hare'	<i>webe</i> > <i>wēbe</i> 'I weave'
<i>name</i> > <i>nāme</i> 'name'	<i>stele</i> > <i>stēle</i> 'I steal'

but: Never lengthening in syllables closed by voiceless obstruents (*sac* 'sack', *mit* 'with', *lachte* 'I laughed')

However, on closer examination, this formulation of the lengthening rule leaves a number of things unexplained.<sup>1</sup> To begin with there are a very large number of monosyllabic nouns with vowels that became lengthened at the same time as those in (2), though of course there is no way a rule lengthening vowels in open syllables could have operated on these vowels, which are in closed syllables. A sample of such forms is given in (3):

## (3) Irregular lengthening in syllables closed by underlying voiced obstruents

<i>stap</i> > <i>stāp</i> ( <i>stap/stabes/stabe</i> ) 'staff'
<i>wec</i> > <i>wēk</i> ( <i>wec/weges/wege</i> ) 'path'
<i>rat</i> > <i>rāt</i> ( <i>rat/rades/rade</i> ) 'wheel'
but: <i>grop</i> > id. ( <i>grop/grobes/grobe</i> ) 'coarse'

However, lengthening is not entirely regular in these words, all of which, we notice, have underlying voiced obstruents which are devoiced in word-final position (or syllable-final position: it is a matter of indifference for present purposes) by the well-known rule of German. The word *grob* 'coarse, vulgar' has in Standard German today a short vowel: this is the pronunciation prescribed by Siebs, though there is of course a strong tendency to make the word conform by giving it a long vowel. Evidence from the dialects makes it clear that earlier there were even more words of this type with short vowels, especially in the North German dialects.

The traditional explanation of the irregularities here is an analogical one. The forms listed in parentheses in (3) are parts of the paradigms associated with these words, all of them nouns; and we observe that forms other than the nominative and accusative singular (*stap*, *wec*, etc.) are inflected, thus placing the root vowel in an open syllable. The traditional explanation has been that the vowel in the inflected forms underwent lengthening as it should, and then the vowel of the monosyllabic form lengthened analogi-

cally to regularize the paradigm. This explanation is not unreasonable since the inflected forms, especially the nominative and accusative plurals, are sufficiently frequent to influence the monosyllabic variants.

But even if there is a reasonable traditional explanation of the irregularities exemplified in (3) — *grop* would be illustrative of instances in which the analogical pressure was resisted, for some reason — there is a further set of irregularities which defy explanation; at least we do not have a satisfactory explanation to date. When the open syllable is followed by *t*, the vowel is sometimes lengthened and sometimes not. There is nothing in the phonetic environment that triggers a difference:

- (4) Irregular lengthening before *t*
- |                                      |                                     |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>trete</i> > <i>trēte</i> 'I step' | <i>bote</i> > <i>bōte</i> 'courier' |
| <i>bete</i> > <i>bēte</i> 'I pray'   |                                     |
| <i>gate</i> > id. 'husband'          | <i>site</i> > id. 'custom'          |

There is really nothing very significant in itself about this rather minor problem; it is just that it serves so nicely as an example in miniature of the usual problems in historical morphophonology. The overall generalization seems quite evident: stressed vowels in open syllables undergo lengthening. This is a natural sound change, it is prosodically motivated, it is frequent enough in any of the world's languages, and it is paralleled in all the Germanic languages. But it does have shortcomings as the complete explanation; some of these shortcomings can be met by an analogical appeal, some remain a puzzle: what is so Janus-faced about *t*?<sup>2</sup>

In short, no single explanation goes the whole way: an utterly typical problem in historical change. However, what happened seems clear once we consider the possibility of ambiguous projection — more precisely, competing generalizations about the environment of the rule which was responsible for the lengthening.

Let us consider the stage of German before lengthening had occurred. Earlier, by the Old High German Consonant Shift and other changes, various alterations had taken place:

- (5) Pre-Old High German and Old High German changes
- |  |
|--|
| <i>p t k</i> > <i>ff zz xx</i> medially after short vowels |
| <i>f s x</i> > <i>v z Ø</i> intervocally                   |
| <i>d</i> > <i>t</i> , <i>p</i> > <i>d</i> context-free     |

One of these changes is of particular importance for our present purposes since it had the effect of altering syllable forms in the language: with the fricativization and gemination of intervocalic *p t k* original open syllables became closed, e. g., *wa-ter* > *waz-zer* 'water'. In effect, there were no longer any *p t k* following open syllables. Also, *f* and *s* had become voiced intervocalically, hence neither of these two voiceless sounds could follow open syllables. Given the additional changes context-free of *d* > *t* and *p* > *d*, open syllables with short vowels in Middle High German could be followed only by the following set of obstruents:

- (6) {b d g v z t}

Examples: *gebe* 'gift', *queden* 'to speak', *klage* 'lament',  
*hoves* 'court (gen.)', *lesen* [lezen] 'to select',  
*bete* 'request'.

All of these obstruents except *t* are voiced. Assuming that the original innovation in early New High German was lengthening in open syllables, we would in effect have lengthening of short stressed vowels when followed by one of the obstruents in (6). Given that lengthening has taken place in just these environments, there are two generalizations that we might expect speakers to make: (1) stressed vowels are lengthened in open syllables, or (2) stressed vowels are lengthened before voiced obstruents. The latter generalization is implicit in any case, since there is a well-known connection between length of vowels and voicing (cf. Dinnsen – Garcia-Zamor 1971, Heffner 1960: 183).

I suggest that there was competition between two formulations of the lengthening innovation:

- (7) Lengthening<sub>1</sub>: V → [+ long] / in open syllables  
 Lengthening<sub>2</sub>: V → [+ long] / before voiced obstruents

At the time of the lengthening innovation, and by assumption for a transitional period thereafter, speakers could account for length by either of the two rules in (7). The assumption that the two rules were in competition accounts for the regular lengthening cited above in (2) and for the irregular lengthening in (3) and (4). This assumption makes three empirical claims: (1) lengthening will always occur when the environment of Lengthening<sub>1</sub> is identical with that of Lengthening<sub>2</sub> (*rede* 'speech', *mage* 'strength'); (2) lengthening will never occur when neither rule applies (*mit*



'with', *smac/smackes*/... 'taste'); (3) there will be inconsistencies when the two rules are in conflict (*site* 'usage', *schate* 'shadow', *tac/tages*/... 'day', *rat/rades/reder*/... 'wheel'). These predictions are precisely fulfilled. There is regular lengthening in case (1), and there is never lengthening in case (2). The lengthening is irregular in case (3): when there is an open syllable but not a voiced obstruent (i. e., before *t*, cf. *gate* 'husband' without lengthening versus *kater* 'male cat' with *ā*) or a closed syllable containing a morphophonemically voiced obstruent (*tac* 'day', *rat* 'wheel', *grop* 'coarse').

I propose then that different speakers had drawn different conclusions from the data, some internalizing Lengthening<sub>1</sub>, some Lengthening<sub>2</sub>. Subsequently in early New High German geminate consonants were reduced to single consonants, e. g., *wazzer* [wazzer] > *Wasser* [waser] 'water'. This increased drastically the number of short vowels in open syllables, making the older, and historically correct, rule of lengthening in open syllables heavily opaque. Consequently this rule (Lengthening<sub>1</sub>) was lost, leaving only the rule lengthening vowels before voiced obstruents (Lengthening<sub>2</sub>). This rule is retained today only as a minor rule, if it is a rule at all, in standard German phonology.

The claim I have made is that the irregular treatment of vowels before *t* goes back to an earlier transitional situation in early New High German in which different speakers were regulating lengthening on the basis of different generalizations. There is no evidence that the difference had to do with dialects, either regional or social. Length doublets, such as *Gatte* versus *trete*, arose at this time; subsequently, with the loss and modification of the respective lengthening rules, the difference became one of underlying vowel length and has remained stable ever since. There are still a relatively large number of length doublets before *t*. For the monosyllables ending in underlyingly voiced obstruents, there is, in standard German, only *grob* with its short vowel alongside the expected long vowels in *Grab*, *Lob*, *Gras*, etc. — a lone witness to what the dialects make clear was a much more widespread state of affairs at some earlier time.

I would like to extract some general considerations from this minor problem in the history of German. To begin with, no single traditional explanation of what happened is completely satisfactory. Linguists concerned with the problem have tended to absolutist positions: lengthening took place in open syllables; and any irreg-



ularities not covered by this claim are due to subsidiary causes. Like so much of historical work, we end up with an uneasy combination of phonetics and analogy; even so there are loose ends: doublets unexplained, the identical length variations in monosyllables and before *t* left unrelated. The usual explanation for doublets is different dialects, and perhaps there is an explanation to be found there; but in the absence of specific dialects the ritual appeal to a dialect explanation is as vacuous as an appeal to substratum would be.

What is the way out of this morass? I claim that different speakers made different, but overlapping generalizations. Where those generalizations agreed there was a regular outcome. Where they disagreed there was irregularity, but irregularity related by my explanation: in the case of *t* doublets that persist to the present, in the case of the monosyllables variation that has given way to uniformity, save for *grob*.

I suggest that it may be profitable to view other historical puzzles in the light of competing generalizations. Lachmann's Law in Latin is one such puzzle; the irregular occurrence of length in participles (*factus*, *āctus*) seems to have had both phonetic and analogical causes. By isolating the causes it may be possible to predict where there is convergence of the causes, yielding regularity, and where they conflict, yielding irregularity.

My claim then is that there appears to be merit in viewing linguistic problems in terms of competing generalizations or ambiguous projection.<sup>3</sup> The proposal is put forth tentatively, and obvious problems remain. There have to be constraints on what kinds of, and how many, generalizations can reasonably be made from a body of data. Without upper limits anything is possible, and the theory is weakened to triviality. Also, it is methodologically risky to attribute routinely any deficiency in our understanding of historical problems to the possibility of competing grammars. This likewise reduces the notion to triviality.

In recent years linguists have been disposed to claim for their labors a certain psychological correctness; no one wants to be accused of practicing hocus-pocus linguistics. It is incumbent on all of us to ask serious questions about the psychological reality and plausibility of what we are claiming. What grammars do speakers have? Is there more than one correct grammar of a language? How are generalizations formulated? Whatever the answers to these questions turn out to be, I believe they should be paramount today;

and that they will go a long way toward helping us understand what historical change is all about.

## Notes

- \* A revised version of this article has appeared under the title "A problem of vowel lengthening in early New High German" in *Monatshefte* 80: 20–30 (1988).
- 1. The proposal (King 1969: 51–54) that the innovation was lengthening before voiced obstruents and not in open syllables makes incorrect predictions in the environment before *t*, as we will see. Throughout this discussion I will confine myself to syllables followed by obstruents. Much of what I will say includes all the consonants, but there are differences in behavior between obstruents and the other consonants, and it simplifies the presentation to confine it to obstruents alone.
- 2. The claim by Iverson and Ringen (1973) that [t] is sometimes from /tt/ seems to me to be an artifact designed to preserve the generalization about lengthening in open syllables.
- 3. I acknowledge the influence of Wang (1969) and Andersen (1973) in formulating the idea of competing generalizations, though neither of these papers develops the idea in the direction I feel is most promising.

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## Ostgermanische Relikte im bairisch-österreichischen Sprachraum

Johann Knobloch

In methodischer Hinsicht können bei Fremdeinflüssen auf eine Sprache Substrat- und Adstrateinwirkungen unterschieden werden. Von diesen sei hier kurz eine Fernwirkung abgehoben und durch je ein Beispiel aus Berlin und aus Wien veranschaulicht. Die von Berlin ausgegangene Redensart ‚*Mir ist so mau*‘ (= unwohl; wegen der Lautnähe auch im gleichen Sinne durch ‚*flau*‘ ersetzt<sup>1</sup>), erklärt sich aus dem Portugiesischen, wo *mao* dem lat. *malus* entspricht. Die Fernwirkung der Touristik (Seefahrt und Seekrankheit) hat hier ein Wort in Umlauf gebracht, das jedenfalls schon früher auf den Gesundheitszustand angewendet wurde (*malehabitus* > frz. *malade*<sup>2</sup>). Die von Wien ausgehende Wortbildung bei *Kramuri*, *Remasuri*, was beides eine Unordnung bezeichnet, läßt sich über das siebenbürgische Deutsch (wegen seiner Ableitungssilbe) als eine Anleihe aus einer rumänischen Pluralbildung deuten.

Hier soll jedoch von der bajuwarischen Frühzeit die Rede sein, in der sich ein ostgermanisches Adstrat geltend macht, das man vielleicht zu rasch mit gotischer Einwirkung erklärt hat. Die *Baio-varii* – mag man sie nun mit *Boiohaemum*-Böhmen oder mit den *deserta Boiorum* in Pannonien in Verbindung bringen<sup>3</sup> – hatten in den Markomannen oder Quaden andere ostgermanische Nachbarn als jene. Und gar, wenn es sich um Ausdrücke des bodenständigen Hausbaus (nicht der von den Römern übernommenen Steinbauweise) handelt, dann darf man eine tiefergreifende Beeinflussung annehmen, als sie von gotisch-arianischen Missionaren ausgehen könnte, auf die man ja einmal fälschlich einen guten Teil des althochdeutschen christlichen Wortschatzes zurückgeführt hat.

Vorangeschickt sei eine neue Deutung des Ortsnamens *Pirmasens*, im mittelalterlichen Latein *Sancti Pirminii Sedes* genannt. Die nach dem westgotischen Wanderbischof benannte Siedlung wird wohl eher *\*Pirminis-ensna* als *Pirminiseusna* (a.820) zu lesen sein; jedenfalls braucht man nicht eine Klammerform *\*Pirminis[ein]asna* anzunehmen: es war keine Einöde (mit Bildungselement *-asna*) sondern hier ist das gotische *\*ans-na-* als eine Weiterbildung zu bibelgot. *ans* m.

‚Balken‘ belegt, das auch noch in span. und port. *asna* ‚Dachsparren‘ erhalten ist. Es geht bei dem Grundwort um eine gotonordische Isoglosse (aisl. *áss* < \**ans-az* ‚Pfahl, Balken‘), so daß das im Bairischen gut bezeugte Wort hier ein Zuwanderer aus einer ostgermanischen Sprache sein kann. Der *Osn* ist in Oberbayern ‚der Raum links und rechts der Tenne, wo man das Getreide hineingeschlichtet hat‘ (frdl. Mitteilung von Dr. Franz Turber, Palling). Bei Schmeller (1966: 155) ist die *Asen* das ‚Fach für die Getreidegarben in der Scheune von der Erde an bis unters Dach‘. In der Küche ist der *Āsen* (auch *Nasn*, *Rasn*) eine hölzerne Trage, Stütze, Unterlage, ein Gestell zum Trocknen der Holzscheite oder Lichtspäne (*Spanasn*). Das nord- und ostgermanische Erbwort läßt sich als \**ant-so-* mit lat. *antae* Pl. ‚Türpfosten‘ verbinden.

Ein anklingendes westgermanisches Wort aus dem gleichen Bedeutungskreis hat indessen eine ganz andere Wortgeschichte. Die Küche wird im Westerwald *eern* genannt; an der unteren Sieg und im Kreis Altenburg heißt der Hausflur *eern* (auch *Ähren* geschrieben). Diese Wortgleichung reicht über Hessen (Crecelius 1897–1899: 20–21), Thüringen (Hertel 1895: 90), erreicht die Niederlausitz und hat sich bis jenseits der Oder erstreckt (Kretschmer 1969: 206; Kluge–Mitzka 1967: 11). In der anderen Richtung ist das Wort von Südfranken aus in Schwaben, dem Elsaß und in der Schweiz bekannt.

Bei ahd. *erin* m. ‚Diele, Boden‘, *arin*, *erin* ‚pavimentum‘ und bei anord. *arinn* m. ‚Gerüst mit Schlafstelle; Erhöhung, Feuerstelle, Herd, Opferstätte‘, das auch ins Finnische (*arina* ‚Herdstein, Klippe‘) entlehnt wurde und urnord. als *aRina* ‚Brandaltar‘ belegt ist (de Vries 1962: 13), handelt es sich um eine west- und nordgermanische Entsprechung von lat. *āra* ‚(Brandopfer)altar‘, *āra sepulcrī* ‚Scheiterhaufen zur Leichenverbrennung‘, in profaner Verwendung *ārea* f. ‚freier Platz, Dreschtenne; Hofraum‘. Die lateinische Form geht auf \**ās-eiā*, die germanische auf \**ās-iōn-*, *ās-in-* zurück. Die Gemeinsamkeit gibt, wie so oft in der Wortgeschichte, Aufschluß über die nördlichen Wohnsitze der alten Italiker, wo man das noch feuchte Getreide auf dem Dörrplatz (Darre) trocknen mußte, um es dreschen zu können. Der Grundriß des Siegerländer Bauernhauses gibt andererseits zu erkennen, daß der Hausflur mit der anschließenden Küche einmal eine Einheit war.<sup>4</sup> Wenn ae. *ærn* ‚Haus‘ (auch: ‚Wohnung, Gebäude, Zimmer‘) hierher zu stellen ist, geht es um eine uralte Bezeichnung des Einraumhauses mit Feuerstätte, die sich aus den angeführten Belegen zurückgewinnen läßt.

Die weitere Entwicklung des Hausbaues läßt sich aus folgenden Wörtern ablesen: mhd. *vletze* ‚geebneter Boden, Tenne, Hausflur, Stubenboden, Lagerstatt‘ und ahd. *flazzi* ‚Tenne‘ im Vergleich mit ahd. *flazza* ‚Handfläche‘ zeigt den gewachsenen Boden des Einraumhauses, der geglättet wurde, mnd. *dele* ‚Tenne, Hausflur, Fußboden‘ (unsere *Diele* als Raum) den Fußbodenbelag mit Brettern: \**piljōn* f. ‚aus Brettern [*Dielen*] hergestellt‘.

Während *Ehrn*, wie gezeigt wurde, bis an die slawische Siedlung im Osten heranreicht, wo die zugrunde liegende Bauweise übernommen scheint, geht von Westfalen nach Norden die Benennung der Dreschtenne als *Deel*.

Kulturgeschichtliche Wortforschung muß sich allenthalben auf den Wortschatz der Dialekte stützen. Großräumige Vergleiche sind hierbei durchaus möglich und zeigen Perspektiven auf, die bisher nicht gesehen wurden. So läßt sich, wie bekannt, got. *faiflokun* ‚sie beklagten‘ mit altengl. *flōcan* ‚(in die Hände) klatschen‘ verbinden, da ja auch die Totenklage mit dem Gestus ausgeführt wurde, vgl. lat. *plangō* ‚schlage an die Brust, wehklage‘. Es muß aber (vielleicht nur im Ostgermanischen) auch ein ablautendes Verbum \**flēkan* : *faiflōk* (wie got. *tēkan* : *taītōk* ‚anrühren‘) gegeben haben, das im Dialekt (aus Südmähren mir geläufig) *flāchen* ‚kräftig schlagen‘ lautete. Sicher gehört hierher auch das bei Schmeller (1966: 784) unter *flach* erwähnte *flachln* ‚schlagen‘, das nicht zu *flācheln* ‚sich mit dem Werfen von flachen Steinen unterhalten‘ stimmt. Im Westgermanischen lebt die *o*-Stufe dort als ahd. *fluohhan* ‚fluchen‘. Der Bedeutungswandel hängt sicher mit einem Brauch (cf. Schrader – Nehring 1917 – 1923: 229a) zusammen, der bei Livius, *Ab urbe condita* 1.24.8 f., bezeugt ist: *tum tu, ille Diespiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque. id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit*. ‚Dann mögest du, himmlischer Vater, das römische Volk so schlagen, wie ich hier und heute diesen Eber schlage, umso mehr mögest du es schlagen als du mehr an Macht und Kraft besitzt. Sobald er das gesagt hatte, schlug er den Eber mit starrem Stein nieder.‘

Ein letztes Problem in diesem Zusammenhang stellt sich durch einen im Wienerischen recht vulgär klingenden Ausdruck ‚*die Gfraster*‘, was abfällig die Jugendlichen oder Kinder bezeichnet. Man sollte sich bei der Erklärung durch den Anklang an *gefräßig* nicht beirren lassen, auch wenn, wie z. B. im Tiroler Dialekt *g'frâs* n. ‚der Fraß; Gemenge von Speisen; Unrat, Spreu, Abfall‘ heißt (Schöpf 1866: 150) und dies Wort im Wienerischen (Ebner 1969: 97–98)

mit angewachsenem *-t* (mit der Bedeutung ‚Staub, Fäden o. ä., die auf einem Kleidungsstück hängen, auf dem Boden liegen usw.‘) mit jenem lautlich völlig gleich wird.

In *Gfrast* kann man das Kollektivum zu *Frast* erkennen, das außer im Deutschen nur noch im Gotischen bezeugt ist: *frastim* ‚den Kindern‘, so daß die Möglichkeit einer Entlehnung aus diesem gegeben ist. Im Deutschen ist, abgesehen von der erwähnten Schelte, das Wort nur in Zusammensetzungen erhalten geblieben. Wie schon got. *frastisibja* (= *sunīwe sibja*) *υιοθεσία* ‚Sohnschaft‘ zeigt, ist das Wort in solchen Komposita der Rechtssprache einzuordnen, was vom hohen Stilwert des Grundwortes zeugt. Ebenso muß auch ahd. *frastmunti* ‚secretum‘ (Docen 1809: 211)<sup>5</sup> diesem Wortschatz angehören [*secretum* = office de notaire, de secrétaire impérial (Blaise 1954: 746b)]. Der Bedeutungswandel läßt sich verstehen: *frast-munti* ist zunächst ‚Kindesschutz, Vormundschaft‘, mhd. *vrastmundlichen* wird zu ‚freimütig‘, dann noch ‚Mut‘, vgl. *rēhter frastmunt ein hase* ‚so richtig an Mut ein Hase‘. Der erste Bestandteil erhält gelegentlich (als ‚Trägerwert‘) die Bedeutung des Kompositums: mit *fraste* ‚fortiter‘ (Grimm – Grimm 1878: Sp. 64; Schmeller 1966: Sp. 829). Der Befund bei dieser Wortsippe läßt die Vermutung aufkommen, daß es sich um eine spätere Entlehnung, die westgotische Kleriker im oberdeutschen Raum verbreitet haben, handelt. Das Grundwort hat sich wohl nur in seiner dem Gotischen entsprechenden Bedeutung im äußersten Osten erhalten, wofür Grimm DWb (1878: Sp. 64) noch anführt: „Im österreichischen Kloster Zwettl starb 1859 ein Priester *Joh. Frast*.“ Das konnte dazu führen, daß das gleichfalls auf eine (kirchliche) Verwaltungssprache zurückgehende Kompositum, das wohl ursprünglich im weiteren Sinn auf das mutige Eintreten eines Vormundes für die Belange seines Mündels Bezug nahm, die belegten Bedeutungserweiterungen erfuhr. So bei Grimm noch: *fraschmunder*, redsamer oder redlicher ‚facundus‘, *frachmundigkeit*, redsamkeit ‚facunditas, facundia‘. Die weiteren Belege *franschmütigklich*, *franschmütigkeit* lassen schon die Einwirkung von frz. *franchise* erkennen. „Offenbar ist *frastmut* und *frastmund* herzustellen“, kommentiert Grimm.

### Anmerkungen

1. Daß dieses auch aus dem romanischen Nachbarbereich übernommen ist, zeigt ein Blick in Kluge – Mitzka (1967: 202); beide Ausdrücke werden dann auch auf prekäre finanzielle Verhältnisse übertragen.



2. Es ist noch nicht erkannt, daß bair.-österreich. *marod* 'krank, nicht einsatzfähig (Militär)', auch von dieser lateinischen Wortverbindung herzuleiten ist. Nach Meyer – Lübke (1935: 428) ist prov. *malaute* als *marotu* ins Genuesische entlehnt worden. Von hier ist unter Annahme eines Suffixwechsels der Weg zu frz. *marauder* (1549 'mendier'), *maraude* f. (1679: 'vol de fruits etc. commis par des soldats en campagne') kürzer als die bisherige etymologische Erklärung des Wortes, die westfrz. *maraud* 'Kater' als Ausgangspunkt ansetzt und dies zu einer Schallwurzel \**mar-* stellt; cf. Gamillscheg (1969: 597), Bettler mimen Krankheit, um Mitleid zu erwecken. Der herumstreifende, seine Beute suchende Kater wird mit einem Marodeur verglichen.
3. Über den Stand der Forschung vgl. Hamann (1973: 606).
4. Vgl. hierzu Schmoeckel (1912: Fig. 7). Dieser Hausflur „diente bis vor kurzem noch als Dreschraum und mußte einen festgestampften und gepflasterten Boden haben“ (Schmoeckel 1912: 58). Im Westerwald wird die Küche selbst *eern* genannt: cf. Wrede (1919: 46). Zum Ganzen noch Schröder (1924: 340–343).
5. Aus einer *Collectio diversarum glossarum non una eodem manu scriptarum in Codice Sec. X. et XI. in 12 extantium* aus München.

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## **Vestjysk stød, Icelandic preaspiration, and Proto-Indo-European glottalic stops**

Frederik Kortlandt

1. In his monograph on the vestjysk stød, K. Ringgaard concludes 'that the v-stød is only found immediately before the plosives *p, t, k*, and that it is found wherever these stand in an original medial position, following a voiced sound in a stressed syllable. The exceptions to this are certain types of loan-words from a later period' (Ringgaard 1960: 10, 195). 'The v-stød is a complete occlusion of the vocal chords, combined with the diaphragm's movement of inhalation, equalizing the difference in pressure, and caused by an attempt to pronounce pure and unaspirated fortis plosives when medial' (Ringgaard 1960: 199), i. e., a full-fledged glottal stop. Ringgaard dates the rise of the vestjysk stød to the 12th century because it is characteristic of 'all then existing medial plosives'. The view that the vestjysk stød originated from a phonetic development of fortis plosives in medial position was already put forward by A. Pedersen (1912: 42), who compared the development with the rise of preaspiration in Icelandic. It is an elaboration of A. Kock's hypothesis that the vestjysk stød represents 'en ljudaffektion, som inträtt vid tenues i vissa ställningar' (Kock 1891: 368 fn, similarly 1901: 26 fn).

Accepting the thesis that the rise of the vestjysk stød has nothing to do with accentuation or apocope, we are faced with three conflicting theories on its origin:

T1:  $\text{ʔ} < ht$  (A. Pedersen 1912: 42). This view is accepted by H. Pedersen (1942: 119).

T2:  $\text{ʔ} < t$  (Jespersen 1913: 23). This view is accepted by Ringgaard (1960: 108).

T3:  $\text{ʔ} < tt$  (Skautrup 1928: 45). This view is explicitly rejected by Hansen (1943: 135).

The difference between these three proposals must not be exaggerated. All of them start from the conviction that the origin of the glottal stop must be sought in a series of fortis plosives. The disagreement concerns the phonetic probability of the proposed developments. Ringgaard unjustly repeats Jespersen's objection to Pedersen's view: both

the rise of glottalization from preaspiration and the rise of preaspiration from a preceding glottal stop are well attested, e. g., in Burmish languages (cf. Bradley 1979: 127–131). Ringgaard's own view that the vestjysk stød is a spontaneous innovation of the western dialects can hardly be called an explanation. Moreover, it does not account for the parallel development of preaspiration in Icelandic.

2. Preaspiration is found not only in Icelandic, but also in Faroese, West Norwegian, and the Gaelic dialects of Scotland. Phonetically, the preceding vowel is cut short and continued as a whisper; a preceding resonant (*m, n, l, r*) is partly or wholly unvoiced. The distribution of preaspiration in Icelandic has been clarified in E. Haugen's lucid analysis of the phonemic system (1941, cf. also 1958). It turns out that /b, d, g/ differ from /p, t, k/ in the absence of preaspiration, except in initial position, where they are distinctively unaspirated. The opposition is neutralized after fricatives and after long vowels, where preaspiration is lost. All obstruents are usually voiceless. The same distribution is found in the Norwegian dialect of Jæren (Ofstedal 1947). Preaspiration is also attested in Hallingdal, northern Gudbrandsdal, Trøndelag, and even Herjedal. We can conclude that it must have been common to a much larger area and that it is "an example of a feature taken to Iceland by the original settlers" (Chapman 1962: 85).

C. Marstrander has argued that the preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic is due to a Norse substratum (1932: 298). He advances the hypothesis that the Norwegian preaspirated stops represent a retention of the clusters *hp, ht, hk*, which developed into geminates elsewhere (302). He adduces ME *haht, saht, slahter* < ON *hátt* 'danger', *sátt, sátt* 'agreement', *slátt* 'mowing' as evidence for the view that the cluster *ht* had not yet merged with the geminate *tt* in the 10th century. His theory implies three developments:

D1: *tt* < *ht* in East Norse;

D2: *ht* < *tt* in West Norse;

D3: *ht* < *t* in West Norse in those positions where the preaspirated stop does not reflect a cluster, e. g., Icelandic *epli* 'apple', *vopn* 'weapon', *opna* 'open', *gutl* 'dabbling', *vatn* 'water', *batna* 'improve', *mikla* 'increase', *pukla* 'touch', *teikn* 'token', *líkna* 'show mercy', *hjálpa* 'help', *verpa* 'throw', *elta* 'pursue', *erta* 'tease', *fólk* 'people', *verk* 'work'. Here the preaspirated stop appears to be the phonetic reflex of a Proto-Indo-European unaspirated voiced plosive.

3. Elsewhere I have argued that the reconstructed voiced plosives of the Indo-European proto-language were actually glottalic and that the glottalization has been preserved in Balto-Slavic, Armenian, and Indo-Iranian, and has left traces in Greek and Latin (1978, 1983). Both the vestjysk stød and the Icelandic preaspiration receive a natural explanation if we assume that Early Proto-Germanic, like Proto-Balto-Slavic and Proto-Indo-Iranian, possessed a series of preglottalized voiced stops. Devoicing yielded a series of Late Proto-Germanic sequences *?p*, *?t*, *?k*. Syllable-final glottal stop was lost. Subsequently, weakening of the glottal stop in West Norse yielded preaspiration, while its assimilation to the following plosive gave rise to a series of geminates in East Norse, with the exception of Danish, where the plosives were subject to lenition and the glottal stop was preserved in the westernmost dialects. I wonder if Swedish *vecka* 'week', *dropp*e 'drop', *skepp* 'ship' reflect a dialect that escaped the earliest loss of the glottal stop.

One may wonder if preglottalization had been preserved in word-initial position in Late Proto-Germanic. There is positive evidence for this idea in the vestjysk stød of *fattig* < *fát'økr* 'poor' < 'few-taking' and *sytt*en 'seventeen'.

Apart from the straightforward explanation of the vestjysk stød and the Icelandic preaspiration, the theory advanced here has the advantage of accounting in a principled way for the existence of several layers of gemination, which can now be viewed as retentions rather than innovations:

G1: *mp*, *nt*, *nk* yielded *pp*, *tt*, *kk* in the larger part of Scandinavia. The nasal consonant was apparently unvoiced by the laryngeal feature which preceded the plosive, and subsequently lost its nasalization.

G2: *k* yielded *kk* before *j* and *w*. Similarly, *t* yielded *tt* before *j* in a limited area, e. g., Swedish *sätta* 'set'. The development cannot easily be identified with the change of *g* into *gg* before *j* because the latter involves the transformation of a fricative into a plosive. Modern Icelandic /b, d, g/ are lengthened after a short vowel before *n* and *l*, e. g., *rigna* 'rain', *sigla* 'sail', with half-long *g*. West Germanic geminated all consonants except *r* before *j*.

G3: *p*, *t*, *k* yielded *pp*, *tt*, *kk* before *r* and *l* in West Germanic. The same development is found sporadically in Scandinavia. Here again, the geminate may have originated from the assimilation of a glottal stop to the following plosive.

4. It is possible that the theory put forward here has certain consequences for the interpretation of the West Germanic material. Firstly, the High German sound shift may have resulted from a lenition of the plosives with concomitant oralization of the preceding glottal stop. If this is correct, the glottalization must have been preserved at the time of the shift. Secondly, the absence of aspirated stops from Dutch and Frisian may be due to an early loss of preglottalization in this area. Thirdly, the English *gloʔal stoʔ* may be much more ancient than is commonly assumed. It appears that these possibilities merit further consideration.

The evidence for the preservation of the Proto-Indo-European glottalic obstruents in Proto-Germanic supports the hypothesis that there also was a glottal stop of laryngeal origin. Oralization of the latter yielded *k* before *w* in the following instances (cf. Austin 1946, 1958; Lehmann 1965: 216):

- OE *haccian* ‘hack’ < \**kaHw-* next to *hēawan* ‘hew’ with laryngeal metathesis.
- OE *leccan* ‘moisten’ < \**laHw-*.
- OE *naca* ‘boat’ < \**naHw-*.
- OE *cwic* ‘alive’ < \**g<sup>w</sup>iHw-* < \**g<sup>w</sup>Hiw-*.
- ON *skeika* ‘swerve’ < \**skaiHw-* < \**skaHiw-*.
- OHG *speichaltra* ‘spit’ < \**speiHw-* < \**speHiw-* next to *spīwan* with further laryngeal metathesis.
- OE *spic* ‘fat’ < \**spiHw-* < \**spHiw-*.
- OE *staca* ‘haystack’ < \**staHw-*.
- OE *tācor* ‘brother-in-law’ < \**daiHw-* < \**daHiw-*.

There is no evidence for a similar development before *j*, where a laryngeal lengthened the preceding vowel, e. g., OHG *tāju* ‘suck’. The rise of *-ug-* from antevocalic \**-uH-* must be explained as a secondary development (cf. Winter 1965: 198). The intervocalic sequences \**-wH-* and \**-jH-* yielded \**-ww-* and \**-jj-* in Proto-Germanic.

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## Adhikāra — right and responsibility

Richard W. Lariviere

An important aspect of Vedic religious life was the determination of who was qualified to offer a sacrifice. The technical term for this subject, *adhikāra*, is most often translated as “qualification”, “eligibility”, “right”, “authority” in the sense that one has the “right” to perform a certain sacrifice. It is my contention that *adhikāra* has a much broader meaning than this, that it also includes the concomitant idea of “responsibility” or “obligation”. That is, an *adhikārin* is not just one who is eligible to perform a sacrifice, but it is his responsibility to do so, as well.

The Mīmāṃsakas discuss the concept most thoroughly under the topic of *adhikāraavidhi*, an “injunction of qualification”. The *Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa* (edited by Franklin Edgerton, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929) § 225 defines an *adhikāraavidhi* as *phal-asvāmyabodhako vidhir*, “an injunction which indicates the ownership of the fruit (of the sacrifice)”. As an example of this, the famous injunction *svargakāmo yajeta* is given, “He who desires heaven should sacrifice”, and it is explained that the right to enjoy the fruits of a sacrifice designed to attain heaven is assigned to him who is *svargakāma* ‘one who desires heaven’. Here, the aspect of *adhikāra* which is most explicit is that of the “right” to something. My suggested concomitant is not explicit here, however, it is not impossible that what is meant is that one who actively desires heaven must sacrifice — it is incumbent upon him to do so. Not to do so would be wrong.

A clearer example of the “responsibility” aspect of *adhikāra* may be found in Kauṭilya’s *Arthaśāstra* (edited by R. P. Kangle, University of Bombay, 1969). In the section dealing with keeping watch over the corruptible and non-corruptible parties in a king’s territory, Kauṭilya lists ways to determine who is content and who is not, ways to induce contentment, ways to allay discontentment, etc. In one place (1.1.3.19) he says that after taking several measures to induce contentment in discontented officials (by gifts, favours, etc.) if an official remains discontented then, as a political chastisement, he should make him incur the con-



tempt of the populace by charging him with the responsibility of establishing fines and taxes (*tathāpy atusyato daṇḍakarasāadhanādhikāreṇa janapadavidveṣam grāhayet*). Here the meaning of *adhikāra* must be “responsibility” and not just “authority” or “right”. The point of this passage is that the king is placing an odious burden on a malcontent in order to “show him who is boss” and to undercut his popularity among the people. This is not the bestowing of a privilege, but the imposing of a responsibility. No doubt there is an aspect of “authority” and “right” involved in the charge to collect taxes, but the sense of responsibility is clearly emphasized in the context, because it is the responsibility — the accountability — which results in the populace feeling contempt for him.

Another clear example of the “responsibility” aspect of *adhikāra* is found in a verse from the *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana* (also known as *Āpastamba sūtradhvanitārtha kārika*) 1.147 (edited by Candrakanta Tarkalankara Bhattacharya, Calcutta 1898 – 1903 [Bibliotheca Indica 140])

*patito 'pi niṣiddhanam varjane 'dhikṛto bhavet |*  
*brahmaghnasyāpi tenānyabrahmahanya na yujyate ||*

“Even one who has fallen from his caste has the responsibility to abstain from things which are forbidden; therefore, even after having killed a brahmana, he is not entitled to kill another one.”<sup>1</sup>

Here there can be no doubt that the verb *adhi*  $\sqrt{kr}$  means more than “right”, it also means “responsibility”. In this particular case the one who has fallen from caste continues to be charged with the same moral responsibility as before — his status does not free him from the obligation to observe these strictures.

The famous passage in the *Bhagavadgītā* 2.47

*Karmaṇy evādhikāras te ma phaleṣu kadācana |*  
*mā karmaphalahetur bhūr mā te saṅgo 'stv akarmaṇi ||*

has been translated by van Buitenen (1981: 163 n. 13):

“Your entitlement is only to the rite, not ever at all to its fruits. Be not motivated by the fruits of acts, but also do not purposely seek to avoid acting.”

W. Douglas P. Hill (1966) gives this translation,

“In work thy rightful interest should lie, nor ever in its fruits; let not thy motive be the fruit of work; to no-work let not thine attachment be.”

Both of these translators (and all others) emphasize the “right” inherent in *adhikāra*, but in this instance as well, I think that inclusion of the idea of “responsibility” gives a fuller sense of what the text wants to say. That is, Kṛṣṇa is telling Arjuna that he must concern himself only with the task at hand — fighting, but not with its results. The fighting is Arjuna’s responsibility, but he is not responsible for its results. This view is supported by the commentary of Ānandavardhana (edited by S. K. Belvakar, Poona, 1941), 41, who says

*karmaṇi rāgadveṣābhyām vinā svajātivihite yuddha eva tavādhi-  
kāraḥ kartṛtvam. mā niṣedhe. kadācana phaleṣu nādhikāraḥ. yā-  
gajanyahiṃsāyām iva brāhmaṇasya yuddhajanyeṣu bandhuvadhā-  
d-inā pāpeṣu na kartṛtvam.*

“Your responsibility (*adhikāra*) i. e. being the agent (*kartṛtvam*), is in the deed (*karmaṇi*), i. e. solely in the fighting, without passion or malice, prescribed for your caste. The particle *mā* indicates a prohibition. There is never responsibility for the results. Just as a brāhmaṇa is not the agent of the injury which arises in a sacrifice, so you are not the agent of the sins arising from the killing of relatives, etc.”

In this context, the terms “right”, “entitlement”, and even “interest” do not convey accurately the import of the verse.

The Mīmāṃsaka discussion of the *adhikārin*, the one who is “qualified” to perform the sacrifices, states that the characteristics of the “qualified” person are set forth in the *adhikāraavidhi*, e. g.,

*rājā rājasūyena svārājyakāmo yajeta (Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa  
§ 226)*

“The king who desires sovereignty should sacrifice with the *rājasūya*.”

In this case only a king who performs the *rājasūya* will be “entitled” to the fruits, i. e., sovereignty. Such fruits would not accrue to anyone other than a king in this case, because the *adhikāraavidhi* so stipulates. I would add that such a king is obliged to perform the *rājasūya* because, by so doing, he enhances his reign. To be a king is to be obliged to be the best possible king, and this entails the performance of the proper rituals and sacrifices.

In addition to the specific characteristics which are necessary for a person to be an *adhikārin*, there are three characteristics which are not explicitly stated in each *adhikāra*vidhi, but which are presumed in every case. These are (*Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa* § 226) (1) the knowledge gained from studying the Veda (*adhyāyanavidhisiddha vidyā*); (2) the fact of having kindled the sacred fires (*ādhānasiddhāgnimat*); and (3) the physical capacity to perform the acts (*sāmarthyam*). If, indeed, the idea of *adhikāra* involves “responsibility” and “obligation” as well as “right” and “privilege”, then we should expect to find some sanctions for an *adhikārin*’s failure to exercise his right and fulfill his responsibility. We find such evidence in the texts dealing with penance. In fact, the sanctions are directed against those *adhikārins* who neglect the (1) knowledge and the (2) fires which are his assumed characteristics. *Āpastambadharmasūtra* (edited by G. Bühler, Bombay, 1932) 1.7.21.8 states that one who ignores his Vedic learning (*brahmojjha*) is one who should fall from caste (*patanīya*). *Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra* (edited by A. A. Führer, Bombay, 1916) 1.23 says that one who abandons the sacred fires (*yo ’gnin apavidhyet*) is a sinner (*upapātakīn*), and at 20.12 he prescribes a penance for the sin of ignoring one’s Vedic learning. *Manusmṛti* (edited by V. N. Mandlik, Bombay, 1899) 11.56 states that abandonment of one’s Vedic learning is a serious sin equal to the great sin of drinking liquor. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (edited by Narayana Rama Acarya, Bombay, 1949) 3.228 goes even farther and says that abandoning one’s learning is equal to killing a brāhmaṇa, and it says that abandoning one’s studies while in the process is a sin. These sanctions are for the failure to fulfill one’s responsibility — not for the simple failure to exercise an optional “right” or entitlement.

An example of an *adhikārin* becoming a sinner for his failure to fulfill his responsibility is the following verse from *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*; it is part of a long list of sinners (*upapātakīns*) for whom certain penances are prescribed:

*govadho vrātyatā steyam ṛṇānām cānapakriyā |*  
*anāhitāgnitāpaṇyavikrayaḥ parivedanam || 3.234*

“The killing of cows, being a *vrātya*, theft, non-payment of debts, not keeping the sacred fires, selling what should not be sold, marriage of the younger brother before the elder.”

Thus one who does not keep the sacred fires is a sinner. The term *anāhitāgni* is explained by the *Mitākṣarā* in this way:

*saty adhikāre 'nāhitāgnitvam. nanu jyotiṣtomādikāmaśrutayaḥ svāṅgabhutāgniniṣpattiyartham ādhānam prayuñjata iti mīmāṃsakaprasiddhiḥ. ataś ca yasyāgnibhiḥ prayojanam tasya tadupāy-abhutādhāne pravṛttir vīhyādy arthina iva dhanārjane. yasya punar agnibhiḥ prayojan nāsti tasyāpravṛttir iti katham anāhitāgnitādoṣaḥ. ucyate. asmād evādhānasyāvaśyakatvavacanān nityaśrutayo 'pi sādhanikāritvaviśeṣād ādhānasya prayojikā iti smṛtikārāṇām abhiprāyo laksyata ity adoṣaḥ.*

The relevant phrases in the commentary are *saty adhikāre* and *sādhikāratva*. Both P. V. Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra* 4 [Poona, 1973], 33) and J. R. Gharpure (*Collection of Hindu law texts* 2.7: *yājñavalkyasmṛti*, 1702) respectively translate the first phrase as “Even though one has the capacity to do so...” and “Even when one has the right...”. I would suggest that the phrase be translated “When it is incumbent upon him...”. Interestingly, Gharpure translates the second phrase *sādhikāratva* as “one under a duty” (Kane does not give a translation of this portion). Indeed, in the context of the technical argument presented in this comment (an argument which need not detain us here) this is the only way that *adhikāra* can make sense here — it is a clear expression of the idea of an obligation or responsibility.

The implication of this idea — that *adhikāra* entails both right and responsibility — are interesting for our understanding of the Indian religious tradition. Every person “qualified” or “entitled” to perform a sacrifice would, under this understanding of the term *adhikāra*, actually be obliged to do so. There was nothing optional about any ritual for which one was an *adhikārin*. This can be applied even to the Mīmāṃsā distinction between rites as *kāmya* (usually translated as “optional”) and *nitya* (“permanent”, “fixed”, “obligatory”). A *kāmyakarman* was not optional in the sense that the *adhikārin* could perform it or not as he chose, but rather it could *only* be performed if the ritual could be carried out completely and to perfection. Only someone capable of this degree of complete performance was an *adhikārin* with regard to that ritual, and since he was an *adhikārin* he was obliged to perform it (see *Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa* §§ 236–237). The *nityakarman* was that ritual which was obligatory even on those who

could not perform it completely and perfectly. They were obliged to perform it to the best of their ability. Thus for any *adhikārin* the ritual for which he possessed *adhikāra* was obligatory.

### *Note*

1. I am indebted to Professor Ludo Rocher for bringing this verse to my attention.

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## Some problems in the translation of *Beowulf*

Ruth P. M. Lehmann

Edgar Polomé comes to language with wide interests, not only in philological problems, but also in the literary and mythological background of the Indo-European peoples. This paper examines some of the difficulties of accurate translation in *Beowulf*. Some of the snags relate to the context in the larger sense of mood and intent, others deal with the translators' expectations confronted with the methods and free word-order of the old inflected language, and still others with semantic precision. Solutions proposed here for these puzzles will not satisfy everyone, no more so than have previous solutions. Yet each translator wishes to explain whatever direction his interpretations take.

First the well-known crux Bwf 769 *ealuscerwen*. A recent edition of the poem (Nickel 1976) divides the compound *ealu-scer-wen* 'Hoffnung auf Bierausschank' 'hope of serving beer'. Other scholars divide *ealu-scerwen*. The first element is usually taken in its common meaning of 'beer' or 'ale'. The second element is taken as a noun either from a verb meaning as in the Nickel edition 'portion out, distribute, give' or from a different verb 'cut off from, deprive of'.

Translators often avoid specifics by simply translating the ultimate meaning 'terror, panic', or somewhat more specifically 'bitter drink' such as was dispensed before death or calamity (Smithers 1951 and Whitbread 1942). Brown (1940) and Klaeber (1950) say that *scerwen* cannot mean 'deprivation' citing And 1526 *meodoscerwen* applied to a flood. But Hoops (1930), and in an exchange with Klaeber (1931), gives clear arguments for both interpretations; he seems to lean toward 'distribution'. But Lumiansky (1949) points out the irrelevance of *Andreas* as explaining *Beowulf*.

The terror that those hearing the struggle feel can be expressed as 'distribution of ale' or 'deprivation of ale' depending on the connotation of *ealu*. In English the word means the drink, but in Old Norse *alu* / *ol* is found in bracteates and on other runic inscriptions so that *olrunaz* are known as ale-runes or magic runes. Antonsen (1975) translates the word 'magic', and in the Lindholm amulet Antonsen #17 it occurs in the second line

of the inscription with one rune illegible (between *n* and *b*) *aaaaaaaazzzznnn[/]bmutt:alu*. But magic may be black or white. As a name we find *aluko* on the Færde fishing weight (Antonsen #51) which suggests good magic, and sometimes with *laukaz* 'leek' or 'garlic'. Antonsen always adds to this its magical meaning '(prosperity?)' and Krause (1966: 247) gives 'Fruchtbarkeit oder Gedeihen'. W. P. Lehmann (1955) takes it as a phallic symbol, citing examples from early fertility rites and from poetry. The many discussions and derivations offered for *alu* are pulled together in Polomé (1954: 40–55). Krause translates it as 'Abwehr' that is, 'defense, protection'. But as the name of a drink it has been associated with words like Gk. *alúein* 'be beside oneself', Lith. *aliótis* 'ragings, act foolishly' (Antonsen 1975: 37). Polomé (1954: 51 ff.) also connects it with the sacred drink offered at ceremonial banquets.

The possibility of associating *ealu* with *alu* has been noted before and often the meaning 'good luck' is given (Holthausen 1943, Wrenn 1953 glossary). For Heorot any of these meanings fits. What could be more essential to a banqueting hall than good luck or ale or protection? The threatening terror was anticipation of having no more safety, nor good fortune, nor drinking, no joy, no happiness.

Those hearing the sound of Grendel and Beowulf shaking the hall in their struggle so that men expected it to topple would hardly have been reminded of the jolly feasting that had once made the building vibrate with the clamor (Irving 1968: 767–769). The Danes have for some years vainly contended against a ravenous monster, until now none dares challenge him. A stranger comes, and though he boasts of other accomplishments, one of their leaders, a trusted spokesman, has tried to outface and discredit him. This is the showdown, and although longing for relief from the predatory guest, their consciences would encourage hope that their own prudence was sensibly cautious, not cowardly. As later they desert the mere, assuming the bloody pool has been reddened by Beowulf's life-blood, now they hear the violent combat and assume that Grendel is once more victor. The remote translation 'terror' is surely justified.

It is relevant to ask if the ancient Norse value of *alu* could be known in England. These early runic inscriptions are found all over the Scandinavian world and through northern Germany (Antonsen #83 with *alu* in Schleswig-Holstein). Danes are the terrorized throng, the site of Heorot is thought to have been near Leire on Zealand where bracteates (Antonsen #54, #100) have been found,



both with *alu*. The earliest rune stones with *alu* are 200 A. D. and the latest the latter half of the seventh century. This is the Eggjum stone from Western Norway, a long inscription ending with the line: *alu misurki* (Krause #101) translated 'Abwehr gegen den Missetäter' that is 'protection against the Evildoer'. The term in its early Scandinavian sense is appropriate here, but the Andreas poet did not recognize *ealu*- as anything but beer and so could substitute *meodo*- for its alliteration. The later runic inscriptions are not magic so much as memorial. Could a poet of the late tenth century, even if he were part Danish, or had had a Danish nurse, know about the significance of *alu*? His language was English of the Mercian dialect but the tale is full of knowledge of Danish history and legends with no references to Anglo-Saxon matters — unless Hengest is one of the leaders of the lowland peoples who settled England in the fifth century. Those who assume a late date for the composition of *Beowulf* will remain unconvinced that Norse meanings had been known to the poet, but it may be as satisfactory merely to consider the magic power of ale and its joy.

Bwf 1945 — 1951. This problem is not controversial at all. It hinges on modern expectations of appositives and the freer order of elements in an inflected language such that variation, that characteristic of alliterative verse, can take place not only by juxtaposition, but also after gaps. Here is the passage and Gordon's translation, which is characteristic of most translations.

1945 *ealodrincende oðer sædan*  
*þæt hio leodbealewa læs gefremede,*  
*inwitniða, syððan ærest wearð*  
*gyfen goldhroden geongum cempan,*  
*ædelum diore, syððan hio Offan flet*  
 1950 *ofer fealone flod be fæder Iare*  
*siðe gesohte.*

'Men at their ale-drinking told another tale, that she brought less evils on the people, crafty acts of malice, as soon as she was given, gold-adorned, to the young warrior, to the brave chieftain, when by her father's counsel she sought in her journey the hall of Offa over the yellow flood.'

The crucial phrase is *æpelum diore* (Bwf 1949). In all editions with glossaries *æpelu* is glossed 'lineage, nobility, excellence of character, noble ancestry, noble qualities, virtues', and *dior* is identified as nominative singular feminine. Hoops (1965) is very



specific in his commentary: “die von Herkunft Werte, Edle”, “die Edelgeboren” (Modthryth). A few translators might argue that they meant the qualifier to apply to Thryth, but in an uninflected language like English, only apposition or an identifying word ‘precious for her virtues/lineage’ would approach clarity of meaning. I do not claim to have read all translations, but about twenty-four or five that I have looked at, like Gordon, attribute the high lineage or noble qualities to Offa, only five others to Thryth, including the most recent one, Mary E. Waterhouse’s blank verse rendering (1949). Even the editors of Nickel (1976) translate ‘sobald sie goldgeschmückt dem jungen und durch seine edle Herkunft ausgezeichneten Krieger (zur Frau) gegeben war’, although the glossary (Strauss in Nickel 1982) correctly identifies the words and reference.

Perhaps the most amusing translation is the early one of Kemble (1833) ‘since she was first given, surrounded with gold, to the young warrior, the noble beast.’ And yet Kemble is clearly thinking about the forms, for if *diore* is dative singular masculine, it must be a noun and *æpelum* the adjective agreeing with it.

In the passage just cited, line 1950, occurs the third problem to be discussed. What is the precise meaning of *fealu*? One can at once dismiss it, if one wishes, as simply chosen for its rhythm and alliteration, for verse often demands phonetic patterns represented by few choices. The abundant meanings given in dictionaries and glossaries often reflect more the numerous reasonable meanings applicable to the many contexts in which a descriptive adjective is used rather than to any etymological or clearly semantic development of the term.

The most frequent equivalent given is ‘yellow, tawny, fallow’ and some translators pick one of these and use it everywhere that the adjective occurs. This is of course one value when the hue of an object is designated. When applied to a roadway or path it is appropriate to translate, as many scholars do, with an interpretation — ‘sandy’ or ‘gravel’ or ‘clay’ or any other ground material since the word is used of plowed land left idle.

But when the term is applied to the sea, this or any other of the ground colors hardly seem suitable. It is then sometimes translated ‘dark, dusky, gray, dun’ as suggested by Clark-Hall. Perhaps rather than a color, there enters here the etymological association with *fealh* ‘plow’ and *fealg/fealh* ‘felly’ or ‘felloe’, ‘the rim of a wheel’, and ultimately to *fēolan* ‘penetrate’, ‘enter’ as the plow or felly forms a rut or furrow. Then the meaning of *fealu* applied to the sea

might be translated 'furrowed', 'wavy' rather than any color. But the adjective may have been chosen solely for its alliteration and rhythm. If so, one need not strain for a precise equivalent.

When *fealu* is used of a horse it is often translated 'bay' but could probably be applied to any of the 'chestnut' or 'sorrel' hues as well. More questions arise as to the meaning of *æppelfealu*, the color of the matched pair that Hrothgar presented to Beowulf and he in turn to Hygelac (2165). The term is not infrequently rendered as 'yellow as apples'. But this is an unusual color for a horse — reminiscent of the Gascon horse that D'Artagnan brought to Paris amid great ridicule. Moreover the poetry has examples of *æppelde gold* (Phx 506, Jln 688, Ele 1259) which is commonly interpreted as bosses or beading of gold — round like apples. The connection between *æppel* and 'dapple' is disputed, but the Middle English *pomely gray* (the reeve's horse in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*) with its cognates in French and Russian, and *pommel*, a knob on a sword or saddle, may well have led to a folk etymology that brought the Norse *depill* into partial assimilation, leading to *dapple* for spotted. 'Dapple bay' more recently has come into use to describe a horse's color when spotted, though basically bay.

Hrothgar's gift were excellent horses. Early Chinese sculptures show spotted horses, sometimes with the spots chiefly on the rump as in the Appaloosa — the prized coloring of the mustang of the Nez Percé Indians of the Palouse valley in Utah. The Spanish brought horses to the Americas and probably taught Indians how to select choice animals for breeding. To be sure color breeding is not the approved method of choosing for stamina and speed, but other sources indicate that Europe prized spotted stock for its excellence — clearly this is implied in *Beowulf*. Among the Indians, breeding from this color proved productive of the swift, strong stock that they needed. The color breed was especially coveted by cowboys and is still commonly found in rodeos and quarter horse races in Texas. It seems a more reasonable interpretation of apple-fallow than yellow as apples, which is nowhere else associated with excellent horses.

To recapitulate: *ealuscerwen* seems to mean 'deprivation', rather than 'pouring out' or 'distribution' since all the meanings of *ealu* have favorable connotations — 'beer', 'good luck', 'magic', or 'protection'. Thryth is desirable for her high lineage or her virtues. When fallow is applied to the sea, it might be rendered more accurately as 'furrowed by winds', 'rough'; and applefallow as

‘dapple bay’ or ‘having large round spots’. These might be dark on a light ground or light on a dark bay, resembling more the dapple gray than the Appaloosa.

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## **“The Divine Twins” or “The Twins ... Divine?”**

Winfred P. Lehmann

Among the securest figures proposed for the Indo-European pantheon are divine twins. Besides typological support for their assumption, comparative evidence is taken from texts and traditions in a number of branches of the family: in Indic for Ásvins; in Greek among others for the brothers of Helen of Troy, Kastor and Polydeukes, imported into the Italic area as Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri; elsewhere also, if with less distinct figures, as in Baltic. Concentrating on Germanic as a further area, Ward (1967: esp 1–29, with copious bibliography) gives an excellent survey of the evidence, while not omitting critical views, among them the denial of reconstructing Indo-European religion, as by Helm (1925). If, however, like the scholar honored in this collection we accept the possibility of reconstructing some of its elements, it is useful to envisage this within the society of the speakers of Proto-Indo-European. Filtering out later accretions to the twins in the several dialects, I examine with this aim especially references to the Ásvins – or Horsemen – in the *Rigveda* for features which may have been characteristics of the twins in the earlier period.

Assuming a homeland for the speakers of Proto-Indo-European in the region of the Caspian, and a pastoral culture, we may with Eliade (1972: 10) propose a religion in keeping with that of other Asian steppe cultures. In that religion a sky-god is most prominent, associated with twin messengers.

Eliade's typology distinguishes the Indo-European twins from pairs recognized in many cultures. Twin religious, as well as mythological, figures are widely celebrated, but not as closely identified with a dominant god, not to speak of a sky-god. That close association, however, does not require us to assume that the twins were sons of the sky-god, especially in a context like that of the Leda myth. The Greeks would scarcely have left unmodified two figures maintained from the earlier steppe culture, in much the way they elaborated on the sky-god to create a Zeus surrounded in his sumptuous quarters on Mount Olympus by female gods of Mediterranean origin. Other areas, such as those treated by Ward, have

modified the twins even further than did the Greeks, among whom at least a vestige of their presumed Indo-European role as messengers has been maintained. Moreover, here too divine twins are associated with horses, as *tò leukopólo* ‘the two (having) white foals’, an association reflecting their role as messengers.

Yet rather than dealing with this role of theirs I examine their association with fertility. Evidence for it is found in symbolism associated with the snake, an association attributed to their role as healers (Ward 1968: 18), and as ‘protectors of the household’ (Nilsson 1964: 13), but surely also a sexual symbol. Further, the *Káberoi*, attributed to the Phrygians, or to the Pelasgians (Herodotus II: 151), and confused with the Dioscuroi, specifically promote fertility, as is obvious also from the phallic rites celebrating them. The Dioscuri themselves are involved in the rape of Phoebe and Hilara, the two daughters of Leucippos; the father’s name, with its allusion to the horse, may be little more than chance, yet it calls to mind the divine twins as horsemen. But the Greek tradition is not alone in assigning to the twins activities relating to fertility as well as messengers; the *Rigveda* includes many references to the Ásvins in relation to fertility, especially in an auxiliary role.

Through the Ásvins cows come to be productive. Through their ‘power’ they make infertile cows rich in milk.

RV 1.112.3    *yuvám tásām divyáśya praśásane*  
                   you    over them of heavenly command  
                   *viśám kṣayatho amṛtasya majmánā*  
                   tribes rule over of immortal power  
                   *yábhīr dhenúm asvám pínvatho                    narā*  
                   with which cow    barren you make productive heroes  
  
                   “You rule over these tribes by the command of the  
                   heavenly  
                   Through the power of the immortal,  
                   By which you make the barren cow productive, oh  
                   heroes.”

And even more specifically they make the cow fertile:

RV 1.180.3    *yuvám páya usríyāyām adhattam*  
                   you    milk in-the-red placed  
  
                   “You placed the milk (manly seed) in the cow.”

Their capacity to make cows productive is reflected in their designation as bulls:

RV 10.39.9    *yuvám vṛṣaṇā ... aśvinā*  
                   you        bulls,        Ásvins  
    fructifiers

In an even wider role they place the seed in all female animals, indeed in all creatures:

RV 1.157.5    *yuvám ha gárbham jágatīṣu dhattho*  
                   you        ptc seed        in females placed  
                   *yuvám víśveṣu bhúvaneṣv antáḥ*  
                   you        in all        beings        ptc  
                   *yuvám agním ca vṛṣaṇāv apás ca*  
                   you        fire        bulls        waters  
                   *vánaspátīn aśvināv aīrayethām*  
                   trees        Ásvins        you drove forth

"You placed the seed in females,  
 You in all beings;  
 You bulls caused the fire and the waters to spring  
 out,  
 You Ásvins the trees."

Sorting out their role as producers of fertility does not deny their other roles, as that of healers in this very hymn, or as charioteers — where they provide fat and honey, the tokens of fertility.

Oddly, unlike the other gods, however, they share but one wife. Indra and Agni have their individual spouses, *Indrāṇi* and *Agnāyī*, but the Ásvins share one, *Aśvinī*, that is, *Sūryā* (Rv 5.46.8). She occupies the third place in their chariot, which has only places for three.

RV 1.34.5    *triṣṭhám vām sūre duhitá ruhad rátham*  
                   3 stations you    of S. daughter ascends chariot

"Your chariot with three stations the daughter of  
*Sūrya* ascends."

When she does the Ásvins bring fertility to cows and ample food for humans.



RV 6.63.8    *purú hí vām purubhujā deṣṇám*  
                  full    you much-helper gift  
                  *dhenúm na íṣam pinvatam ásakrām*  
                  cow    our food let swell unceasingly

“For manifold is your gift, you great helpers;  
 May our cow, our food be unceasingly abundant.”

There can be little doubt of the association of the cart, and of the wheel, with fertility. In the hymns associating the Ásvins with Sūryā the cart is a thinly disguised symbol of the bed. And the wheel is directly associated with copulation:

RV 10.10.7    *ví cid vṛheva ráthyeva cakrá*  
                                  we-two-roll of-chariot wheels

“We two will roll like the wheels of a chariot.”

While the Ásvins are a pair, there is persistent reference to them as a unit, not merely in their having but one wife. They were born as a pair:

RV 3.39.3    *vápūṇṣi                      jatá mithuná sacete*  
                  beautiful appearance born a pair    they are allied to  
                  “Born as a pair, they are allied to beautiful appearance.”

The repeated reference to them as a pair associated with fertility, yet functioning as a unit, leads to the suggestion that in origin they are the source of the seed, the testicles, whether of bulls, horses, or man. This conclusion finds support in the texts, in traditions, and in the early lexicon.

In their capacity, crowned with the lotus, they produce the foetus.

RV 10.184.2    *gárbham dhehi sinīvali*  
                  foetus    place S.  
                  *gárbham dhehi sarasvati*  
                  foetus    place S.  
                  *gárbham te áśvínau devāv*  
                  foetus    you Ásvins gods  
                  *á dhattām púṣkarasrajā*  
                  ptc place    lotus-crowned

- 3 *hiranyáyī arāṇī*  
 golden rubbing-sticks  
*yām nirmánthato ásvínā*  
 which rub from Ásvins  
*tām te gárbham havāmahe*  
 that you foetus we call  
*daśamé māsī sūtave*  
 tenth month for birth

"Make a foetus, Sinīvalī;  
 make a foetus, Sarasvatī.  
 The two lotus-crowned gods, the Ásvins,  
 are to make for you a foetus.

The foetus, which the Ásvins rub from  
 the two golden rubbing-sticks,  
 that we summon for you,  
 so that you will give birth in the tenth month."

In keeping with the interpretation given above, the rubbing-sticks are here a dual, though elsewhere also a singular. And elsewhere as well they are associated with fertility, as in the following:

- RV 3.29.1 *ástīdām adhimánthanam*  
 is here rubbing-frame  
*ásti prajānanam kṛtām*  
 is progenitor ready  
*etām viśpátnīm á bhara*  
 that tribe-mistress bring here  
*agnīm manthāma pūrváthā*  
 fire we-will-rub as-formerly
- 2 *arāṇyor níhito jātávedā*  
 sticks placed-in Agni J.  
*gárbha iva súdhito garbhīṇīṣu ...*  
 embryo like well-placed pregnant
- 3 *uttānáyām áva bharā cikitván*  
 spread-out into place knowingly  
*sadyáh právitā vṛṣaṇam jajāna*  
 as-soon-as impregnated bull gave-birth-to
- "This is the rubbing-frame, the progenitor is ready,  
 Bring the rubbing-sticks here; we as formerly want to  
 produce fire.

Agni Jātavedas is preserved in both of the rubbing-sticks

well-placed like the foetus in those pregnant.

Put him capably into the one spread out,  
as soon as she is impregnated she has given birth to the bull."

Association with the Ásvins, as well as the designation of their functioning, identify the rubbing-sticks as fructifiers, as the tools instrumental in producing offspring, whether Agni Jātaveda or a human foetus. Yet as RV 1.157.5 states the seed itself rests in the Ásvins.

As these passages indicate the twins divine — horsemen in the *Rigveda* — were identified with fertility and metaphorically with male sexual organs. Turning to the Indo-European lexicon we find these associations supported, as by the word for testicles. Well-documented, this has reflexes in a number of dialects: Av. *ərəzi* 'scrotum', dual *ərəzi* 'testicles'; Armenian *orji-k'* pl. 'testicles'; Gk. *órkhis* 'scrotum'; Albanian *herdhë* 'testicle'; and also MÍrish *uirge* < *orghiā* 'testicle', though interpreted by some as 'penis' (Fraenkel 1962–1965: 123–24). The Proto-Indo-European base is reconstructed *\*orghi-*, *\*rghi-* (Pokorny 1959: 782). A further reflex in Lithuanian is *ežilas*, in Latvian *ērzēls* 'stallion.' Moreover, the Lithuanian adjective *aržūs* means 'lustful.' It would be difficult to find stronger support for the hypothesis proposed above that the twins in origin were identified with the testicles.

Further evidence may be provided, some of it disputed such as the adjective *górjika* associated with the Ásvins, as in RV 3.58.4

*vísve jánāso ásvínā havante*  
all peoples Ásvins call-on  
*imá hí vām gó rjīkā mádhūni*  
these ptc you? sweet-drinks  
*prá mitrásō ná dadúr usró ágre*  
ptc friends like gave of-dawn start

"All peoples call on the Ásvins, for these stimulating drinks which like friends they have presented to you before the start of dawn."

*rjīkās* is now generally interpreted as an adjective meaning 'whose aspect is radiant, foam', and hesitantly associated with Lat. *alga*

'algae' etc.; yet this etymology, from the Proto-Indo-European root \**el-* 'decaying, putrid' scarcely is persuasive (see Pokorny 1959: 305, Mayrhofer 1956–1980 I. 120–121). Proponents of this interpretation reject the earlier view relating the adjective to 'testicle'. By that view both *ṛjīká-* and Av. *ərəzi* etc. were derived from the Proto-Indo-European root \**er-* 'enter into motion', etc., which has many derivatives. Some of these have laryngeal suffixes, such as Skt *ṛnóti* 'move'; others have velar suffixes, such as Gk. *orkhéō* 'dance', to which Lith. *aržùs* is also ascribed as well as related to *ərəzi* (Pokorny 1959: 326–332). Among the nominal reflexes is the Sanskrit epithet for horses, *árvan-* 'hurrying, runner'. The general meaning is applied to 'flowing' of water, raining, arousing of passion, concepts related to sexual activity, so that Proto-Indo-European \**orghi-* and also Skt *ṛjīká-* might well be derived from this root. For the range of meanings in derivatives of Proto-Indo-European \**orghi-* is remarkably similar to that of bases extended from \**er-* with its suffixes.

Texts describing cultic practices also testify to the relationship between fertility, and the horse, as well as its sexual organs. Among the more vivid is the ancient Scandinavian Volši poem, which describes a rite in which a preserved horse's penis is passed from person to person while stanzas relating to fertility are cited (Lehmann 1955).

Given the taboo conventions of the Indo-European area substitutes were introduced for terms referring to the sexual organs. Latin provides a complex example in *testēs* 'defenders, supporters > testicles', generally taken as a misguided calque for Greek *parastatai* 'twin supporting pillars, props of a mast, testicles'. A substitute of special interest for the thesis presented here is Greek *didumoi* 'twins, testicles'. While not inherited from Indo-European speakers also may have identified the testicles for physical characteristics as well as for their role in procreation.

Such an assumption accords well with the pastoral culture of the speakers of Proto-Indo-European. Even when remodeled as a Mediterranean potentate with a large retinue of goddesses, Zeus maintains the role of progenitor. And Indra has as primary function the production of rain necessary for supporting fertility. Yet as sky-gods in a simpler pantheon they would scarcely have had need for messengers, sent like Apollo to take directions to lesser gods and mortals — a role the Dioscuroi as well as the Ásvins fulfill minimally. In a pastoral society the primary goal was the assuring of fertility, whether in bringing rain, in generating the fire, or in

producing a foetus. Members of that society would have needed little prompting to know the source of fertility, the keepers of the seed. Even in their changed role the Ásvins still provide the devotee with a horse *vṛṣāṇam vīdvāṅgam* 'fertile, with vigorous member' RV 1.118.9. As the society became more complex and less directly concerned with pastoral affairs the earlier views might well have yielded to euhemerization of the sexual organs, especially in relation to the foremost producers of wealth — the horse and the bull.

In this way the new society provided cloaking for the fertility organs associated with the early sky-god. He too gained recognition for various roles, differing as provider of rain and destroyer of demons standing in the way of fertility in India from the Zeus of Greece with his Mediterranean court. As the pantheon expanded, whether in India, Greece, or elsewhere in the changed Indo-European domains, the twins as instruments of fertility came to be minor immortals associated with the changed central god, though still retaining vestiges of their former role, most clearly as horsemen servicing the sun at the dawn and conducting her across the sky to regenerate daily the bases of wealth and prosperity for mortals.

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# The Druids and human sacrifice<sup>1</sup>

Bruce Lincoln

Scholars have long been uncomfortable with the various Greco-Roman accounts of the foremost members of the ancient Celtic priestly class. For while many of the classical sources accord high praise to the Druids' intellectual accomplishments,<sup>2</sup> others have vigorously condemned them for their complicity in the performance of human sacrifice,<sup>3</sup> while others still have noted both wisdom and barbaric rites alike.<sup>4</sup> In the face of such seemingly contradictory evidence, some modern authorities — those incapable of believing it possible that men gifted in the study of philosophy could also celebrate hideous rituals — have sought to settle the problem by one of two complementary strategies: i. e., denying one half of the evidence or the other. Thus, on the one hand, some would have us believe that the ancient praises of Druidic learning were but an ancient version of the romantic and unfounded celebration of the “noble savage” (so-called “primitivism”),<sup>5</sup> and on the other, some would convince us that the testimonies of Druidic sacrifice were but part of a Roman propaganda campaign in the period after the conquest of Gaul, a campaign aimed at reducing the Druids' role as a center of resistance to Roman rule.<sup>6</sup>

Neither the one nor the other of these attempts can be sustained in the face of the evidence. For although the Roman propagandists certainly exploited the Druids' connection to sacrifice, they relied on Greek sources such as Poseidonios's *Ethnography of the Celts* and Sopater's account of them, both of which long pre-date any propagandistic motive, and unflinchingly recount rather grisly Druidic rituals. On the other hand, there surely is a trace of “primitivism” in certain classical authors' expressed admiration for Druidic science, yet there can be no doubt that the Celts themselves regarded their priests as masters of wisdom, for the very name “Druid” (OIr. *druí*, gen. *druad*) means nothing other than “He whose wisdom is firm” (from PIE \**dru-wid-*, where the first element is an intensifying particle also attested in toponyms [*Dru-nemeton* “firm sanctuary”] and personal names [*Dru-talus* “He whose visage is firm”]).<sup>7</sup>

Happily, there is no need to choose between viewing the Druids *either* as practitioners of wisdom *or* of sacrifice, but not both, for as the great bulk of recent research shows, sacrificial ritual is regularly attended by the most complex structures of thought. And as Mircea Eliade insisted in a short article with the provocative title “Druids, Astronomers, and Headhunters”, there is no contradiction in the Greco-Roman testimonies.<sup>8</sup> Rather, the problem begins with the cultural presuppositions of modern students of these texts, who are unable to accept the fact well-known from anthropological research — Eliade cites the classic study of Hans Schärer on the religion of the Ngaju Dayak — that one may perfectly well combine such practices as headhunting, cannibalism, human sacrifice, and the like, with extremely sophisticated and intelligent religio-philosophical systems and rationales.

There is a methodological problem in the use of such far-flung comparative evidence, however, which is not resolved in Eliade’s study. For while such comparisons may establish that it is possible to combine philosophical speculation and the practice of human sacrifice, they do not and can not establish that the Druids did, in fact, do so. For this conclusion to legitimately emerge, only evidence directly relevant to the Druids themselves will suffice. Such evidence, however, can be located, and I hope to do so in this essay, thus putting an end to the fruitless and fundamentally misguided debate on whether the Druids were sages or butchers.

It is within the writings of those authors who borrowed from the now-lost Celtic ethnography of Poseidonios that we find the fullest and clearest descriptions of the sacrifices performed by the Druids, and the usual scholarly tendency has been to rely most heavily upon three of the earliest such sources: Caesar’s *De Bello Gallico* 6.16, Strabo 4.4.5, and Diodoros Sikelos 5.32.6, all of which were written in the 1st Century B.C.<sup>9</sup> Yet it is within the works of an author writing a century later, who also relied heavily upon Poseidonios, that certain crucial points emerge most clearly: Pomponius Mela’s *De Situ Orbis* 3.2.18–19, written between 41 and 44 A.D.:

(The Gauls) are arrogant and superstitious, and at one time they were so savage that they believed a man to be the best and most pleasing sacrificial victim for the gods. Vestiges of their past ferocity remain, so that while they refrain from the final dismemberments (*ultimis caedibus*), nonetheless they take off a little portion (from the victims) when leading the consecrated ones to the



altars. Still, they have their own eloquence and their masters of wisdom, the Druids. These ones profess to know the size and form of heaven and earth, the motion of sky and stars, and what the gods desire. They instruct the noblest of their race in many things secretly and at length, twenty years, either in a cave or in remote woodlands. One thing which they teach has slipped out to the general public, and it is clear that they should be better in war (because of it): that souls are eternal and there is another life among the Manes. Therefore, they burn and bury with the dead that which is appropriate to living people. Formerly, the settlement of business affairs and the collection of debts were carried down into the Underworld, and there were those who willingly threw themselves onto the funeral pyres of their relatives, as if expecting that they will live together thereafter.<sup>10</sup>

Certain details clearly indicate that this text was composed in a time when Roman policy had adversely affected the Druids. Their teaching, we are told, now took place in hiding, and they had been forced to renounce one of the central features of sacrificial ritual: dismemberment of the victim.<sup>11</sup> But with the exception of these items, there is little in Mela's account which does not already appear in the writings of earlier authors who also made use of Poseidonios. In particular, many of Mela's phrases are strongly reminiscent of Caesar's discussion of the Druids at *De Bello Gallico* 6.14:

The Druids habitually are absent from war, do not pay tributes along with the rest, and have freedom from military service and immunity in all things. Excited by such great rewards, many enter instruction, sent by their parents and relatives or by their own free will. There, they are said to learn a great number of verses by heart, and some spend twenty years in instruction. They do not consider it right to commit these (verses) to writing, but in almost all other things, in public and private matters, they make use of Greek letters. They seem to me to have established this (practice) for two reasons: they do not wish their knowledge (*disciplinam*) to be disseminated to the masses, nor that those who rely on letters devote themselves less to the art of memory. It usually happens that with the aid of letters, people relax their diligence in learning things thoroughly and also in the art of memory. Above all, they wish to convince people that souls do not perish, but after death they pass from some bodies to others, and this they believe to excite courage most greatly, the fear of



death being neglected. Beyond this, they dispute concerning the stars and their motion, the size of the world and of lands, the nature of things, and the immortal gods and their power, and this they teach to their youths.<sup>12</sup>

Careful comparison of these two passages reveals a strong tendency in Caesar to depart from his source and to insert his own speculations: to reorganize materials taken from Poseidonios in light of his own interests. Thus, as a military man, he maintains that youths entered Druidic training in order to avoid military service, something attested in no other source that has come down to us. Again, he speculates on the reasons why the Druids rejected writing, introducing his own conjectures with the phrase *id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur*.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, Mela at one point carefully preserved Poseidonios's organization of data where Caesar abandoned it, for Mela continued the discussion of post mortem existence to include such phenomena as grave gifts, suicide, and settlement of debts in the otherworld, as did also Diodoros Sikelos 5.28.6, while Caesar — ever the general — was content to mention only that the doctrine of metempsychosis increased courage in battle.<sup>14</sup>

In both Caesar's account and that of Mela, two topics emerge as central to the druidic system: the immortality of the soul (also attested in numerous other sources)<sup>15</sup> and the nature of the cosmos. This latter concern is voiced most generally by Caesar, who tells of the Druids' interest in "the nature of things" (*de rerum natura*), a phrase reminiscent of other authors' specification that the Druids studied *physiologia* "natural philosophy", a sphere of inquiry that spanned the nature of the human body (whence modern *physiology*) and that of the universe (whence modern *physics*).<sup>16</sup> A more precise statement is given, however, that describes the Druids' special studies of the motion of heavenly bodies and the dimensions of the cosmos. Although these topics are listed in reverse order in Caesar and Mela, the wording is extremely close and undoubtedly derives from their common source in Poseidonios:

Caesar: *de sideribus atque eorum motu*

Mela: *motus coeli ac siderum*

Caesar: *de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine*

Mela: *terrae mundique magnitudinem et formam*.

It is of the greatest significance for our present investigation, moreover, when we note that Mela discussed these cosmic preoccupations of the Druids immediately after he had offered a summary of their

sacrificial practices. Here again, Mela's organization of his data diverges from that of Caesar, and one must ask which is closer and more faithful to their common source. The evidence of other classical authors also dependent on Poseidonios is that it is Mela once more who is most conservative.<sup>17</sup> Thus, in a passage from Diodoros Sikelos (5.31.2–4), one finds the same grouping of topics as is found in Mela, sacrifice and physiology (in the ancient sense) being discussed together:

There are some men who are philosophers and theologians, who are greatly honored, whom they call "Druids".

And they consult them as diviners, deeming them worthy of great approbation. And they foretell what is destined through the interpretation of birds and of sacrifices of victims, and they hold all the multitude attentive. Above all, when they consider something major they have a custom that is unbelievable, incredible. For having consecrated a man, they strike him above the diaphragm with a sacrificial knife, and when the man struck has fallen, they know destiny (*tò méllon*) from his fall, from the dismemberment [or: trembling]<sup>18</sup> of his limbs (*toû sparagmoû tôn melôn*), and from the flow of his blood, for they trust to ancient and time honored observance in these things.

It is not their custom to make a sacrifice without a philosopher, for they say that thank offerings to the gods ought to be offered by those who are acquainted with divine nature (*tês theías phúseōs*), as it were, speaking the same language as the gods, and they believe that it is by them that good things ought to be requested.<sup>19</sup>

It is obvious that this passage offers general support for the connection between Druidic sacrifice and physiological speculation as attested in Mela. Beyond this, we must note a highly significant detail hidden in a bit of Greek word play. Thus, Diodoros tells us that it is possible to know destiny (*tò méllon*) from the arrangement of the victim's limbs (*tôn melôn*) after that victim had been killed and dismembered (or perhaps merely from the trembling of the victim's limbs in the throes of death: see note 18). He thus indicates that a subtle connection was felt to exist between the two, and as a result, one possessed of sufficient knowledge could perceive the pattern of the future — or perhaps it is better to say, the pattern inherent within nature (*phúsis*) — by studying the (sundered?) members of a sacrificial corpse (*ek tês ptōseos kai toû sparagmoû tôn*

*melôn, éti dè tês toû haimatos rhúseos tò méllon nooûsi*). One recalls also that in Mela's account of sacrifice, significant attention is given to the practice of dismemberment, which while suppressed, could not be dispensed with altogether.

Further still, we must note the great diffusion of myths describing the creation of the physical universe from the dismembered body of a primordial victim. This theme is attested among a great many of the world's populations, and — as I have demonstrated elsewhere — plays a prominent role in the religious, philosophical, sociopolitical, and proto-scientific speculation of the various Indo-European peoples.<sup>20</sup> Of the many examples that might be cited, let me offer two. The first is from a Middle Persian text written in the 9th century of our era, *Škend Gumānīg Wizār* 16.8–13:

This also is said (by the Manichaeans): the bodily, material creation is of the Evil Spirit — all the bodily creation is of the Evil Spirit. More precisely, the sky is from the skin, the earth is from the flesh, the mountains are from the bone, and the plants are from the hair of the demoness Kûnî.<sup>21</sup>

To this, we may compare a verse from the poetic Edda, dating to the period just before the conversion of Iceland to Christianity in the year 1000, *Vafþrúðnismál* 21):

From Ymir's flesh            the earth was made  
   and mountains from his bones;  
Heaven from the skull            of the rime-cold giant,  
   and from his blood, the sea.<sup>22</sup>

One could cite other cosmogonic accounts of the various peoples who spoke Indo-European languages, in which it is similarly described how the physical universe was created from the dismembered body of a primordial victim (sometimes human, sometimes divine, sometimes animal, sometimes a giant or demon), with certain consistent homologues being posited: earth from flesh, mountains from stones, etc. With this evidence, we come a good deal closer to the world of the Celtic Druids than we were with the Ngaju Dayak. For if consideration of the Dayak evidence was sufficient to establish that it is possible to practice human sacrifice and exalted philosophy side by side, the Indo-European data establish the probability that the Druids did so, the Celts and their priests being among the most conservative members of the Indo-European family, as was demonstrated by Joseph Vendryes in a celebrated article of

some seventy years past, in which sacrificial themes play a prominent part.<sup>23</sup>

To establish full certainty, however, only Celtic evidence proper will suffice, and several important Irish texts do preserve the theme of creation through sacrificial dismemberment, although not on a full-fledged cosmic scale.<sup>24</sup> Among these, for instance, there is a myth of the origin of healing herbs. The story tells how Dian Cecht, physician of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, killed his son, Miach, when the latter outshone him in medical skill (*Cath Maige Turedh* 33–35):

That cure (performed by Miach) seemed evil to Dian Cecht. He let loose his sword on the head of his son, cutting his scalp down to the flesh. The youth healed that, through the exercise of his skill. He struck again, cutting the flesh to the bone. The youth healed that by the same exercise. He hewed a third cut, to the membrane of the brain. The youth healed that by the same exercise. He hewed a fourth cut, and reached the brain so that Miach died, and Dian Cecht said that there was not any physician who could heal that blow.

After that, Miach was buried by Dian Cecht, and three hundred and sixty five healing herbs grew up through his grave, according to the number of his joints and sinews.<sup>25</sup>

The number three hundred sixty five signifies a totality (= the number of days in the year), and the totality of medicinal herbs is thus homologized to the totality of bodily connectors (“joints and sinews”), these being the places where injury is most common and occasional repairs most necessary. For each separate joint or sinew, there is thus a separate healing herb, and knowledge of medical practice consists of knowing which herb to apply for injury to any given bodily part. The logic is clear: a given herb has the power to heal one and only one bodily member precisely because that herb had its origin from that very part of Miach’s body. Here, as elsewhere, esoteric knowledge consists in understanding the relation between microcosm and macrocosm, or — as Caesar put it — “the size and form of heaven and earth”, the latter term designating the small world, and the former, the large.

Healing, in fact, is a process precisely inverse to that of sacrifice, at least as the two were practiced by the Celts and other Indo-European peoples. Thus, while a sacrificer employed matter taken from a victim’s dismembered body to restore the cosmos, the healer used matter from the universe to restore a damaged body. What is

more, both of these practical operations reflected a mythic ideology in which body and cosmos were understood as homologous. It is this ideology, moreover, which was the basis of that unified discourse which the Greeks and Romans called "physiology".

Among the Celts we find not only the survivals of a myth of creation through sacrifice and testimonies that the Druids practiced human sacrifice while studying philosophy but, more precisely, that their studies centered on "physiology". Further, in an extremely conservative legal text (*Senchus Mór* 1.22) we learn that the Druids 'claim that they themselves created heaven and earth and sea, etc., the sun and the moon, etc.'<sup>26</sup> — that is, they considered themselves to be repeating the cosmogony in their ritual acts. To this we may add one further piece of evidence: a creation myth that sets forth the system of homologies between the human body and the universe, but which is anthropogonic rather than cosmogonic in its orientation. This is the story of the "Seven Part Adam" as told in an Old Irish manuscript of the 13th or 14th century A.D. (London, Additional MS. 4783, folio 7a):

There is this to be known concerning the creation of Adam from seven parts. The first part is from the earth, the second part from the sea, the third part from the sun, the fourth part from the clouds, the fifth part from the wind, the sixth part from stones, the seventh part from the Holy Spirit.

The part of earth, that is the body of a man. The part of the sea, that is the blood of a man. The part of sun is his face and countenance; the part of cloud, his thought; the part of wind, the breath of a man; the part of stones, his bones; the part of the Holy Spirit, his soul...<sup>27</sup>

While the contents of this text have been superficially Christianized, its relation to the myths of Miach, Kûnî, and Ymir is obvious. All derive from a religious system in which microcosm and macrocosm were set in homologic relation to one another, in which cosmogony was accomplished by a primordial act of sacrificial dismemberment and each successive sacrifice reenacted that cosmogonic event. Further, anthropogony — the creation of the first human being — was a reversal of cosmogony, in which bodily members were created from matter drawn out of their macrocosmic homologues. Finally, every act of healing was a reenactment of the anthropogony (and a reversal of the cosmogony), in that in healing material substance was transferred from the macrocosm to the

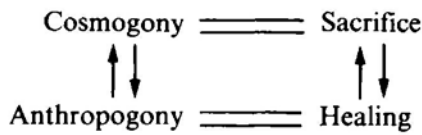


Figure 1. Cosmic processes as represented in myth and ritual.

microcosm. These processes may be represented graphically as in Figure 1 below, where parallel arrows represent reciprocal processes and parallel lines represent parallel processes:

Masters of healing arts as much as of sacrifice, the Druids thus emerge as a priestly group possessed of an esoteric knowledge: a knowledge centered on physiological lore, that is, the science of homologous connections between the bodily microcosm and the macrocosm beyond. This knowledge was encoded and transmitted in myths of creation (cosmogony and anthropogony), and enacted in such rituals as healing and human sacrifice. It should thus be obvious that the latter rite was not just barbaric slaughter, but was also a serious intellectual exercise, presided over by priests who considered themselves to have mastered the very secrets of the universe, secrets which they employed for the wellbeing — indeed, for the continued existence — of the universe.

The above discussion extends and reinforces the arguments contained in Eliade's earlier article, for if he demonstrated that people can perform human sacrifice and also hold elevated ideas, I hope to have shown that the Druids did, in fact, do just that. Moreover, I would make a more radical argument still, for it seems to me that this must always be the case. Indeed, those authors who sense a contradiction between the Druids' reputation for learning and their purported involvement in savage rites, in my opinion totally misunderstand not only the immediate sources under discussion, but the whole interrelation of thought and action in human history. That people perform ghastly deeds while holding lofty ideas should come as no surprise to anyone who surveys history from the latter half of the twentieth century, for one must observe that it is precisely when people are supported by a powerful ideological system that they are most disposed to perpetrate atrocities. And it is, I maintain, one of the chief functions of religion, as of other ideological systems, to lend legitimacy to those necessary but unpleasant actions which might otherwise go undone.

The question "why" people behave in any given fashion will always evoke multiple responses, some of them stressing ideological



factors and others social and material. Thus far, I have tended to dwell on the former at the expense of the latter, but in my view no explanation is complete that does not take account of both. Crucial to any materialist interpretation of Druidic sacrifice is recognition of the fact consistently noted in our classical sources that the victims were regularly prisoners of war and criminals, a situation characteristic of human sacrifice among the Skyths as well.<sup>28</sup> We must further take account of certain ecologic and socioeconomic factors, for in an economy that is not particularly labor-intensive, criminals and prisoners of war present an acute problem: they must either be released (after which they pose a threat) or kept (in which case they must be fed). Whereas large scale agricultural societies may solve this problem by turning captives into slaves, thus gaining a cheap supply of productive labor, small-scale agriculturalists and pastoralists like the ancient Celts, Skyths, Germans, and others are afforded no such easy solution. Human sacrifice provides a way out of this dilemma, and the practice is made more palatable when it is decked out in religious trappings. Indeed, when the soul was believed to be immortal, and sacrifice nothing less than a repetition of cosmogony, one could kill and butcher another human being with a light heart, secure in the knowledge — to quote Pliny on the Druids — ‘to kill a man was the most religious act.’<sup>29</sup>

### Notes

1. Between February and May of 1985, this paper was presented as a public lecture at the École pratique des hautes études, Università degli Studi di Siena, University of Stockholm, University of Lund, University of Copenhagen, and University of Uppsala. I am grateful to my friends and colleagues at all of these institutions for suggestions and criticisms offered in the course of our discussions.
2. This attitude is particularly characteristic of those authors who derived their information from Timagenes and/or Alexander Polyhistor rather than from Poseidonios. Note, inter alia, Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 1, Prologue, 6; Ammianus Marcellinus 15.9.8; Dio Chrysostom, *Oratio* 49; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1.15.71; Hippolytos, *Philosophoumena* 1.25.
3. Condemnation of Druidic sacrifice is most fervent in the writings of Roman authors of the 1st century A. D., when Claudius and Tiberius were suppressing the Druids (who constituted a focal point of resistance to Roman rule). Human sacrifice was the convenient rationale offered for this suppression. Among Roman denunciations, note Tacitus, *Annals* 14.30; Pliny, *Natural History* 30.13; Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1.444 ff. and 3.399 ff.; Dionysios Halikarnassos 1.38.2; and Justinus 26.2.2. For earlier mentions of human sacrifice, see Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 4.160E (quoting Sopater), and Cicero, *Pro M. Fonteio* 14 (31–32).

- On the motives and rhetoric of Roman suppression of the Druids, see Nora K. Chadwick, *The Druids* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966), pp. 70 ff., and Françoise Le Roux, "Introduction générale a l'étude de la tradition celtique, I", *Ogam* 19 (1967): 324–326, *pace* the older (but still influential) views of Fustel de Coulanges, "Comment le druidisme a disparu", in his *Nouvelles recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire*, ed. C. Jullian (Paris: Hachette, 1891), 181–215.
4. The most important works which fall in this category are those which have Poseidonios as their chief source: Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.14 (on Druidic learning) and 6.16 (on sacrifice); Strabo 4.4.4 (learning) and 4.4.5 (sacrifice); Diodoros Sikelos 5.28.6 (learning) and 5.32.6 (sacrifice); and Pomponius Mela 3.2.18–19 (learning and sacrifice together). On Caesar's attitudes, see most recently, G. Ch. Picard, "César et les Druides", in *Hommage à la mémoire de Jerome Carcopino* (Paris: Société Les Belles Lettres, 1977), 227–233.
  5. To a greater or lesser extent, this attempt was made by T. D. Kendrick, *The Druids: A chapter in Keltic prehistory* (London: Methuen, 1927), 104–123; Henri Hubert, *Les Celtes et l'expansion celtique* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1973 [1st publ. 1932]), 27; Ferdinand Lot, *La Gaule* (Paris: Artheme Fayard, 1947), 76–80; J. J. Tierney, "The Celtic ethnography of Posidonius", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 60 (1960): 214–215, 222–223; and Stuart Piggott, *The Druids* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1968), 91–99.
  6. Again, authors have varied in the extent to which they have sought to advance this position. See, inter alia, Alexandre Bertrand, *La religion des Gaulois* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1897), 68; Émile Bachelier, "Les druides en Gaule romaine", *Ogam* 11 (1959): 175; Chadwick, *The Druids*, 28–30, 36–38, 45–46, 84–85; Le Roux, "Introduction générale", 320, 329–330; Le Roux, *Les druides*, 2nd ed. (Rennes: Celticum, 1978); Le Roux, *La civilisation celtique* (Rennes: Ogam-Celticum, 1982), 37; Jan de Vries, *La religion des Celtes* (Paris: Payot, 1977), 232; and Jean Markale, *Les Celtes et la civilisation celtique* (Paris: Payot, 1969), 341–347.
  7. See Christian-J. Guyonvarc'h, "Notes d'étymologie et de lexicographie gauloises et celtiques, V.16., Les noms celtiques du 'chêne', du 'druide', et 'du roitelet'", *Ogam* 12 (1960): 49–58, pursuing a suggestion first advanced by Rudolf Thurneysen, "Italisches", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 32 (1893): 562–564. Note, however, that Thurneysen himself later rejected this idea in "Allerlei Keltisches: 10. Palinodie", *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 16 (1927): 276–278. The older etymology, to which Thurneysen reverted, interprets *Druid* as "Knower of the Oak", but this view rests on nothing so much as Pliny's folk etymologizing connection of *Druid* with Greek *drus* (*Natural History* 16.249). This must be rejected on phonologic grounds, for as Guyonvarc'h has shown, given that the Celtic names of the oak take the form *\*derwo-*, we ought expect *\*derwo-wid-* for "knower of the oak", not *\*dru-wid-*. It remains possible, however, that the name for the oak is itself an augmented grade formation from the particle *\*dru-*, designating this tree as that which is "great", "hard", or "firm". See further Émile Benveniste, "Problèmes sémantiques de la reconstruction", *Word* 10 (1954): 257–259, which remains preferable to Paul Friedrich, *Proto-Indo-European Trees* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 140–149. Also relevant is Karl Horst Schmidt, *Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1957), 197–198.



8. Mircea Eliade, "Druids, Astronomers, and Head-hunters", in: Giulia Piccaluga, ed., *Perennitas: Studi in Onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome: Ateneo, 1980), 173–183. His discussion of Dayak materials is based on Hans Schärer, *Ngaju Religion* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963). Recent work on sacrifice strongly supports Eliade's point of view. See, inter alia: Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne, eds., *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979); John Ingham, "Human Sacrifice at Tenochtitlan", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26 (1984): 379–400; Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); and the articles collected on the theme "Sacrificio, organizzazione del cosmo, dinamica sociale", *Studi Storici* 25 (1984): 829–956 and *L'Uomo* 9 (1985): 3–298.
9. For the reliance of these authors on the 23rd book of Poseidonios's *History*, a work written some time between 100 and 60 B.C., see Tierney, "The Celtic ethnography of Posidonius", *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 60 (1960) and M. Truscelli, "I Keltika di Posidonio e loro influsso sulla posteriore etnografia", *Rendiconti della reale Accademia dei Lincei* (1935), 609–730.
10. Gentes (sc. Galliae) superbae, superstitiosae, aliquando etiam immanes adeo, ut hominem optimam et gratissimam diis victimam crederent. Manent vestigia feritatis iam abolitae, atque ut ab ultimis caedibus temperant, ita nihilominus, ubi devotos altaribus admove, delibant. Habent tamen et facundiam suam magistrosque sapientiae druidas. Hi terrae mundique magnitudinem et formam, motus coeli ac siderum, et quid dii velint scire profitentur. Docent multa nobilissimos gentis clam et diu, vicenis annis, aut in specu aut in abditis saltibus. Unum ex his quae praecepiunt in vulgus effluxit, videlicet ut forent ad bella meliores, aeternas esse animas vitamque alteram ad manes. Itaque cum mortuis cremant ac defodiunt apta viventibus. Olim negotiorum ratio etiam et exactio crediti deferebatur ad inferos, erantque qui se in rogos suorum velut una victuri libenter inmitterent.
11. Latin *caedes* "a cutting down, slaughter, massacre", refers not to bland and generalized acts of force or violence, but to those which involve cutting action (cf. the compounds in *-cidō* derived from the same verbal root, *caedō* "to cut, hew, lop": *abscidō* "to separate, cut apart"; *circumcidō* "to cut around, circumcise"; *concidō* "to cut up, cut in pieces, annihilate"; *excidō* "to cut out, excise"; *praecidō* "to cut off, cut short, abbreviate"; *recidō* "to cut off, cut away, retrench"; *succidō* "to cut down, cut under"). When used with reference to animals, *caedes* denotes the violent tearing apart of their bodies (cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.442, 11.371, 15.106), often in a sacrificial context (thus Horace, *Carmen* 3.23.14, Martial 14.4, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.129, the latter two with implied condemnation of the act). On the importance of dismemberment within the sacrificial rituals of the Indo-European peoples, see my discussion in "Of Meat and Society, Sacrifice and Creation, Butchers and Philosophy", *L'Uomo* 9 (1985): 9–29 and, more broadly, *Myth, cosmos, and society: Indo-European themes of creation and destruction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986).
12. Druides a bello abesse consueverunt neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt, militiae vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati praemiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque annos non nulli vicenos in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existiment ea

litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Graecis litteris utantur. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur, quod neque in vulgus disciplinam efferri velint, neque eos qui discunt litteris confisos minus memoriae studere; quod fere plerisque accidit, ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant metu mortis neglecto. Multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac postestate disputant et iuventuti tradunt.

13. Moreover, Caesar's speculations on this topic were quite inadequate to the true depth and complexity of Druidic ideas, on which see Georges Dumézil, "La tradition druidique et l'écriture: Le vivant et le mort", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 122 (1940): 125–133.
14. On the more extreme practices which follow from the beliefs in metempsychosis and immortality of the soul (also attested in Athenaios 4.154C; Valerius Maximus, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri IX* 2.6.10; and the Scholiast Lactantius Placidus, *Commentarius in Stati Thebaida* [1898], x #793), see the classic treatment of Marcel Mauss, "Sur un texte de Posidonius: le suicide, contre-prestation suprême", in his *Oeuvres: vol. 3. Cohésion sociale et divisions de la sociologie* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1969), 52–57.
15. Diodoros Sikelos 5.28.6; Strabo 4.4.4; Ammianus Marcellinus 15.9.8; Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1.454–458.
16. Druidic concern with *physiologia* is specified in Strabo 4.4.4 and Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.41.90. The latter passage is worth citing, for it is one of the very few passages in classical literature which claims to draw directly on the testimony of a Druid himself. Cicero writes:  

The reckoning of divination is not neglected among barbarian peoples, since the Druids are in Gaul. Among them is the Aeduan Divitiacus, your guest and eulogizer, whom I know myself. He proclaimed that that reckoning of nature which the Greeks call *physiologia* is known to him, and he told what would come to pass, sometimes by means of auguries and sometimes by means of inferences.

Eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est, siquidem et in Gallia Druidae sunt, quibus ipse Divitiacum Aeduum, hospitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi, qui et naturae rationem quam *physiologian* Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur et partim auguriis, partim conjectura, quae essent futura, dicebat.
17. A similar judgment has been reached independently by Giuseppe Zecchini, *I Druidi e l'opposizione dei Celti a Roma* (Milan: Editorial JACA, 1984), 40–41, 42.
18. Translation here is less than fully certain. The most common meaning of Gk. *spáragnos* is "tearing, rending, mangling", with derivation from *sparáso* "to tear, rend, pull to pieces". Occasionally, however, *spáragnos* can denote a violent, involuntary, and pathological shudder or trembling in which the body seems to be on the point of dismembering itself (cf. the technical medical term *spáraxis* "convulsion"). The fact that there is mention of one knife blow only might indicate that the latter sense is preferable (unless, of course, there were further operations on the corpse after death), yet the use of *spáragnos* in this sense is extremely rare, and of the passages cited in Liddell-Scott, *Greek English Lexicon*

- (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 1624, only one — Aiskhylos, Fragment 169 [Nauck] — is convincing; in the others (Sophokles, *Trachiniai* 778 and 1254), translation by “rending” remains preferable. On balance, I think it best to retain the common sense of the term.
19. philosophoi té tinés eisi kai theológōi perittôs timómenoi. hoûs drouídas onomázousi.  
 khrôntai dè kai mántesin, apodokhês megálês axioûntes autoús· hoûtoi dè diá te tês oiônoskopías kai diá tês tôn hieriôn thysías tà méllonta prolégousi, kai pân tò plêthos ékhousin hypékoon. málista d’ hótan perí tinôn megálôn episkeptôntai, parádoxon kai ápiston ékhousi nómimon. ánthrōpon gár kataspeí-santes túptousi makhairái katà tôn hypêr tò diáphragma tópon, kai pesóntos toû plêgéntos ek tês ptôseôs kai toû sparagmoû tôn melôn, éti dè tês toû haímatos rhûseôs tò méllon nooûsi, palaiái tini kai polykhroniōi paratêrései perí toútōn pepisteukótes.  
 éthos d’autoís esti mēdéna thysían poieîn áneu philosóphou. diá gár tôn empei-rôn tês theías phúseôs hōspereí tinôn homophónōn tà kharistéria tois theoís phasi deín prospheírein, kai diá toútōn oíontai deín tagathá aiteísthai.
  20. See the materials cited above in note 10, and also *Priests, warriors, and cattle: A study in the ecology of religions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 69–95.
  21. Did ên kû gêtîg tanîgard î Ahreman hamâg tanîgard dahišnîg î Ahreman; uš gôkân ên kû asmân az pôst, ud zamîg az gôšt, ud kôf az ast, ud urwar az wars î Kunî dêw.
  22. Ór Ymis holdi                    var jorð um sköpuð,  
    enn ór beinum björg,  
 himinn ór hausi                    ins hrímkalda jötuns,  
    enn ór sveita sjör.
  23. J. Vendryes, “Les correspondances de vocabulaire entre l’indo-iranien et l’italo-celtique”, *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 20 (1918): 265–285.
  24. In addition to the materials presented here, see my discussion of the final scene in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in *Priests, warriors, and cattle*, pp. 87–92, and William Sayers’ analysis of the oath sworn by Fergus within that same epic, “Fergus and the cosmogonic sword”, *History of Religions* 25 (1985): 30–56. Note also Diego Poli, “La distribuzione nel banchetto Celtico”, *L’Uomo* 9 (1985): 75–97.
  25. Ba hólce lia Díen-cécht an freapaid-sin. Duleicc claidimh a mullach a meic go rotend a tuidn fri féoil a cinn. Ícais an gillai tre inndell a eladon. Atcomaic aithurrach go roteind a féoil corrodic cnáimh. Ícais an gille den indel cétnae. Bissis an tres bein co ránic srebonn a inchinde. Ícais dno an gille don indell cétnae. Bisius dno an cethramad mbein co ndarba an inchind, conid apu Míoch, 7 atbert Díen-cécht nach n-ícfad lieig badesin o[n]t[s]laidhe sin.  
 Íarsin rohadhnocht la Díen-cécht Míoch, 7 ásaid cóic lube sescut ar trí cétuib tresin adhnocul, fo líon a altai 7 féthe.  
 This same story is told at *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* 7.3.0 and 7.329.
  26. is é [sc. Connla Cainbhrethach] dogne conflucht fris na Druidhe, asberddissidhe badur et do dena nem ocus talam ocus muir, 7rl. ocus grein ocus escca 7rl.
  27. Is fisigh cidh diandernad Adham .i. do vii rannaib: in céd rann do talmain; in dara rann do muir; in tres rand do ghrein; in cethramhad rann do nellaib; in

cuigid rann do gaith; in sé rann do clochaibh; in sechtmadh rann don spirad naomh.

Rann na talman, as í sin in colann in duine; rann na mara, is í sin fuil in duine; rann na greine a ghne 7 a dreach; rann na néll a imrádud; rann na gaoithe anal an duine; rann na cloch a chnamha; rann in spirada naoim a anim...

Text from Whitley Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1862), xl–xlii. Other Celtic versions of this anthropogony (often with eight parts rather than seven) are cited and discussed in H. L. C. Tristram, “Der ‘homo octipartitus’ in der irischen und altenglischen Literatur”, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 34 (1975): 119–153.

28. Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 6.16; Diodoros Sikelos 5.32.6; Tacitus *Annals* 14.30; Livy 38.47.12 (on the Asian Galati); and Athenaios 4.160E (citing Sopater on the Galati again: this is the earliest mention of human sacrifice among the Celts, and POWs are specified as the victims). On the Skythian practices, see Herodotos 4.62.
29. *Natural History* 30.13: *hominem occidere religiosissimum erat*.



## Some remarks on 'laryngeals' and Celtic

Fredrik Otto Lindeman

As is well known, the regular Celtic outcome of Indo-European preconsonantal *\*CR̥H-* is *\*[C]Rā-*, seen in forms like OIr. *lán*, W *llawn* < *\*[p]lā-no-* 'full' = Vedic *pūrṇá-*, OIr. *lám*, W *llaw(f)* < *\*[p]lā-mā* 'hand' = OE *folm*, OIr. *grán*, W *grawn* < *\*grā-no-* 'grain' = Latin *grānum*.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, however, *CaRa-* rather than *CRā-* seems to be the Celtic reflex of Indo-European precons. *\*CR̥H-*, e. g., *\*tara-tro-n* 'auger' > OIr. *tarathar*, W *taradr* (cf. Gk. *tétretron*, Lat. *terebra*), or *\*tala-mon-*, the stem form usually posited for OIr. *talam*, gen. sing. *talman*, m. 'earth'.<sup>2</sup> The *-aRa-* seen in such forms has been interpreted as a morphological zero-grade.<sup>3</sup> In an article entitled "The treatment of *\*CR̥H-* and the origin of *CaRa-* in Celtic",<sup>4</sup> L. S. Joseph finds, however, that the concept "morphological zero-grade" has been 'applied too loosely in the past to formations which we simply do not understand' (1982: 31), and he shows convincingly that a form like *\*tara-tro-n* cannot in any precise and meaningful way be referred to as a morphological zero-grade.<sup>5</sup> According to Joseph *\*tara-tro-n*, *\*tala-mon-* and similar formations are assimilation products from older *\*tera-tro-n*, *\*tela-mon-*, etc.<sup>6</sup>: '...in all of Celtic we have precisely one example of an e-grade to a TeRH-root: OIr. *do-cer* "fell": Ved. *ásarīt* "crushed"... Such e-grades are plentiful in Greek and Latin, but we find only this one trace of them in Celtic, whereas we do find TaRa- to many TeRH-roots, in categories for which an e-grade is expected or possible. This strongly suggests that these e-grades were eliminated phonologically. Let me state this formally: IE *\*e* > Celt. *a/\_RaCV-*, but remains as Celt. *e/\_Ra(C)#*. We need this last restriction to account for *do-cer* and for *e* in monosyllabic *ā*-stems like OIr. *ben* 'woman' < *\*g<sup>w</sup>enā* (Joseph 1982: 55).

It may well be that OIr. *tarathar* and *talam* go back ultimately to assimilated full-grade forms.<sup>7</sup> However, if there is assimilation here, its source can hardly be sought in Joseph's phonological rules which are incompatible with the following fact: PIE *\*e* is seen to remain as *e* in Celtic not only in *\*kera-t*, plural *\*kera-ntVr* (*\*k'erə*) > OIr. *-cer*, *-certar* or in *\*benā* 'woman' (*\*g<sup>w</sup>enā*) > OIr. *ben*,<sup>8</sup> but

but also in all forms of  $\bar{a}$ -subjunctives like  $*ber\bar{a}-t > \text{OIr. } -bera$  (cf. Lat. *ferat*),  $*bera-ntor > \text{OIr. } bertar$  (3. pl. pass. pres., cf. Lat. *ferantur*), and in a normal Celtic  $s$ -preterite like  $*wer\bar{a}ssi > \text{OIr. } ferais$  3. sing. abs. (: pres.  $*wer\bar{a}-ti$  'grants', seen in OIr. *feraid*). To my mind, such forms prove beyond doubt that PIE  $*e$  is regularly preserved as Celtic  $e$  before a resonant +  $\bar{a}$ . The origin of Celtic  $-aRa-$  here remains obscure to me. In his *Problèmes de linguistique indo-européenne* (1977: 183, Note 9), Kurylowicz sees an old phonological zero-grade  $*tr\bar{a}- < *tr\bar{a}-$  in Celtic  $*tara-tro-n$ , but his discussion (pp. 182 ff.) of the development of PIE  $*TR\bar{a}$  is not wholly intelligible to me.

In his article on  $*CRH-$  in Celtic, Joseph tries (1982: 42; cf. 51, 55) to justify another sound law which he formulates as follows:  $\#HR\bar{H}C- > \text{Celtic } H\bar{R}C- > aRC-$ . This phonological rule, which implies the survival in Celtic of at least one Proto-Indo-European 'laryngeal', is based on three doubtful examples and does not seem convincing to me:

As, according to Joseph (p. 42), 'a late Celtic sequence  $*(h_1)\eta h_3-m\eta$  would have given OIr.  $**n\bar{a}im$  or possibly  $**anaim$ ', OIr. *ainm* 'name' in his opinion goes back to Celtic  $*(h_1)\eta-m\eta < *(h_1)\eta h_3-m\eta$ . However, I am far from convinced that 'name' ever contained any 'laryngeals', see my detailed remarks in *The triple representation of Schwa in Greek*, 1982, p. 64 f.

OIr. *ard* 'high' is taken to come from Celtic  $*H_rdhwo- < *H_rHdhwo- = \text{Vedic } \bar{u}rdhv\bar{a}-$  'erectus', whereas Lat. *arduus* is thought to reflect  $*aradhuwo-$  or the like. It is doubtful, however, whether OIr. *ard* and Lat. *arduus* have anything to do with Vedic  $\bar{u}rdhv\bar{a}-$  which in any case cannot be from  $*H_rHdhwo-$ ; one would expect the latter to have given Vedic  $*\bar{u}rdhv\bar{a}-$ .<sup>9</sup> See further Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* A-87.

Finally, 'since in *arbur*,  $*w$  would have been preserved only if it was in contact with  $r$  very early' (p. 42), *arbur* is taken to come from Celtic  $*H_rwo- < *H_rH-wo-$ , a derivative from  $*H_2erH-$  'to plough', cf. Lat. *arvus* 'for ploughing'. However, an Indo-European full-grade  $*/H_2erH-wo-/$ , i. e., phonetically  $*[HarH-uo-]$  (with a vocalic suffix according to Sievers' Law) would have given  $*[ar-uo-]$  after the regular loss of the prevocalic 'laryngeals'; the latter form may later have given  $*[ar-wo-]$  by a sort of converse of Sievers' Law. A phonological parallel would be, e. g., Vedic *ján-ya- ~ ján-ya-* 'belonging to a race or family'  $< *[g'enH-io-] < */g'enH-yo-/$ .

As far as I am able to judge, we have no conclusive evidence that testifies to the survival of any autonomous 'laryngeal' in Celtic. If I am right in assuming a syncretism of the 'laryngeals' under one colour (*\*H*) in non-Anatolian Indo-European,<sup>10</sup> and if — as I believe — the loss of *\*H* took place in a dialectal period of non-Anatolian Indo-European,<sup>11</sup> it follows that the *\*H* in question can only have existed in a pre-Celtic dialect of Late-Indo-European. The following speculation might give some support to the assumption of the survival of an autonomous pre-Celtic 'laryngeal'. If the Indo-European word for 'wool', seen in Latin *lāna*, Lith. *vilna*, etc., is reconstructed as *\*Hw̥lHnaH* on the strength of Hitt. *hulana-*, *huliya-*,<sup>12</sup> and accepting that Indo-European preconsonantal *\*RH* may have given Celtic (and Latin, etc.) *\*RaH* (with an anaptyctic *a*), whence the attested *Rā*,<sup>13</sup> one might explain the formally obscure<sup>14</sup> Celtic words for 'wool' by assuming the following development: PIE *\*Hw̥lHnaH* > pre-Celtic *\*HwlaHnaH* (by anaptyxis) > *\*HwlanaH* (by a dissimilatory loss of the internal 'laryngeal'). In the latter form, the interconsonantal *\*w* may now have become vocalized in sandhi after a preceding word ending in a consonant, i.e., *\*...C HwlanaH* > *\*...C HulanaH*, whence OIr. *olann*.<sup>15</sup> The variant form *\*HwlanaH* (occurring after a preceding word ending in a vowel) would have given *\*wlanā*, whence Brit. *\*Wlan-* > *Wgwlan*. The suggested development of preconsonantal *\*RH* > *\*RaH* (> *Rā*) remains, however, far from certain.<sup>16</sup>

## Notes

1. See, e.g., Kuryłowicz, *Apophonie en indo-européen* 196 f.
2. Cf. Skt. *tala-* n. 'surface, level', *talima* n. 'ground for the site of a dwelling', and see Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* T-23.
3. See Kuryłowicz, *Apophonie* 199.
4. *Ériu* xxxiii, 1982, 31 ff.
5. Joseph's own definition is as follows (1982: 31 f.): 'I will use the term 'morphological zero grade' to refer to an ablaut grade which is not the result of regular phonological processes in the word in which it occurs; and which has been introduced to recharacterize a regular zero grade, in a morphological class in which zero grade was productive at the time of the replacement. This second restriction is the more important, and it is the one that has generally been ignored. In practice, it means that we can say that a stem contains a morphological zero grade only if it belongs to an inflectional category for which zero grade was the unmarked ablaut in Late Indo-European, and not in the pre-Proto-Indo-European of our theories.'



6. Cf. Cowgill, *Evidence for Laryngeals*<sup>2</sup> p. 150, Note 14.
7. There is nothing that forces us to accept a Celtic preform *\*tala-mon-* for OIr. *talam* 'earth': the latter may reflect Celtic *\*talā-mon-* in which *\*talā-* could be an old verbal stem in *\*-ā-* (or *\*-ō-*?) of the type *\*TR(H)-ā-*; for this type, see Meillet, *Introduction*<sup>8</sup> 209 ff. I do not understand E. P. Hamp's remarks on OIr. *talam* in *ÉC* xx p. 91.
8. E. Campanile thinks (*Incontri Linguistici* 3, 1, 21–28) that *mnáib* (dative plural of *ben* which is sometimes disyllabic in verse) goes back to *\*g<sup>w</sup>n-eH<sub>2</sub>-y-o-bhi(s)* > *\*g<sup>w</sup>nāyobhi(s)*, whence *mnáaib* (disyllabic), later *mnáib* (monosyllabic by contraction). This seems unconvincing to me as there is no trace of a thematic stem *\*g<sup>w</sup>neH<sub>2</sub>-e/o-* in the paradigm for 'woman', cf. Gk. *gunaika*, etc., Armen. *kanayk'*, *kanays*. The coexistence in OIr. of *bein* and *mnai* (dative sing.) makes it possible to conjecture that *mnáib* at some stage had a variant *\*benaib* (< *\*g<sup>w</sup>en-ābhi(s)*) beside it which may have caused *mnáib* to be used as a disyllable in verse according to the following analogical proportion: monosyllabic *bein*: monosyllabic *mnai* = disyllabic *\*benaib*: disyllabic *mnáaib*.
9. See, e. g., Kurylowicz, *Apophonie* 245.
10. See my *Triple representation of Schwa in Greek* p. 70.
11. *Triple representation of Schwa* p. 70.
12. See *IF* 77, 307; *The triple representation of Schwa* p. 58.
13. As suggested for the Latin reflex by Kuiper, *Die Sprache* 7, 20.
14. See Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique* O- 19 f.
15. Hitt. *hulana-* cannot, however, be explained in this way as *\*RH* here gives *aRh* (and presumably *aR* if the 'laryngeal' involved is *\*H<sub>1</sub>*).
16. See Lindemann, *Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie* p. 103–104.

# L'extraposition du prédicat verbal dans la créoles à base lexicale anglaise et française

Gabriel Manessy

Le thème de cette étude est pour tous les spécialistes d'une grande banalité en ce qu'il fait référence au phénomène dit de « topicalisation » considéré, en tant qu'il s'applique au verbe, comme l'un des plus sûrs indices de la parenté supposée entre créoles et langues africaines (cf. entre autres Alleyne 1980, Allsopp 1977, Baker – Corne 1982, Chumbow 1982, Corne s. d., Mittelsdorf 1978, Williams 1976, 1977). Une masse considérable de données a été produite et diversement exploitée; nous ne prétendons pas l'enrichir, mais seulement en proposer sur certains points une réinterprétation partielle et verser au débat l'opinion d'un africaniste. Il nous paraît nécessaire de préciser notre terminologie. Comme le propose J. Perrot (1978) nous établirons une discrimination entre deux modes d'organisation de l'information dont l'un désigne un des éléments du message comme « thème » appelant un commentaire et dont l'autre sélectionne un tel élément comme « focus » de l'assertion. En outre, nous admettrons que la focalisation<sup>1</sup> comporte deux modalités: la mise en relief d'une des composantes du message peut impliquer que le référent qu'elle désigne est opposé à tout autre de la même catégorie: « manger, il le fait volontiers (mais il ne travaille guère) », mais elle peut aussi en attester la pertinence, l'authenticité ou l'intensité: « (pour) manger, il mange ». Le français dispose, pour distinguer ces deux sortes de focalisation, du pro-verbe « faire » et de marques prosodiques explicites. En l'absence de tels repères ou dans l'ignorance de ceux-ci, les phrases à prédicat focalisé sont équivoques.<sup>2</sup> C'est là probablement ce qui explique l'indécision que manifeste W. R. Williams (1976: 142) dans la traduction d'énoncés krio tels que: *nà kúk mèrí dè kúk sô*<sup>3</sup> « It's cooking Mary is doing / Mary is really cooking », *nà bít dèn gò bít àm* « They're really going to beat him / They're going to give him a good beating ».

Le cas le plus favorable, pour l'analyste, est évidemment celui où chaque mode d'organisation du message, thématisation ou focalisation, a son propre mode d'expression syntaxique. Le créole

anglais<sup>4</sup> parlé sur le littoral africain, du Ghana au Cameroun, et traditionnellement appelé West African Pidgin English manifeste une telle correspondance. Chumbow (1982: 79) oppose clairement à *na Meri bi gud gel* «it's Mary that is a good girl», *Meri i bi gud gel* «Mary, she is a good girl», l'un et l'autre issus de *Meri bi gud gel* «Mary is a good girl». La focalisation est obtenue par extraposition du constituant mis en focus, précédé de *na*, qui ne paraît pas avoir d'autre emploi:<sup>5</sup> *na maket pita de go* «it is to the market that Peter is going» (Chumbow 1982: 81); la thématisation exige que le segment pris pour thème soit en position initiale et représenté par un pronom à la place que lui assigne la structure grammaticale de la phrase; l'une et l'autre peuvent affecter un même énoncé; ainsi dans *Pita na im bi dɔktɔ* «Peter, it's he that is a doctor» qui combine *Pita i bi dɔktɔ* «Peter he is a doctor» et *na Pita bi dɔktɔ* «it's Peter that is a doctor» (Chumbow 1982: 77). Il est remarquable que la double exigence qui caractérise en West African Pidgin-English la thématisation: position initiale du terme désignant le thème, «copie» pronominale de celui-ci au sein de la proposition, soit attestée dans des langues de structures très diverses, alors que les procédés de focalisation sont multiples. On y voit généralement l'effet d'une transformation impliquant extraction d'un constituant de la phrase de base et pronominalisation. En fait, il y a des langues où cette phrase de base n'a d'existence que théorique, ou plus exactement ne connaît un semblant de réalisation que lorsque le sujet est un pronom et désigne donc soit un ou des participants à l'acte de communication, soit un référent antérieurement évoqué ou supposé connu — où, en d'autres termes, le thème est donné d'avance et n'a pas à être exprimé. Si tel n'est pas le cas, on constate une dissociation des fonctions: le référent est nommé en tant que thème du message, puis repris par un pronom en tant que constituant du schème syntaxique. Du point de vue de la structure grammaticale de la phrase, on a affaire à une construction appositive. Ainsi en sango (Centrafrique), la forme canonique de la phrase est: *molenge a te nyama na lɔsɔ* «l'enfant (*molenge*) il (*a*) a mangé (*te*) de la viande (*nyama*) avec du riz (*na lɔsɔ*)»<sup>6</sup> ou bien *kosi a yeke gbia* «Kosi il (*a*) est (*yeke*) chef (*gbia*)» (Houis 1876: 3, 9); de même en swahili (et dans toutes les autres langues bantu): *wa-toto wa-natseza* «les enfants (*watoto*) ils (*wa-*) sont en train (*-na-* «progressif») de jouer (*-tfeza*)»; cp. *wa-na-tfeza* «ils sont en train de jouer» (Polomé 1967: 115); de même en français oral: «Jean, il a dit que...». En ce qui concerne la variété camerounaise du West African Pidgin-English,

C. de Féral (1980: 161) donne pour très fréquente la construction: *'dis 'wuman, i go 'kom tu 'moro* «cette femme, elle viendra demain» et indique que les phrases anglaises et françaises du questionnaire de Welmers employé au début de l'enquête ayant la structure N V (Nom + Verbe) ont été une fois sur deux environ traduites en créole par la construction N, *i* V, le même informateur fournissant indifféremment l'une ou l'autre traduction, ou les deux. Il est probable que des observations analogues pourraient être faites dans nombre d'autres langues; en tout cas les convergences signalées donnent à penser qu'on est là en présence d'autre chose que d'un artifice stylistique. Il est clair qu'on ne saurait tirer argument, dans une perspective généalogique, de la résurgence en quelque langue que ce soit de constructions de cette sorte qui ont chance d'appartenir aux structures élémentaires du langage. Tout au plus peut-on porter de telles résurgences au crédit de la fonctionnalité de langues appliquées principalement à un moment de leur histoire au transfert d'informations «référentielles» et utilisant pour cela les modes d'expression les plus explicites (Manessy 1981); sans invoquer d'hypothétiques pidgins originels, on peut raisonnablement penser que tel a été le rôle des parlers créoles en leurs débuts.

Ainsi, selon notre hypothèse, la phrase thématique serait l'expression grammaticale d'un mode probablement universel d'organisation du message. Il nous semble que la mise en focus implique, de par sa nature même, la référence à un énoncé neutre, sous-jacent dans la conscience du locuteur, et donc une manipulation de cet énoncé.

Dans les parlers franco-créoles des Petites Antilles, deux procédés de focalisation du prédicat coexistent. L'un est analogue à celui du français, à une restriction près: dans la «dislocation à gauche avec *pou*», un seul élément peut être «copié»: *pou manjé Pyè ka manjé zoranj* «pour manger des oranges, Pierre mange des oranges / Pierre en mange» (Bernabé 1983: 585).<sup>7</sup> En d'autres termes, c'est le verbe, et non pas le groupe verbal, qui est antéposé. D'autre part, ces parlers utilisent une transformation de clivage, bien décrite par J. Bernabé (1983: 592 sqq.): à la Martinique (M) comme à la Guadeloupe (G), les morphèmes mis en jeu sont le présentatif *sé* et le relatif *ki* (sujet) ~  $\emptyset$ : *sé Pyè ki rivé* (G, M) «c'est Pierre qui est arrivé», *sé Pyè nou vwè/wè* (G/M) «c'est Pierre que nous avons vu». La règle s'applique également au syntagme prépositionnel: *mèt-la ka palé ba zèlèw-la* «le maître parle à l'élève» peut engendrer *sé ba*

*zélèv-la/à mèt-la ka palé* (G/M) «c'est à l'élève que le maître a parlé». Jusque là, le procédé n'a rien qui puisse surprendre un locuteur du français; on en trouve un équivalent à peu près exact aux Seychelles, à cela près que le présentatif y est *sa* (Bollée 1977: 67) et que le morphème *ki* ne comporte pas de variante  $\emptyset$ : (*sa*) *divã ki n kas ban brãs kom sa* «c'est le vent qui a cassé les branches comme ça», (*sa*) *ban brãs ki divã in kase kom sa* «ce sont les branches que le vent a cassées comme ça», *kom sa ki divã in kas ban brãs* «c'est comme ça que le vent a cassé les branches» (Corne 1983: 8). En revanche des énoncés tels que (*sé*) *rivé Pyè rivé an lékòl-la* (de *Pyè rivé an lékòl-la* «Pierre est arrivé dans l'école»), *sé djaka/vidjò Pòl djaka/vidjò* (de *Pòl djaka* (G), *Pòl vidjò* (M) «Paul est vigoureux»; Bernabé 1983: 607–608) ne sont pas directement traduisibles en français, celui-ci ne disposant d'autre moyen syntaxique de focaliser le prédicat que de l'insérer, en position initiale, dans la construction appositive précitée. Le créole haïtien et celui de la Dominique offrent des exemples semblables: ha. *se gro li gro* «it's really big», *sé manjé li té manjé* «he really ate» (Valdman 1970: 214, 215), dom. *se las mwê te las* «c'est que j'étais las», *se mô i ka mô* «c'est qu'il se meurt» (Taylor 1968: 1046). L'explication la plus simple que l'on puisse donner de ce phénomène est l'extension de la règle française à l'ensemble des constituants de l'énoncé, ou plus exactement la suppression d'une contrainte qui excluait l'un de ceux-ci de son champ d'application. Si une telle interprétation devait être retenue, il faudrait admettre que le créole mauricien représente, du point de vue typologique, un état intermédiaire entre français et créoles antillais en ce que le clivage n'y affecte pas le prédicat verbal (Papen 1978: 525 sqq.) sauf dans des phrases négatives à valeur d'antiphrase: *napa rode ki zot ti rode, ler Zan ti perdi so lasen lor* «they really searched diligently when Jeanne lost her gold chain» (Baker–Corne 1982: 86). L'interprétation de *napa* comme présentatif négatif est fondée sur l'analogie de forme et de fonction avec *na pa*, *ne pa* en créole réunionnais, que Papen (1978: 534) donne pour équivalents à *le pa*, *la pa* où *le* (*la*) est «copule»: *na pa mwê* «it's not me», *lete pa mwê* «it wasn't me».

Les créoles anglais d'Afrique et d'Amérique présentent des constructions apparemment tout à fait semblables à celles qui viennent d'être examinées: Mittelsdorf (1978: 146) met en parallèle, pour la structure syntaxique, jam. *a jan wi a taak bout*, où *jan* est le terme focalisé (cp. *wi a taak bout jan*) et angl. *it is John we are talking about*. Un autre parallèle est fourni par les «wh- questions»

où *a* jamaïcain précède immédiatement le pronom interrogatif: *a huu put i de* (dérivé de *huu put i de* <qui l'a mis ici?>) correspond à la <topicalisation> du pronom interrogatif anglais au moyen de *is it* suivi d'une relative: *who is it that put it there?* Le *a* introductif du jamaïcain est tenu par Bailey (1966: 85–86; cité par Mittelsdorf 1978: 146–147) pour <possibly identical with the equating verb> dont il est homophone. Tout semble indiquer que nous avons affaire là à un phénomène de clivage. Comme dans les créoles français, mais contrairement à l'usage anglais, le clivage peut concerner le constituant prédicatif: jam. *a sik samwel sik* <Samuel is really sick>, *a tief jan tief di manggo* <John really did steal the mangoes>. Allsopp (1977: 434), Mittelsdorf (1978: 150) et Corne (s. d.: 8), entre autres, fournissent des exemples analogues pour les parlers de Guyane, de Trinidad, le djuka, le sranan aussi bien que pour le Negerhollands et le papiamentu. On est tenté d'expliquer les faits anglo-créoles du moins par le processus invoqué à propos des créoles français: la généralisation du procédé de clivage à l'ensemble des constituants de l'énoncé. Une telle extension qui peut être conçue, ainsi que nous l'avons dit, comme la suppression de limitations arbitraires (c'est-à-dire sans justification fonctionnelle) à l'application d'une règle est un trait fréquemment observé dans les variétés véhiculaires. Il n'est pas certain cependant que cette interprétation soit ici correcte. On peut tenir en effet pour avéré que dans les créoles anglais, du moins en sranan, en jamaïcain, en krio et en Pidgin-English du Nigeria, la valence du lexème extraposé est substantive, quoiqu'il se présente, en apparence, comme une <copie> du verbe de la proposition relative. La preuve en est apportée par son aptitude à recevoir des déterminants nominaux, l'article en particulier; les exemples cités par Alleyne (1980: 103–104) sont tout à fait probants: sranan: *a soso pley mi ben pley* <it is mere play I played, I merely played> (cp. *a pley mi ben pley nang a wroko* <it is play I played with the work, I merely played with the work>); jamaïcain: *a wan ple mi bin ple* <it is one play that I played, I really played>; krio: *noto kɔmɔn kray mi bin kray* <it was not common cry I cried, I really cried>.<sup>8</sup> De même on trouve en Pidgin-English nigerian: *na bad fait dem de go fait fɔ skul* <it's a bad fight that they are going to fight at school> (cp. *na fait dem de go fait fɔ skul* <it's fighting that they are going to fight at school>, dérivé de *dem de go fait fɔ skul* <they are going to fight at school>); dans des constructions qui combinent thématization et focalisation, le lexème mis en focus peut même être représenté par un pronom: *rɔn na im Ade rɔn fɔlo mɔto* <running it's what Ade ran



(what Ade did) after car» (cp. *na rən Ade rən fəlo mɔto* issu par clivage de *Ade rən fəlo mɔto* «Ade ran after a car») (Chumbow 1982: 71–72).<sup>9</sup>

Corne et Baker (1982: 87), s'appuyant sur une remarque de Taylor (1977: 184), attribuent à *kuri* dans la phrase *tut kuri mwê kuri, mwê pa te sa jwên yo* (Lesser Antillean' selon la terminologie de Taylor: «run as I might, I was unable to overtake them») une valence substantive: «Here, nominal determinants precede the fronted predicate head». Ils reproduisent en fait les conclusions de Taylor, fondées sur la confrontation de la phrase citée<sup>10</sup> avec l'exemple jamaïcain *aal di lie dem foul-ya lie, (dem no kaal fi set)* «however much these hens lay, (they don't stop to sit)»: «Here, the nominal status of the first occurrence of LA *kuhwi* and of JC *lie* is made evident by the preceding indefinite determinants, LA *tut* and JA *aal* «all, every», as well as by the definite article *di* «the» of the latter creole». Cette analyse ne nous paraît pas convaincante; s'il est certain que *aal di lie* est un groupe nominal et que *aal* y assume la fonction d'adjectif, rien n'autorise à en dire autant de *tut*. Sa valeur concessive incite à y voir plutôt un adverbe de quantité, comparable à «tout» dans des locutions françaises telles que «tout malin qu'il est» (dérivé de «il est malin»). J. Bernabé (1983: 1480 sqq) décrit avec précision, en créole martiniquais et guadeloupéen, ces propositions concessives introduites par le morphème *tou* ~ *tout*, facultativement précédé de *magré*: *tou palé i ka palé fò la/a i pa mové* (G/M) «il a beau parler fort, il n'est pas méchant»: «En français créolisé de la Guadeloupe et de la Martinique, la traduction de cette phrase pourrait être: «tout parle qu'il parle fort la, il n'est pas méchant» ... ou (beaucoup plus rarement): «Tout parler qu'il parle fort la, il n'est pas méchant»» (Bernabé 1983: 1480 sqq). Il est probable que le second énoncé est à mettre au compte de la décréolisation. L'affirmation de Bernabé est corroborée par une remarque de G. Hazaël-Massieux (1981: 59, n. 30) au sujet de la transcription proposée par D. Taylor d'un énoncé en français local des Antilles «c'est tomber que je suis tombé»: «Nous ferons toute restriction sur la notation orthographique de Taylor qui en écrivant «tomber» postule un infinitif, c'est-à-dire un élément nominal, alors que nous avons pu relever «Dors tu dors, comme c'est là», et «c'est mangeons que nous mangeons»». Bernabé cite aussi «c'est parle que nous parlons», «c'est parlons que nous parlons» dont le modèle créole est *sé palé nou ka palé* (G, M) (Bernabé 1982: 1482, n. 1). Il est extrêmement douteux que le terme extrapposé soit perçu comme

nominal en créole puisque, transposé en français, il y reçoit automatiquement les attributs du verbe.<sup>11</sup>

Malgré leur analogie superficielle, les phrases clivées à prédicat focalisé dans les créoles français d'une part, anglais d'autre part diffèrent donc sur un point important. Il est possible que cette disparité dans le traitement du lexème extraposé soit l'indice d'une discordance plus profonde au niveau des structures sous-jacentes. On a depuis longtemps et, nous semble-t-il, à bon droit, mis en évidence le parallélisme existant entre les constructions anglo-créoles qui viennent d'être examinées et celles que l'on constate dans diverses langues africaines parlées sur les côtes du Golfe de Guinée (Bailey 1966: 95; Bynoe-Andriolo — Yillah 1975: 234; Williams 1976: 132; Allsopp 1977: 434; Mittelsdorf 1978: 149; Alleyne 1980: 171; Chumbow 1982: 78; Baker — Corne 1982: 87; Corne s. d.: 11). Etant donné ce que l'on sait du peuplement servile des Antilles et compte tenu de la localisation actuelle des créoles africains, il paraît raisonnable de limiter l'enquête à ces langues; mais l'aire d'affinité définie par le phénomène en question est certainement beaucoup plus vaste; elle inclut apparemment le nupe (Allsopp 1977: 435), le hausa (Chumbow 1982: 70), le temne, le kikuyu (Bynoe-Andriolo — Yillah 1975: 234) et probablement nombre d'autres langues.<sup>12</sup> Encore faut-il que les faits invoqués ne se réduisent pas à des analogies de surface. En ewe (Togo méridional), il existe un morphème *-ê*, *-yê* dont la fonction est de focaliser le nom (cf. Westermann 1961: 65, <é: ist es>): *dèvi-à-ê dzè ànyí* <c'est cet enfant (*dèvi-à*) qui est tombé (*dzè*) par terre (*ànyí*)> (Lafage 1985: 265); mais *-ê* est commutable avec d'autres modalités nominales: *-hã* marquant la similitude, *-kò* la restriction, *-ké* l'opposition, et n'apparaît pas après une base verbale. Celle-ci peut se trouver en tête d'une phrase exclamative: *sí é-sí* <oh! il s'est sauvé!> (cp. fr. <Parti! il est parti!>), mais il ne s'agit pas ici de clivage (Lafage 1985: 373). La situation est plus complexe en twi (fanti-asante; Ghana). S. Mittelsdorf (1978: 149) signale, d'après Christaller (1964: 149) et sous l'autorité de J. Berry, la fréquence d'une construction emphatique comportant un élément extraposé relié à la proposition dont il est extrait (et où il est représenté par un pronom, sauf s'il désigne un référent inanimé) par le morphème *-na* «or by one or two of the emphatic particles *de*, *mmon*, *ɲkō*, *ara*, with or without *na*, or merely by a short pause...» (Christaller 1964: 149). Cette présentation des faits est passablement confuse; les particules emphatiques sont souvent ajou-



tées à un nom ou à un pronom «to render the distinction of the respective person or thing from others more prominent... *onó nkō* he alone... *Mé dé, mé kó*, as for me, I shall go...» (Christaller 1964: 49); il s'agit apparemment ici, dans le cas de *dé* du moins, d'un procédé de thématization, pour les autres particules peut-être de simples marques d'insistance (cf. Christaller 1933, s. u. *ára, dé, mmo, nkō*). L'utilisation de *na* implique au contraire focalisation sélective: *má-agi 'á na óbaí*. «It was my father (*má-agi 'á*) who came (*óbaí*)»<sup>13</sup> (Welmers 1966: 69), *méara nà merebeyé* «I myself shall do (*yé; -rebé*: futur proche) it» (Christaller 1964: 147). L'infinitif, c'est-à-dire le substantif dérivé du lexème verbal au moyen d'un préfixe *ɔ-* (ou *a-*, ou *n-*; Christaller 1964: 68) peut figurer dans de telles constructions: *ɔyáw nkō ara nà wote hó yàw* «they live in continual quarreling» (*yàw*: insulter, injurier). Thème et focus peuvent être présents dans un même énoncé: *atadé dé otú nà wótú hō na wontwíw* «as for a coat (*atadé*), it is brushed (*wo-* 3 sg, *-tú hō* «brosser») but not cleaned (*-n-* négation, *twíw* «essuyer»)». Le focalisateur *na* est homophone de la conjonction de coordination *na*; selon Christaller (1933: 324), il s'agit du même morphème; Welmers (1966: 69) hésite à admettre cette identité et propose de voir dans le focalisateur la contraction du suffixe démonstratif *-nú* et de la conjonction relative *áà*, tout en reconnaissant que cette hypothèse ne trouve de confirmation ni sur le plan morphophonologique ni sur le plan syntaxique. En achanti (asante) du moins, il n'y a pas simple juxtaposition des deux membres de l'énoncé; à une question telle que *hóáñ nà ɔ-bɔɔ áhwíhwé nówó?* «qui est-ce qui a cassé la vitre?», la réponse pourrait être *ñkɔdà á nów nà yè-bɔɔ áhwíhwé nówó* «ce sont les gamins qui ont cassé la vitre», ou plus brièvement *ñkɔdàá nów* «les gamins»; la proposition qui suit *nà* est subordonnée au terme qui le précède; en témoignent la modification du schème tonal de *yè-bɔɔ* «ils ont cassé» et la voyelle postfinale *-ɔ* (Boakye 1982: 93). La structure d'une telle phrase devient intelligible si l'on tient compte d'une indication donnée par Christaller (1964: 147): le terme initial peut être «expanded into a proper sentence... by premising the word *eyé*, «it is, it was» ou bien *enyé* «it is not» dans les phrases négatives: *enyé me, eyé wɔɔ na ékãé* «not I, (but) they told it» (où *é* est un pronom indéfini). Si l'on suppose plutôt qu'une adjonction occasionnelle un effacement fréquent de la copule, la construction *twi* n'apparaît pas comme fondamentalement différente de celle que nous avons rencontrée dans les créoles anglais.

Le baoulé (Côte d'Ivoire) dispose d'un procédé de focalisation du nom qui consiste à détacher en tête de la phrase le terme à mettre en relief, suivi de *yε*; *yε* (ou *ɲε* en élocution rapide) est un présentatif: *klɔ kpɛgbɛ ɲε* «voici le chef de village!». La proposition d'où le terme est extrait, et où il est éventuellement représenté par un pronom, se termine par la particule *ɔ*; il semble d'autre part qu'elle subisse des modifications prosodiques («écarts tonaux très atténués» selon Carteron 1972: 89): *ndo mu yε be wūni be* «ce sont des singes qu'ils ont vus» (*be wūni ndo mu* «ils ont vu des singes»), *bla mu yε'be si agba* «ce sont des femmes qui pilent le manioc» (*bla mu be si agba* «les femmes pilent le manioc»). Le prédicat verbal ne peut être extraposé qu'après nominalisation au moyen du suffixe déverbatif *-lε*: *wādileyε ɔ wādili ɔ* «courir, il a couru» (cp. *ɔ wādili* «il a couru»; *ɔ wādi* «il court»; S. Lafage, communication personnelle); encore cette possibilité est-elle contestée par notre informateur, M. Yao, qui n'accepte que *wādile ti yε ɔ wādili ɔ*, de sens différent; «il a couru pour (la plaisir de) courir», et où *wādile* est le déterminant de *ti* «cause» (litt. «tête»; cf. Carteron 1972, lexique s. u. *ti*).

Pour le bini (ou edo) et le yoruba, tous deux parlés au Nigeria méridional, à l'ouest du delta du Niger, B. S. Chumbow (1982: 68 – 69) établit sous forme de traductions un parallèle frappant avec le créole nigérian; soient les énoncés: *Meri raid baisikul go maket* (créole) «Mary rode a bicycle to the market», *òlú gū kèkē l̄́ sí ɔ́dʒà* (yoruba) «Olu rode (*gū*) a bicycle to (*l̄́*, lit. «go») the market (*ɔ́dʒà*)» d'une part, *dɛm de go fait tɔ skul* (créole) «they are going to fight at school», *òlú já gbínāΦè èsòkú* (edo) «Olu went (*já*) to fight (*gbínā*) at school» d'autre part. Dans les deux premiers, la focalisation du prédicat traduit par «ride» en anglais donne respectivement: *na raid Meri raid baisikul go maket* «what Mary did was ride a bicycle to the market (implying she did not push it)», *gīgū nī òlú gū kèkē l̄́ sí ɔ́dʒà*, même sens; de même pour «fight» dans les deux derniers énoncés: *na fait dɛm de go fait fɔ skul*, *ìgbìnà èré òlú já gbínā Φè èsòku*. En edo, *èré* est décrit par H. J. Melzian (1942: 21) comme une particule servant à mettre en relief le mot ou le groupe de mots qui la précède (mais ailleurs traduit par all. «sein», par ex. p. 25) et défini par D. M. Munro (1967, s. u. «be») comme «linking verb»; *ìgbìnà* est un nom verbal (Melzian 1942: 81. n. 1) et il occupe dans l'exemple cité la même place que le substantif focalisé dans: *èwá èr(é) ìxiē* «ce sont des nattes (*èwá*) que j'achète» (Melzian 1942: 25). Nous sommes mieux renseigné sur la structure des

exemples yoruba. Dans une phrase telle que *bàbá ra bàtá lé.kó* «father bought shoes in Lagos», les constituants sujet et complément peuvent être focalisés au moyen d'un morphème *ni ~ l* (*l* devant voyelle autre que *i*): *bàbá l ó ra bàtá lé.kó* «father was the person that bought shoes in Lagos», *lé.kó ni bàbá ti ra bàtá*,<sup>14</sup> «it was in Lagos that father bought shoes», *ríra ni bàbá ra bàtá lé.kó* «it was buying that father bought shoes in Lagos» (Bamgboṣe 1966: 154). Ce morphème *ni* implique à la fois identification: *ilé ni* «it's a house» et assertion de l'actualité du fait: *ó ra ewúré ni* «the point is that he bought a goat» (Welmers 1973: 313). La proposition postposée à *ni* (*ilé ni mo rí* «it's a house I saw» Welmers 1973: 313) fait fonction d'expansion, de spécification complémentaire: lorsque la personne et éventuellement le nombre sont marqués dans le premier terme, un simple anaphorique, le pronom 3 sg *ó*, assume dans le second la fonction sujet: *èmi l ó ra ewúré* «it was I who bought a goat», *àwòn l ó ra ewúré* (ou *awòn ni wón ra ewúré*) «it was they who bought a goat» (Welmers 1973: 313). Pour focaliser le prédicat, on construit une phrase de cette sorte dont le premier terme comporte le substantif dérivé du lexème verbal par redoublement de la consonne initiale suivie de *i*. Ce substantif semble se comporter comme tous les autres; cp. *jíjé l ó jé ifu náà* «actually, he ate the yams» et *ifu jíjé* «the eating of yams» (Welmers 1973: 257).

L'apparition de ce substantif verbal, en yoruba et dans les autres langues examinées, pose un problème auquel le recours à la notion de «nominalisation», plus descriptive qu'explicative, n'apporte guère de solution. L'igbo, la plus orientale des langues kwa, dont l'aire s'étend au Nigeria à l'est du Niger et au nord du Delta, dispose d'un double procédé de focalisation, susceptible peut-être de jeter quelque lumière sur cette question. Tout constituant d'une phrase simple, sauf le verbe, peut être focalisé au moyen de *ó bọ̀* («it is») ... *kà*, ce dernier morphème n'apparaissant pas lorsque l'élément focalisé est le sujet. Soit l'énoncé: *nnà m zòrò éwú écí* «my father (*nnà m*) bought a goat (*éwú*) yesterday», on peut en dériver *ó bọ̀ nnà m zòrò éwú* «it was my father who bought a goat», *ó bọ̀ éwú kà nnà m zòrò* «it was a goat that my father bought», (*ó bọ̀*) *écí kà ó zòrò yà* «it was yesterday that he bought it» (Welmers 1973: 312). Tout ceci n'est guère différent de ce que nous avons constaté en yoruba et en edo et présente de fortes analogies avec le procédé twi. D'autre part, l'igbo fait grand usage d'un «nom» dérivé de la base verbale par préfixation de *a-* (si la voyelle de la base est lâche) ou *e-* (dans le cas contraire; cf. Abraham 1967: 37). Ce nom verbal

sert à former des périphrases de sens progressif: *ó nà àbyá* 'he is coming', *ó gà àbyá* 'he's going to come' (Welmers 1973: 312); il participe aussi à une figure étymologique très usuelle: *ó lólò ólò* 'he worked', *ó dàlù ádá* 'he fell', *chíkēè jènà èjéná* 'Chike is on his way (lit. Chike is going (a) going)' (E. N. Emenanjo 1975: 163). Bien que le nom verbal y occupe la position dévolue au complément d'objet, on ne peut tenir pour objectale la relation qui l'unit au verbe; il peut être en effet apposé à une périphrase dont il est lui-même un constituant: *ó nà-àbíá ábíá* 'he is on is way (lit. he is coming (a) coming)' (E. N. Emenanjo 1975: 88); il est en outre compatible avec un complément d'objet explicitement exprimé: *àyorugbúraahàayó* 'did one (à: impersonnel) sift (*iyó*) that (*áhá*) cassava (*ìgbóró*) sifting (*áyó*)' ('was that cassava sifted?'; Swift 1962: 328). Dans une telle phrase, le nom verbal fonctionne 'as an emphatic signal'; il faut apparemment comprendre que le procès verbal lui-même est 'mis en focus'. Pour retrouver un équivalent plus ou moins proche des constructions twi, baoulé, edo ou yoruba, il suffirait de supposer l'extension à un nom verbal ainsi inclus dans une figure étymologique de la règle qui s'applique aux constituants nominaux de l'énoncé. Réciproquement, il faudrait postuler dans le cas du twi, du baoulé, de l'edo et du yoruba l'existence de phrases sous-jacentes comportant de telles figures. Cette interprétation n'est aucunement nouvelle. Williams (1976: 189, n. 3) la réfute vigoureusement. La discussion de ses arguments est hors de notre propos. Sa position diffère de la nôtre en ce qu'il tient la forme qu'il appelle 'cognate object' pour un substantif déverbal employé comme complément d'un verbe, la seule particularité de cette construction consistant en ce que le verbe et son complément sont formés sur une même base — ce qui ne permet guère de rendre compte des cas où le 'cognate object' est accolé à un verbe intransitif ou bien se trouve en concurrence avec un substantif objet. Nous pensons que la relation entre les deux termes d'une figure étymologique est d'une autre nature et qu'elle peut être interprétée comme le résultat d'une sorte de dédoublement du prédicat verbal en un élément aoristique, nommant le procès, et un élément support d'éventuelles modalités verbales.<sup>15</sup> E. N. Emenanjo (1975: 171) parle pour l'igbo de 'verbal complex': «A verbal complex is here defined as any combination of a verbal and a noun which are so mutually obligatory and inseparable that they always function as a semantic unit»; il peut arriver que la définition lexicale du terme verbal se réduise à sa valence même: dans *ma mmā* 'être

beau», *mmā* désigne la beauté, mais on ne peut assigner aucun sens à *ma*. Lorsqu'au contraire le terme verbal du complexe est étymologiquement et sémantiquement apparenté au terme aoristique, il en résulte un effet d'insistance (Swift 1962: 160) équivalent à la focalisation du prédicat. L'originalité des langues kwa ci-dessus mentionnées, par rapport à l'igbo, consisterait non seulement en la généralisation du procédé de focalisation appliqué aux constituants non-verbaux de l'énoncé, mais en la pleine nominalisation du terme aoristique. Au demeurant, l'objet de cette étude n'est pas d'élucider le mécanisme de focalisation du prédicat dans les langues du Golfe de Guinée, mais de mettre en évidence la remarquable analogie typologique que l'on peut constater sur ce point entre certaines de ces langues et les créoles anglais; le fait même de la nominalisation du prédicat verbal extraposé, quel que soit le processus mis en œuvre, est trop singulier pour qu'on y puisse voir un simple phénomène de convergence.

En résumé, les faits évoqués se situent à trois niveaux, de généralité décroissante. La focalisation du prédicat est un phénomène commun aux créoles français et anglais et à d'autres aussi; nous y voyons un trait de fonctionnalité, la suppression d'une contrainte pesant sur une règle qui s'applique d'autre part à tous les autres constituants de l'énoncé. Le procédé qu'utilisent les créoles anglais pour effectuer cette focalisation est étranger aux créoles français qui conservent au lexème verbal extraposé sa valence verbale. En revanche, il est commun aux premiers et à nombre de langues africaines. Cependant, le parallélisme entre langues kwa et créoles anglais ne s'étend pas au-delà du domaine typologique. En créole, le présentatif précède toujours l'élément focalisé qui n'est relié à la proposition suivante par aucun morphème explicite, sinon peut-être prosodique. Dans les langues africaines, le présentatif est postposé; la seule exception concerne le twi, mais on y trouve, reliant le premier membre de la phrase au second, une conjonction qui, bien que homophone du *na* attesté en krio et en créole nigérian, n'y correspond ni pour la position ni pour la fonction. Ce qui est commun aux créoles anglais et aux langues du Golfe de Guinée, c'est un modèle syntaxique dont on peut supposer qu'il faisait partie de la compétence grammaticale des premiers créolisants ou du moins de beaucoup d'entre eux, mais dont la mise en œuvre s'est effectuée de manière originale, lors de l'élaboration des créoles en question. Qu'elle y ait abouti à des résultats fort semblables incite à poser le problème de la monogénèse des créoles anglais (du moins de ceux

qui sont parlés en Afrique et aux Amériques). En tout cas, les faits examinés semblent corroborer la doctrine de M. C. Alleyne (1980) concernant la « base africaine » des parlers anglo-créoles du Nouveau Monde.

## Notes

1. Nous emploierons ce terme de préférence à « topicalisation » dont le sens est souvent mal défini; cf. Dubois et al. (1973): « le constituant Emphase topicalise le syntagme porteur d'emphase » (s. u. emphase, 187): « *emphatiser une phrase*, c'est lui faire subir une transformation emphatique » (s. u. emphatiser, 188), « focaliser, syn. de emphatiser » (s. u. focaliser, 215). Corne (s. d.: 2) emploie « topicalisation » dans l'acception que nous donnons à « focalisation ».
2. Le défaut de pro-verbe explique peut-être la curieuse expression guyanaise citée par Corne (s. d.: 11): *se pa faše mo vle faše to* « It is not that I want fo anger you », qui paraît être la négation d'un énoncé affirmatif tel que *\*se faše mo vle faše to* et dont l'équivalent serait, dans un français non-académique: « c'est pas te fâcher que je veux (faire) ».
3. *nà* est identifié par Williams à la copule; *dè* est une marque de progressif, *sô* un intensif.
4. Nous emploierons par commodité « créoles anglais », « créoles français » à la place des périphrases encombrantes: « créoles à base lexicale anglaise », « créoles à base lexicale française » sans pour autant conférer à ces termes aucune connotation généalogique.
5. Chumbow (1982: 62) signale une possibilité de « variation libre » avec la copule *bi* dans des constructions telles que *Pita na/bi tif* « Peter is a thief », *Osa an im sista na/bi god pipul* « Osa and his sister are God's people ». Nous ne sommes pas sûr que la structure syntaxique des phrases en *na* et des phrases en *bi* soit la même. Ici encore, une analyse prosodique pourrait être fructueuse.
6. Les principes orthographiques appliqués à la transcription des langues africaines varient selon les langues, et selon les auteurs. Pour la commodité du lecteur, on a ici autant que possible unifié cette transcription selon les préceptes de l'Institut International Africain (I. A. I.).
7. Le créole haïtien utilise *ala* au lieu de *pou*: *ala manjé, yo manjé* (Valdman 1970: 214).
8. *noto* est en Pidgin-English du Nigeria comme en krio la négation de la phrase à focus: *na Pita de go skul* « c'est Pierre qui est en train d'aller à l'école », *noto Pita de go skul* « ce n'est pas Pierre... »
9. E. Y. Bynoe-Andriolo et M. Sorie Yillah (1975: 237) aboutissent à la même conclusion (« The first thing to be noted ... about the syntax of the emphatic cleft, is that the copy of the verb base has lost its verbal nature, has ceased to be a verb »), avec des arguments différents: la « copie » ne peut recevoir ni marques aspecto-temporelles, ni complément d'objet; en outre elle est précédée d'un « Noun Phrase Introducer » qu'on ne trouve que devant des noms.
10. Phrase orthographiée: *tut kuhwi mwē kuhwi*; il s'agit d'un énoncé en créole de la Dominique; cf. Taylor (1977: 218).



11. Une interprétation différente est suggérée, avec prudence, par A. Valdman (1978: 272). Il constate que la focalisation d'un verbe ou d'un adjectif s'accompagne souvent de l'emploi d'intensifs parmi lesquels *de* et *kat*, sans doute dérivés des numéraux «deux» et «quatre». La confrontation d'énoncés tels que: *sé kat palab* «il y eut des discussions interminables, lit. c'est quatre palabres» et *sé kat manjé ti bouay-la manjé* «ce garçon a mangé comme quatre» incite à reconnaître à la «copie» extraposée du verbe *manjé* un statut nominal. Cependant, outre que les deux constructions ne sont pas homologues (clivage dans un cas, simple énoncé à présentatif dans l'autre), le second exemple cité par Valdman: *sé kat fronté ti bouay-la fronté* «pour être insolent, cet enfant l'est vraiment», semble attester la valeur adverbiale de *kat*. Peut-être faut-il mettre cet usage en rapport avec un «numerical slang» analogue à celui que signale Baker (1972: 144) à l'île Maurice.
12. Nous n'avons pas trouvé, dans la documentation que nous disposons, d'équivalent de l'énoncé wolof cité par Allsopp (1977) *ragal la ragal rek* «fear it is fear only = he is/they are really frightened», dont la structure syntaxique n'est pas claire; pour les constructions de ce type, cf. Sauvageot (1965: 201).
13. /'/: «Heightening of vowels» (Welmers 1966: 9).
14. «*se, ti* or *gbé* are found as preverbs in rankshifted clauses qualifying a nominal head and in thematic clauses... *èkó l ó ti bèrè* «it was in Lagos that he started»» (Bamgboṣe 1966: 72–73); *ṣ* note *f* dans l'orthographe yoruba et *ɛ*, *ε*.
15. Un tel dédoublement est attesté en nzakala (Centrafrique): une construction très usuelle consiste en la juxtaposition de la forme non-marquée du verbe et de sa «forme en -a», où -a est apparemment une marque d'assertion; le complément d'objet précède la seconde: *gùdé lītī mápà lītā* «l'enfant (*gùdé*) a dévoré le pain (*mápà*)». La compacité de la locution est manifestée par l'apocope qui frappe fréquemment le premier terme en l'absence de complément d'objet intercalé: *kɔ ɲɔwɔkɔ ɲɔwɔkɔ* / *kɔ ɲɔwɔɲɔwɔkɔ* «il s'en est allé», *kɔ ɲimɪ ɲima na aba kɔ* / *kɔ ɲɲima...* «il s'est querellé avec ses camarades». Rien n'autorise cependant à attribuer à ce premier terme une valence nominale.

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## Les champs sémantiques de la racine \*H<sub>2</sub>ei-g- en grec

Jacqueline Manessy-Guitton

0. Le radical grec αἰγ- apparaît dans un nombre important de termes qu'il semble au premier abord impossible de réunir dans une même unité tant est grande la variété des domaines sémantiques qu'ils représentent. Ceux que nous avons retenus dans cette étude — partielle — peuvent se classer ainsi:

1. Mouvement en avant, projection: αἰγίζω et ses composés.
2. «escarpé»: αἰγίλιψ
3. «lumière»: αἴγλη
4. noms d'animaux: αἶξ «chèvre», αἰγιθος et αἰγίθαλος «mésange», αἰγοθήλας «engoulement», αἰγώλιος «effraie»
5. noms de végétaux: αἰγίς «cœur de pin», αἰγειρος «peuplier noir», αἰγίλωψ «chêne», αἰγίλωψ «graminée», αἰγινος «ciguë», αἰγίλιψ «saule», αἰγυλῖς «gattilier», αἰγίλος, αἰγικόν «plantes que mangent les chèvres»
6. arme: αἰγανέη «javelot»
7. maladies: αἰγίς «tache sur la pupille», αἰγίς «fistule lacrimale», αἰγίλωψ «id.»

En présence d'un tel corpus on peut considérer ces désignations sémantiquement si diverses comme des manifestations de surface d'une unité de sens profonde qui les soutendrait toutes. Ce procédé est en fait celui qui est mis en œuvre dans les dictionnaires étymologiques comme celui de J. Pokorny et dont E. Benveniste a montré les faiblesses<sup>1</sup>. Dans le cas qui nous intéresse ici le problème se complique du fait que les mots du groupe αἰγ- désignent rarement des procès (αἰγίζω et ses composés) mais plutôt des «objets» matériels (objets proprement dits, animaux, végétaux etc.) et qu'on ne peut appliquer immédiatement la technique préconisée par E. Benveniste, à savoir «chercher s'il existe un emploi où ces ... sens recouvrent leur unité». En revanche, on peut tenter une analyse structurale inspirée des travaux de P. Guiraud et des recherches de J. Taillardat<sup>2</sup> et fondée sur une double enquête: a) dégager parmi les traits sémiqes distinctifs qui forment le sémantème des diverses

réalités exprimées celui qui a des chances d'être véhiculé par la racine proposée; b) dégager le sens de la racine des formes verbales où s'exprime un procès et voir si ce sens (ou les sens qui en sont issus) a pu fournir au moins l'un des traits sémiologiques de chacune des désignations envisagées.

1. Sans doute la part de l'arbitraire reste-t-elle encore importante. Une réalité matérielle peut être désignée soit par des traits extérieurs (forme des parties caractéristiques, saveur, matière, couleur), soit par des traits non visibles (destination, origine géographique ou historique, propriétés). En privilégier un qui corresponde au sens de la racine peut paraître un exercice d'ingéniosité plus qu'un acte scientifique. Pour éviter ce danger autant que faire se peut, on recherchera dans les textes grecs anciens (descriptions techniques, proverbes, textes littéraires) les traits qu'ils ont eux-mêmes retenus et, en ce qui concerne la racine, on cherchera à montrer qu'elle est susceptible d'engendrer un métaphorisant qui puisse être le point de départ d'une matrice métaphorique apte à expliquer la dénomination: par ex. la racine *\*aig-* «mouvement en avant» peut-elle fournir un métaphorisant «saveur amère» qui justifie la matrice: chêne αἰγίλωψ = «(arbre dont le gland est) amer»? Enfin il ne faudra pas oublier qu'un même signifiant peut s'appliquer à des signifiés divers<sup>3</sup>. Comme l'a fait remarquer J. André (1956: 8) «l'homonymie ne provient pas toujours de l'indifférence ou d'une incapacité de distinguer»; simplement, si un même mot désigne des objets différents, cela signifie que l'on n'a pas retenu le même sème distinctif dans ces objets (par ex. αἰγίλωψ «chêne»: sème concernant la saveur — αἰγίλωψ «ivraie»: sème concernant la forme), ni le même métaphorisant tiré de la racine (par ex. *\*aig-* «projection» donne un métaphorisant «chose projetée, trait» → «tige, bâton» et un autre, au second degré, «chose projetée, trait» → «aigu comme un trait, aigre, amer»).

2. L'existence d'une racine *\*H<sub>2</sub>ei-g-* > *\*aig-* est assurée par la comparaison entre le grec αἶγ- dans le verbe αἰγίζω (Sophocle fr. 984: αἰγίζειν ἀντί τοῦ καταγίζει, Phot. ed. Reitz p. 44,17; Hé-sychius: αἰγίζειν καταγίζει, διασπᾶ, αἰγίζειν διασπᾶν, ἐκ μεταφοῶς, παρ' ὃ καὶ τὸ αἰγίζεσθαι, ἀπὸ τῶν καταγίδων, Αἰσχύλος fr. 407) et ses composés ἐπαγίζω «s'élancer», καταγίζω «s'abattre sur» et le sanscrit *ej-* (*ejati*). Dans les deux langues, le verbe s'emploie à propos des vents (Il. 2,148 «(le Zephyr) impétueux s'élance» λά-

βροχ ἐπαιγίζων: Rg-Saṃhitā V,78,8: *yáthā vāto ...éjati* <comme s'élance le vent>, des cours d'eau ou de la mer (Oppien C.2?125-A. P 10,16,9: R. S *éjad árṇas*). Le verbe peut prendre un caractère nettement agressif dans Esch. Th. 63: πρὶν καταγίσαι πνοῶς Ἀρεῶς. Du point de vue formel, on n'hésitera pas à poser une racine \*H<sub>2</sub>ei-g- dont la laryngale est garantie par le présent thématique à redoublement du sanscrit *ījate* (\*H<sub>2</sub>i-H<sub>2</sub>ig-e-, avec préverbe *apa* <chasser>); quant au sens, elle exprime le procès <s'élancer, bondir en avant> (voir Peters 1980: 77).

**3.0** Partant de ce sémantème fondamental, nous nous proposons d'examiner s'il est susceptible d'expliquer les différents éléments du corpus que nous avons retenus en tenant compte de deux variables: (a) le sens initial de la racine a pu, en s'appliquant à des domaines différents, engendrer des sens secondaires et développer des sous-systèmes sémantiques; (b) un signifié peut être analysé en plusieurs sèmes. Ainsi <arbre> peut l'être en sèmes de hauteur, couleur, résistance du bois, forme générale, qualité des fruits etc. mais tous les arbres, dans la terminologie présocratique des Grecs, ne seront pas désignés à partir du même sème.

**3.1** Le cas le plus simple de dérivation sémantique est celui où le dérivé conserve le sens fondamental de la racine. Dans le cas présent, un exemple en est fourni par le nom de la chèvre αἶξ, αἰγός.

Le seul correspondant de αἶξ pour la forme et le sens est l'arménien *ayc*. Ailleurs les mots sont différents (lat. *capra* de *caper*; got. *gaits*; skr. *ajā-*). Le seul rapprochement à l'intérieur de l'indo-européen hors de l'arménien, est fait avec l'avestique *īzaēna-* <en peau> (de chèvre?). Mais P. Thieme (1953: 571) a depuis longtemps proposé un intéressant rapprochement avec la racine de skr. *ej-*, admettant que la chèvre est <un animal bondissant>, c'est-à-dire en posant une matrice métaphorique: chèvre = (animal caractérisé par son) mouvement. Or, ce qui n'est, ainsi présenté, qu'une hypothèse, devient plus convaincant lorsqu'on constate que le terme germanique désignant la chèvre et représenté par got. *gaits*, vha. *geiz* est rattaché à lit. *žaišti* <play> <jump, gambol> par C. D. Buck (1949: 165) ainsi que par A. Fick (*Vgl. Wb.* I<sup>4</sup>433) qui rapproche lit. *žaidžiu* <spiele> et par E. Polomé (1982: 330). Cela revient à dire qu'un nom de la chèvre dans un des groupes indo-européens a été tiré d'une base signifiant <jouer>, appartenant à une racine dont un des sens est

«sauter, bondir», c'est-à-dire «avoir un mouvement rapide». Il s'agit probablement en dernière analyse de la racine *\*ghei-* «mettre en branle, inciter» (skr. *hi-*, *hinotī*) sous la forme de la base *\*ghei-d-*, peut-être avec un vocalisme populaire *a*: *\*ghai-d-*, radical que l'on retrouve dans lat. *haedus* «chevreau». La matrice proposée a donc existé en indo-européen. Le nom de la chèvre, animal vif, toujours en mouvement (à l'inverse du mouton au tempérament lent et passif) peut y être métaphorisé par des signifiants divers (racines *\*ghei-d-*, *\*H<sub>2</sub>ei-g-*) exprimant un même signifié «être en mouvement», en privilégiant l'un des sèmes constitutifs de la notion de «chèvre». Il faut noter que ce même sème a été retenu pour désigner d'autres animaux: le nom de l'écureuil vha. *eihhurno*, *eihhorn*, mha. *eichorn* est rattaché à la même racine *\*H<sub>2</sub>ei-g-* > *\*aig-* (Pokorny 1959: 14, De Vries 1962: 284) dont *αἶξ* est le nom-racine.

### 3.2 Αἶγιθος et αἰγίθαλος

Ce sont, d'après D'Arcy Thompson, des désignations probables de la «mésange». Or la mésange est un petit passereau très vif, d'une activité remarquable. En perpétuelle agitation, il est de caractère violent; il n'hésite pas à attaquer des oiseaux affaiblis. Son audace avait été remarquée par les Grecs dont on connaît la sentence: αἰγίθου τολμηρότερος (Apostol. 1,76 «plus effronté qu'une mésange»). On peut donc retrouver sans peine, dans ces deux termes, le sémantème fondamental de αἶγ- «mouvement en avant, projection».

La formation de αἶγιθος < αἶγι-θος avec un suffixe grec -θον' n'est pas pour surprendre. On le retrouve dans des mots expressifs, techniques (parties du corps, vases, objets tressés [Chantraine: 1933: 366–367]), en particulier précisément dans στρουθός qui désigne un autre passereau, le moineau. Le suffixe se trouve aussi dans la flexion du nom générique ὄρνις «oiseau» (acc. ὄρνιν et ὄρνιθα, gén. ὄρνιθος) et dans la forme utilisée en début de composé (cf. ὄρνιθο-σκόπος). Quant à αἰγίθαλος, P. Chantraine en fait un dérivé du radical αἶγιθ- (αἶγιθ-· λο- > αἰγίθαλος). Mais une autre explication est possible. Hésychius cite une forme κερκιθαλῖς, glosée ἐρωδιός (Manessy-Guitton 1977: 245–246) «Butor étoilé» qui, comparée à ἐπιθαλῖς· εἶδος δένδρου, semble

bien comporter un second terme -θαλι- — avec variantes -θαλές, -θηλής, -θαλλος (ἐρι-θαλής = ἐριθηλής Limen. 6, Hésychius; ἐριθηλής Hom. «qui pousse bien»; ἐρίθαλλος «florissant», Simonide; ἐριθαλές «joubarbe» Pline). Il s'agit donc d'un radical tiré du verbe θάλλω «être florissant» (θαλ-, θαλλ-, θηλ-), qui est susceptible d'exprimer de façon large l'abondance (Chantraine 1933: 420). Donc αἰγίθαλος, pour lequel on connaît aussi les variantes αἰγίθαλλος, αἰγιθαλής, peut être interprété comme «qui a beaucoup de mouvement», «qui s'agite beaucoup». Αἰγι-, pour sa part, représente le thème en \*-i- de la racine \*H<sub>2</sub>ei-g- > αἰγ-, thème dont nous verrons plus loin qu'il entre dans un jeu hétéroclitique de type très ancien en i.e. \*-i-/-r-/-l-/-n-.

De même sens paraît être αἰγοθήλας «Caprimulgus europaeus, engoulevent» où apparaît en seconde position la forme -θήλας correspondant à -θηλής que nous avons rencontré dans ἐριθηλής (supra). Cet oiseau insectivore, au bec largement fendu, ce qui lui permet d'avaler aisément une grande quantité d'insectes, passait dans l'Antiquité pour être τολμηρότατος ζῷον (Ael. III,39). Il peut, comme la mésange, devoir sa désignation à ce trait distinctif. Mais l'étymologie populaire (par l'intermédiaire de Pline) a rattaché ce nom à αἶξ «chèvre» ainsi qu'à la famille de θηλάζω «sucer, têter», ce qui explique les noms européens (*goatsucker*, *Ziegenmelker*, *tette-chèvre*) calqués sur lat. *caprimulgus* (Pline H.N. 10,115), lui-même dû à une réinterprétation populaire de αἰγοθήλας<sup>4</sup>.

### 3.3 Αἰγανέη

Relève aussi du sémantème fondamental le nom αἰγανέη qui désigne une arme. Comme l'a remarquablement démontré S. Laser (1953), αἰγανέη désigne un javelot (de guerre, de chasse, de sport) caractérisé par un propulseur dont la fonction est de donner à l'arme une portée et une force plus grandes. Du point de vue morphologique, αἰγανέη est un adjectif substantivé (cf. ἐγχεῖη < \*ἐγχεσ-ινη de ἔγχος (cf. P. Chantraine 1933: 311)), dérivé en \*-ye/o- /-yā- d'un αἰγανο- qui est peut-être le nom même du propulseur. \*Αἰγανε-yā signifierait alors «arme (sc. αἰχμή) pourvue d'un αἰγανο-, javelot à propulseur». Le nom αἰγανο- serait à comprendre pour le sens comme «ce qui sert à projeter». Il peut être interprété comme un nom d'instrument à



suffixe -avo- (ex. δρέπανον sur δρέπω) dont le grec a fait grand usage; mais il peut aussi, étant donné que l' αἰγανέη serait attestée à l'époque mycénienne selon H. Buchholz—V. Karageorghis (1970, 1971), avoir été l'un des points de départ de ce suffixe. Il peut aisément s'analyser en αἰγαν-ο-, thématisation de αἰγαν-, thème en \*-n- (\*H<sub>2</sub>ei-g-°n-) répondant au thème en \*-i- que nous avons rencontré plus haut et constituant un vieux nom-verbal de la racine: «le fait de lancer, de projeter».

### 3.4 αἰγίζω

Lorsqu'on a affaire à une racine qui exprime fondamentalement «un mouvement vif en avant» en valeur neutre, on peut s'attendre à lui voir prendre un sens défavorable, en l'espèce «foncer sur, attaquer». Ainsi Eschyle (*Th.* 63 πρὶν καταιγίσαι πνοᾶς Ἄρεως) emploie-t-il καταιγίζω au sens de «attaquer avec violence». Mais καταιγίζω appartient aussi au vocabulaire médical comme en témoigne Hippocrate (*Morb.* 3,7,16) qui s'en sert pour exprimer l'attaque de la souffrance et de la maladie. De même, en sanscrit, *ārta-* «malade», *ārṭi-* «maladie» proviennent de *ār-* «mettre dans, atteindre» (Renou 1939: 174), en français «attaque» en est venu à désigner un certain type de maladie. On ne s'étonnera pas dès lors de voir un mot comme αἰγίλωψ désigner une certaine maladie, ici une fistule lacrimale (Cels. 7,7—Diosc. 4,70—Gal. *UP* 10,10). Si le mot αἰγυλος que signale le Thesaurus (col. 910) (*abscessus inter nares et maiorem angulum*) était recevable, il appartiendrait probablement au même sous-système sémantique<sup>5</sup> fondé sur la matrice: fistule = (maladie résultant de l') attaque d'un mal.

### 4.0 αἰγλή, αἰγώλιος, αἰγίς «aubier», αἰγίς «tache sur l'oeil», αἰγιάς «id.»

Les noms que nous allons examiner maintenant vont nous montrer un nouveau type de spécialisation de la racine, source d'une nouvelle matrice métaphorique.

#### 4.1 αἴγλη

Les emplois du mot αἴγλη «lumière» prouvent qu'il désigne la lumière vive qui émane d'objets brillants, airain (*Il.* 2,457), Olympe (*Od.* 6,45), lune (H. à Séléné 1), soleil (H. à Hélios 10). Or pour certains savants grecs (Empédocle, les atomistes, Platon) «la lumière est une variété particulièrement fluide de feu dont les particules, lancées par les sources lumineuses, traversent l'espace» (Mugler 1964: 7). On notera avec Ch. Mugler, que le grec emploie βάλλειν «lancer» (percussion lancée) (Manessy-Guitton 1980: 406) pour exprimer «la représentation de la nature corpusculaire de la lumière et du flux visuel et de leur projection par les sources lumineuses et les yeux» (Mugler 1964: 176). Il a donc existé en grec une matrice métaphorique: «lumière = projection», le signifié «projection» pouvant être exprimé par la racine \*g<sup>w</sup>el-. Il a pu aussi bien être exprimé par \*H<sub>2</sub>ei-g-. On notera d'ailleurs que cette particularisation de sens (projection → particules lumineuses projetées, lumière) a été connu pour la même racine en sanscrit où ej- (*ejati*) a, dans le Dhātupāṭha, le sens de «briller».

#### 4.2 αἰγώλιος

Le mot désigne un rapace nocturne que Cuvier et Linné identifiaient avec l'effraie, *Strix flammea* (Thompson 1966: 27). Cette identification ne va pas sans difficultés car Aristote dit que l'αἰγώλιος chasse les geais, ce qui ne semble pas être le cas de l'effraie qui chasse plutôt campagnols, musaraignes, parfois grenouilles, belettes ou lézards; de plus l'effraie n'est pas fréquente en Grèce bien qu'on la trouve en Grèce du nord et de l'est (*Guide des oiseaux d'Europe* 1967: carte p. 310). Elle niche parfois dans les failles des rochers, ce qui correspond à la notation d'Aristote, *HN*: IX,616 b,25: οἰκεῖ πέτρας καὶ σπήλυγγας. Si donc on admet comme possible l'hypothèse de Cuvier et Linné, le mot peut recevoir une explication satisfaisante tant sur le plan du sens que sur celui de la forme. L'effraie, surnommée en français la «Dame Blanche», est remarquable par un masque facial blanc, en forme de cœur; elle passe silencieusement dans la nuit comme un éclair blanchâtre. Son nom peut être dû au sens «lumière» que pouvait prendre, comme l'a vu, la base αἰγ-. Par sa forme, αἰγώλιος est un dérivé en \*-io- d'une base αἰγωλ-, ancien neutre en \*-l-, à voyelle longue (comparable

aux thèmes en -ωρ, type ὕδωρ τέκνωρ (Benveniste 1935: 40 sq., Bader 1974: 48); il appartient à une série connue de thèmes en -ωλ- (< \*-ōl-), parallèles aux thèmes en -αλ- (< \*-°l-) et coexistant parfois, en une alternance bien connue, avec des thèmes en \*-r-, \*-i-, \*-n- (cf. la série τερπι-, τερπνός, τερπωλή).

### 4.3 αἰγίς

On doit rattacher à la même matrice le mot αἰγίς dans deux des fonctions de désignation qu'il assure. Αἰγίς (sens III du L. S. J.) est employé à trois reprises par Théophraste (*HP* 3,9,3-7-8) pour désigner une partie caractéristique du pin où l'on a reconnu le Pin Laricio de Corse. C'est un grand arbre qui peut atteindre 50m. de haut, dont le bois est très caractéristique: il a un aubier blanc et un cœur rouge rosé à rouge brun (Brosse 1977: 62). Selon Théophraste (*HP* 3,9,3) l' αἰγίς de cet arbre est son ἐγκάρδιον (sur le sens de ce mot voir Strömberg 1937: 126) et cette αἰγίς du pin correspond à ce que l'on appelle le λευκὸν λοῦσσον du sapin (3,9,7). Il ajoute qu'en Arcadie, la partie centrale du pin et celle du sapin portent le même nom αἰγίς. Il qualifie l' αἰγίς du pin de εὐχρως, ce qui indique bien que la couleur de cette partie du tronc est importante.

De même, dans le vocabulaire médical, αἰγίς chez Hippocrate (*Coac.* 214; *Prorrh.* 2,20) et αἰγιάς chez Hésychius désignent une tache blanche sur la pupille et proviennent donc de la matrice < lumière, éclat >.

**5.0** Une racine dont le sème fondamental est < mouvement vif en avant projection > a pu donner lieu à un développement qu'on pourrait dire visuel. En français, par exemple, < (s') élancer > = < se lancer en avant impétueusement > a suscité l'adjectif < élancé = < svelte, mince >. Le mouvement s'est pour ainsi dire figé en une forme.

### 5.1 αἰγείρος

Ainsi, en grec, le nom du peuplier noir, αἰγείρος peut-il s'expliquer en partant de la matrice: < peuplier noir > = < (arbre) élancé >. Le scholiaste d'Homère dit que l'arbre est nommé ἀπὸ τῆς ἐγέρσεως

καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀναδόσεως. Il semble qu'un rapprochement ait été fait avec ἐγείρω <éveiller, dresser (en parlant de constructions) (cf. Chantraine 1968 – 1980 s. v.). Une telle étymologie est certainement fautive mais le sentiment est peut-être juste. En tout cas, ce commentaire nous garantit que l' αἴγειρος était considéré par les Grecs comme un arbre remarquable par son port dressé. Déjà Homère lui donnait pour épithètes μακρός (*Od.* 10,510) et μακεδνός (*Od.* 7,106). Théophraste (*HP* 3,14,2) comparant le peuplier noir et le peuplier blanc dit qu'ils sont semblables par leur port dressé (port <fastigié> des botanistes) mais que le noir est plus haut (Théophraste *HP* 3,14,2). L' αἴγειρος serait désigné comme celui des peupliers remarquable par son caractère élancé et son nom serait un dérivé en \*-γο- de αἴγερ-, thème en \*-er- comme ceux que l'on trouve dans χεῖμερ-(ος), κρυερ-(ός), πένθερ-(ος), ἡμέρ-(ᾱ), πιφερ- de πίειρα (Benveniste 1935: 90, 183, 112); ici αἴγερ- peut être considéré comme l'une des formes d'un nom verbal de αἶγ- où -er- alterne avec le -i- de αἶγι-, le -u- de αἶγυ-(πίος), le -n- de αἶγαν-(έν), le -l- de Αἶγαλ- (voir tableau).

## 5.2 αἰγίλιψ

On rattachera encore à cette matrice, avec quelque vraisemblance l'adjectif αἰγίλιψ <escarpé> ainsi que le nom de l'île Αἰγίλιψ. L'adjectif est épithète de πέτρη chez Homère (*Il.* 16,4 κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης – 13,63 ἴρηξ ... ἀπ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης.....ὁρμήσῃ) et dans l'Hymne à Pan [v. 4] avec le sens de <élevé, escarpé><sup>6</sup>. Dans les *Supplantes* (v. 794 et suiv.) d'Eschyle, le sens proposé s'accorde avec les autres épithètes (λίσσας, ἀπρόσδεικτος, γυπιάς et même οἰόφρων). Mais les étymologies proposées ne sont guère satisfaisantes: le rapprochement de αἶξ <chèvre> et λείπω <laisser> n'est qu'une étymologie populaire. Si l'on rapproche -λιψ de lit. *lipti* <grimper>, il faut encore avoir recours à αἶξ (ou plutôt à un αἶγι- qui en serait un développement inconnu par ailleurs) pour expliquer le premier terme<sup>7</sup>.

Dès lors on peut se demander s'il ne vaut pas mieux recourir à une hypothèse entièrement différente qui ferait de αἰγίλ-ιψ un dérivé de la base en -il- (voir plus loin). La difficulté vient du caractère insolite de la dérivation pour laquelle on est obligé de recourir à un présumé <suffixe> -ιπ-. L'iota est bref: on ne saurait voir dans -ιπ- une forme appartenant au radical -ῖπ- (ἢ ἶπος

«presse», aor. ἵψαο, fut. ἵψεται). Le Buck-Petersen ne fournit qu'un tout petit nombre de noms à finale -ιψ < -\*ιψς. En dehors des emprunts latins πρίγκιψ et μάγκιψ, il en énumère onze (ἄλιψ et αἰγίλιψ étant considérés comme des composés de λίψ· πέτρα). En dehors de deux termes très obscurs (ἥλιψ, nom d'une chaussure; ἔριπες· δαλοί Hésychius), on ne trouve que des monosyllabes inanalysables et l'adjectif ἄργιλιψ. Mais cette dernière forme est intéressante. Ἀργίλιπες est chez Nicandre (*Th.* 213) épithète de ἔχιδναι «vipères» et est glosé par les scholiastes ἔκλευκοι; Archiloque en fournit un doublet: ἄργιλιπής. Le radical ἄργι- est bien connu (P. Chantraine 1968–1980 s.v.) et, pour le sens, le terme convient pour exprimer l'éclat fulgurant des serpents. Ἐκλευκος en donne un bon équivalent. Mais l'analyse que propose Frisk (1960–1972: 131–132): ἄργι + λιπεῖν «der das Weisse verlassen hat» est peu satisfaisante puisqu'il faut supposer une interversion pour pouvoir comparer avec λιπαυγής «abandonné par la lumière». On admettrait plus facilement une analyse ἄργιλιπ-, dérivation d'un ancien neutre en -il-<sup>8</sup> si l'on pouvait démontrer l'existence d'un suffixe grec -ιπ-. Malheureusement le nombre très restreint de noms grecs en -ιπ- ne permet pas de pousser l'analyse beaucoup plus loin. Tout au plus peut-on noter que parmi les noms dont on ignore s'ils comportaient une sourde (\*p) ou une sonore (\*b ou \*bh), existe chez Hésychius un nom κόριψ· νεανίσκος qui paraît bien être le dérivé de κόρος «garçon» et donc comporter visiblement un suffixe qui peut être -ιπ- (mais -ιβ- ou -ιφ- ne sont pas exclus) et se retrouver dans ἄργιλ-ιπ- et αἰγίλ-ιπ-, sans que l'on puisse donner plus de précisions sur sa fonction. Le même adjectif se retrouve, substantivé, dans le toponyme Αἰγίλιψ, nom d'une île appartenant à Ulysse en *Il.* 2,633. On remarquera que cette île est qualifiée de τρηχεῖα «aux arêtes vives» ce qui évoque un paysage montagneux et escarpé. Enfin αἰγίλιψ, dans la première partie d'une glose d'Hésychius, est expliqué par ὕψηλὴ πέτρα (ce qui correspond au sens homérique de l'adjectif), καὶ πόλις (ce qui se comprendrait d'une ville «perchée»<sup>9</sup>).

**6.0** Le sens de «projection» dont on a pu dire qu'il était en quelque sorte visualisé dans les exemples précédents, peut se matérialiser aisément dans des objets. Ainsi la racine \*g<sup>w</sup>el- «lancer» fournit-elle au grec τὸ βέλος «trait, arme de jet».

### 6.1 αἰγίλωψ <graminée>

D'après les indications données par Dioscoride (Lenz 1966: 243 – 267), αἰγίλωψ est identifié à l' *Aegilops ouata* L., classée parmi les ivraies (*Encyclopédie Quillet* 1935: s. v. *ivraie*). Elle présente des épis enveloppés dans une sorte de bourse terminée par de longues arêtes, très remarquables, qui sont peut-être les τρίχες dont parle Dioscoride. Faut-il penser que c'est à ces dernières que la plante doit son nom, ces <arêtes> étant comparées à des traits? Ce n'est pas sûr. Pour Pline (*HN* 18,155) l'aegilops fait partie des fétuques (*festuca quae uocatur aegilops*). Or le mot *festūca* désigne aussi un brin de paille, une tige, une baguette et, sous la forme *fistūca*, une pièce en forme de pilon destinée à enfoncer les pilotis ou à mettre de niveau les pierres d'un mur. On voit par là qu'un même terme peut désigner un objet allongé, en forme de <bâton> aussi bien qu'une plante. Αἰγίλωψ pourrait être un exemple du même ordre et désigner cette sorte d'ivraie (dont la nocivité est soulignée par Galien, *De al. fac.* 1,37 et dans les *Geoponica* 2,43) comme la <tige> par excellence, fâcheuse pour les autres céréales. Mais tandis qu'on ignore dans quel sens s'est fait le transfert dans le cas de *festūca* (plante → bâton ou bâton → plante), dans le cas de αἰγίλωψ, la dénomination de la graminée procèderait d'une matrice: ivraie = (plante caractérisée par des) traits ou bien ivraie = tige (remarquable par sa nocivité).

### 6.2 αἰγίλωψ

Il serait intéressant de savoir quel est le sens précis de στάχυς dans la glose d'Hésychius αἰγίλωψ· πόα τις ἐμφορῆς στάχυι. Si στάχυς désigne ici non, au sens strict, un épi, mais une plante à fleurs en épi, il peut s'agir de l'Epiaire connue chez Pline (*HN* 24,136. Voir André 1956: 302). Dès lors on comprendrait qu'une telle plante, remarquable par son épi floral, ait pu être désignée par αἰγίλωψ au sens de <trait, dard>.

De même αἰγίνοϝ est connu par Dioscoride (*De m. m.* 4,78 ed. Wellmann) pour désigner ce qu'on appelle habituellement en grec κώνειον <ciguë>. La description de la plante commence par une description de la tige (καυλός) dont il est dit qu'elle est γονατώδη (formant des noeuds) ὥς μάραθρον, μέγαν <grande>. Cette dernière épithète est à retenir. Pline (*HN* 25,151) la précise en disant: *altior*

*saepe binis cubitis* « haute souvent de plus de deux coudées ». En latin d'ailleurs *cicūta*, nom ordinaire de la Grande Ciguë désigne chez Lactance (*Opif.* 8) un « tuyau de paille, un chalumeau ». La ciguë peut donc devoir son nom d' αἴγινος à l'importance de sa tige; le terme relèverait alors de la même matrice que αἰγίλωψ « ivraie » et serait un dérivé en \*-no- de la base αἴγι-.

### 6.3 αἰγίλιψ, αἰγυλῖς

Nous savons d'autre part qu'une glose d'Hésychius donnait à αἰγίλιψ le sens de « saule », « osier »: καὶ ἰτέα ἀπὸ Θουρίων. Si la glose n'est pas erronée,<sup>10</sup> on peut se demander pourquoi cet arbre, *Salix* L., porterait un tel nom en Grande-Grèce car, à la différence du peuplier noir αἴγειρος, il ne se distingue pas par un port élancé mais bien plutôt par ses longues branches tombantes utilisées en vannerie (Théophr. *HP* 3,13,7) en particulier pour faire des boucliers (Théophr. 5,3). C'est donc peut-être à ces longues tiges que le saule αἰγίλιψ doit son nom.<sup>11</sup>

De la même façon nous connaissons par Hésychius un nom αἰγυλῖς glosé λύγος. Or λύγος est le nom de l'Agnus Castus ou gattilier (famille des Verbénacées) qui croît dans les lieux arides du midi de l'Europe et qui a lui aussi de longues branches utilisées en vannerie (Pl. *HN* 24,59).

### 7.1 αἰγυλῖς

Toutefois le λύγος possède un autre sème tout à fait remarquable: ses fruits ont une saveur âcre très prononcée qui lui ont valu d'être appelé en français « petit poivre, poivre sauvage », en latin *arbor piperis*, *piper agreste*, dont on extrayait autrefois une huile aux vertus stimulantes.<sup>12</sup> Or on sait, par exemple, par la racine \**H<sub>2</sub>ek-* « pointe » (P. Chantraine 1968 – 1980: 43 – 45) qu'un tel sémantème peut être transféré métaphoriquement au domaine gustatif (\**H<sub>2</sub>ok-*: ὀξύς « aigu, pointu » qui peut se dire d'un goût aigre, acide; τὸ ὄξος « vinaigre »). Αἰγυλῖς peut provenir d'un transfert du même ordre: de \**H<sub>2</sub>ei-g-* « projection » naît un métaphorisant « trait, dard » lui-même source d'un nouveau métaphorisant, au second degré: « aigu (comme un trait), aigre, acide ».



Du point de vue morphologique, αἰγυλῖς paraît être un féminin du type de εἰδυλῖς (Call. *Fr.* 451 <informé de ...>) fondé sur un abstrait en \*-ul du même type que ceux qu'a relevés E. Benveniste (1935 p. 41) dans d'autres langues indo-européennes. On notera qu'un thème en \*-u- apu être dégagé dans le nom du vautour ou de l'aigle αἰγυπιός (Manessy-Guitton 1985: 143).

## 7.2 αἰγίλωψ

Αἰγίλωψ désigne également une sorte de chêne dont parlent Théophraste (*HP* 3,8,2–4) et Pline (*HN* 16,22–33). Dans le dernier passage cité, Pline signale une caractéristique de l'aegilops (*sola quae uocatur aegilops fert pannos arentes, muscoso uillo canos*) dont Théophraste ne parle pas et dont on voit mal comment elle pourrait justifier l'étymologie du mot. En revanche Théophraste (3,8,2), classant les chênes d'après la qualité de leurs glands, dit que ceux de l' αἰγίλωψ sont les plus amers (ἔσχατον δὲ καὶ πικρότατον ἢ αἰγίλωψ). Ce caractère aurait pu servir à nommer l'arbre dans la mesure où αἰγ- peut être utilisé pour rendre la notion d'aigreur, d'amertume (cf. αἰγυλῖς). On peut toutefois hésiter à adopter cette vue car il existe, surtout dans le sud-est de l'Europe et en Asie Mineure, un chêne dit <chevelu> *Quercus cerris* L., remarquable par sa taille et son port élancé, avec des branches ascendantes et une cime longue et aiguë (Brosse 1977: 124–125). Cette description s'accorde avec celle que donne Théophraste (3,8,4: ἡ δὲ αἰγίλωψ ὀρθοφύεστατον καὶ ὑψηλότατον.<sup>13</sup> De plus son bois est dur (ce que note aussi Théophraste: τὸ ξύλον ... ἰσχυρότατον). Pline de son côté, rapporte le même trait (*excelsissima autem aegilops HN* 16,22). Ainsi l' αἰγίλωψ (comme l' αἰγειρός) pourrait devoir son nom à la racine représentée par αἰγ- dans le sous-système où αἰγ- a pris le sens de <forme élancée>.

## 7.3 αἰγίλος

Le nom αἰγίλος désigne une plante (herbe ou arbuste) dont les chèvres se nourrissent comme elles le font du cytise (André 1956: 113–114). Le rapprochement que fait Théocrite (V,128 ταῖ μὲν ἐμαὶ κύτισόν τε καὶ αἰγίλον αἶγες ἔδοντι) laisse entendre que l'étymologie populaire rapprochait ce nom de celui de la chèvre; αἰγίλος



serait un dérivé de αἶξ pour lequel il faudrait supposer un suffixe -ιλο- puisque αἶξ, αἰγός est un thème consonantique et non sonantique (Chantraine 1933: 248). Parallèlement, il faudrait reconnaître le suffixe -ικο- dans αἰγικόν (τό) «chiendent». Toutefois nous avons rencontré la base αἰγιλ- dans d'autres mots où il est peu vraisemblable que le nom de la chèvre doive jouer un rôle (αἰγίλιψ, αἰγίλωψ «chêne», «fistule lacrimale»). On proposera donc d'y voir, selon la suggestion de E. Benveniste (1935: 41–42), le dérivé thématique d'un ancien nom en \*-il-, αἰγίλος étant formé comme ποικίλος par exemple, et présentant un \*-l- alternant avec le \*-n- de αἰγίνοσ (supra 6.2): \*aigil-/\*aigin-. Sans doute, l'ignorance où nous sommes des caractéristiques de l' αἰγίλος ne nous permet-elle pas de rien dire de sûr pour l'origine du nom. Tout au plus peut-on risquer une hypothèse, très fragile, si αἰγίλος pouvait être, pour le sens, rapproché de αἰγικόν (τό). Ce dernier est chez Dioscoride un synonyme de ἄγρωστις, Cynodon Dactylon, Chiendent-Pied-de-Poule. Or ce Chiendent est caractérisé par son inflorescence à trois épillets (Marc. Med. 8,24: *gramen quod in summo trisulcum habebit* — Ps. Apul. 78,6: *quod in se trifurcum habet*) (André 1956: 152) qui pourrait justifier le rattachement au sous-système où αἰγ- a pris valeur de «trait, dard». Un thème αἰγίλο- — qu'il se retrouve ou non dans l' αἰγίλος de Théocrite (et de Babrius 3,4) — est probablement à l'origine du nom αἰγίλωψ dans toutes ses acceptions.

**7.4** Pour αἰγίλωψ «chêne», Cuny (1931: 21 sqq.) avait naguère tenté une explication: αἰγ- serait le mot qui désigne le chêne dans plusieurs langues européennes, et -ιλωψ correspondrait à lat. *illex* «yeuse». Mais elle ne saurait être retenue tant elle soulève de difficultés de détail (Cuny 1931: 23–25). De plus elle ne conviendrait pas pour les autres désignations. D'autres auteurs (Frisk 1960–1972: 31) ont voulu y voir un composé de λωπ- avec valeur passive (λέπω «éplucher», λώπη «écorce»): «qui est écorcé par les chèvres», ce qui est assez singulier pour un chêne et ne convient ni pour la graminée ni pour les maladies.

En revanche, en partant d' αἰγίλο-, l'explication morphologique est acceptable. Αἰγίλωψ («fistule», «ulcération») désigne des maladies. Le mot entre donc dans la catégorie des noms en -ωψ (ou -ωπος) désignant des affections (ὑδρωψ «hydropisie», μώλωψ «meurtrissure») ou des malades (ὑδρωψ «hydropique», τύφλωψ «aveugle»), noms dont l'origine est à chercher dans les désignations de maladies des yeux (ἀμβλυωπός «qui a la vue faible»). La finale -ωψ, à l'origine

second terme de composé, provient de \*H<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>w</sup>- <voir> avec allongement des noms-racines. Mais on sait aussi que cette finale a vite perdu son autonomie et sa valeur pleine pour n'être plus sentie que comme un suffixe dérivationnel, formateur de noms de maladies. D'autre part, hors de ce système, on retrouve -ωπ- avec un sens également affaibli. Εὐρυωπός ne signifie plus <qui a l'aspect large>; il n'est qu'un simple doublet de εὐρύς; de même στερεωπός équivaut à στερεός <dur>, κοιλωπός à κοῖλος <creux> (André 1956: 152). Comme τύφλωψ est le doublet de τυφλός, αἰγίλωψ serait le doublet de αἶγίλος sur le plan morphologique. Mais comme αἶγίλος peut participer de tous les sens que peut assumer αἰγ- selon les domaines où la racine s'applique, αἰγίλωψ peut désigner l'atteinte d'un mal, ou, du point de vue de la saveur, le <(chêne dont les glands ont un goût) amer>, ou, du point de vue de la forme, la <(plante remarquable par ses) arêtes> ou <(par sa) tige>.

**8.0** Cet examen ne comprend pas tous les noms que l'on peut regrouper sous la racine grecque αἰγ-. Nous nous réservons de la compléter dans des études ultérieures où seront pris en compte par exemple le nom de l'égide, les noms propres et certains termes mycéniens. Mais tout incomplet qu'il soit, il nous a permis de mettre en évidence les voies parfois inattendues dans lesquelles αἰγ- a pu se développer en grec et de fournir une justification <raisonnée> aux regroupements des dictionnaires étymologiques en utilisant le système des matrices métaphoriques. Nous avons vu ainsi que, si les montagnes ne se rencontrent pas, le chêne et la graminée pouvaient le faire et aussi la mésange et le vautour. Il nous a permis aussi de montrer quelques-uns des procédés employés par les Anciens pour constituer leur terminologie zoologique ou botanique, terminologie qui est fondée, mais qui nous déconcerte parce qu'elle retient parfois des sèmes distinctifs différents pour une même catégorie ou des sèmes identiques pour des catégories différentes.<sup>14</sup>

Sans nier qu'il reste dans ces analyses une part d'arbitraire, le tableau ci-joint peut montrer que, sur le plan morphologique, les dérivations proposées s'inscrivent dans le cadre connu de la morphologie indo-européenne la mieux assurée.

## Notes

1. E. Benveniste (1966: 289) « en matière de sens, on n'a pour guide qu'une certaine vraisemblance fondée sur le bon sens, sur l'appréciation personnelle du linguiste, sur les parallèles qu'il peut citer ».
2. Bibliographie chez J. Taillardat (1977).
3. Selon l'exemple donné par J. André (1977: 8) *uēsīcāria* désigne trois plantes différentes selon que le sème retenu est: plante à graine enfermée dans un receptacle semblable à une vessie (sens 1), plante provoquant des cloques rondes comme une vessie (sens 2), plante qui provoque la sécrétion de l'urine (sens 3).
4. Voir *Guide des oiseaux* 1967: 311–312. Le fait que l'engoulevent mâle ait des taches blanches aux pointes des ailes et des coins blancs très apparents à la queue, pourrait justifier aussi un rattachement à la matrice « lumière ». En l'absence de toute remarque en ce sens dans la tradition antique, on peut préférer l'explication ici proposée.
5. Il n'est pas impossible que pour désigner une fistule on ait choisi le sème fourni par la forme de la blessure causée par la maladie ressemblant à un petit tube semblable à un trait entre l'angle de l'œil et le nez (Cels. 7,7).
6. Voir *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* 2. Lieferung col. 249.
7. Alors que dans ἄλιψ· πέτρα Hes. l'hypothèse paraît acceptable. Voir Chantraine *DE* p. 30. — Dans ἀργίλιπ-, P. Chantraine voyait un second terme de composé appartenant au groupe de λίπα, mais cette explication ne convient pas pour αἰγίλιψ.
8. Voir E. Benveniste (1933: 41–42). On aurait peut-être trace de ce neutre dans ἄργιλος, ἀργίλλος « argile »?
9. Pour la fin de la glose voir 6.3.
10. Voir *Comicorum graecorum fragmenta* 1975 p. 212 n° 158.
11. Certains saules tel le Saule blanc dit Osier blanc, Aubier sont remarquables par leurs feuilles d'un blanc grisâtre (J. Brosse 1977: 95–96); le nom pourrait s'expliquer par la matrice « lumière ».
12. Le λύγος passait aussi pour avoir des vertus apaisantes, cf. Plinie *HN* 24,62.
13. Si λειότατον chez Théophraste concerne l'écorce de l'arbre, l'identification serait moins sûre car l'écorce du *Quercus cerris* est profondément fissurée (Brosse 1977: 124–125).
14. Sur la difficulté qu'il y a à trouver spontanément des sèmes distinctifs dans une terminologie préscientifique, on rapportera cette anecdote racontée par A. Becquelin-Monod (*Colloque international du CNRS* n° 573, *L'Anthropologie en France* avril 1977, Rapport p. 180: « au cours d'une enquête chez les Trumai du Brésil, voulant obtenir les modes de classification du monde animal, ... je recherchais quels étaient les critères de différenciation ... je demandai ... ce qui différenciait les deux animaux (jaguar et sauterelle); il réfléchit avec conscience ... et me répondit: « les moustaches » »).

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Annexe: Tableau

Themes en *l		*r	*i	*n	*u
*l	*ol	*ol	*r	*or	
	ύδαλέος ύδαλός		ύδαρής ύδαρόν τέκμαρ	ύδωρ τέκμωρ	-υδνη
έλλα		έδώλια	έδρα		έδαφος είδαινομαι κηδαίνω φείδων
	είδάλιμος				είδυλός
	Φείδαλος	κηδωλός φειδωλός φειδώλιον	κηδαρ	κηδι- Φειδι-	Φειδύλος
αίγλή	Αίγαλ- (n. pr.)	αίγώλιος	αίγειρος	αίγι- αίγι-λ- αίγι-ν-	αίγυ-πιός αίγυλός



# Le système des modes en latin classique: présentation fonctionnaliste

Albert Maniet

**0.1** M'inspirant du type de description proposé par M. Martín Sánchez Ruipérez (1954) pour le système des aspects et des temps du verbe grec ancien, j'ai tenté de décrire il y a quelques années celui des modes de cette langue (Maniet 1980). Un certain nombre d'écrits ont paru récemment sur la valeur des modes du latin classique, dont le dernier, réparti sur deux articles extrêmement détaillés et intéressants, fournit une bibliographie pratiquement exhaustive (Touratier 1978, 1983). Je saisis l'occasion qui m'est offerte de rendre hommage à mon savant ami, le Professeur E. Polomé, pour présenter de ces modes une description fondée sur les mêmes principes que pour le verbe grec, mais qui, cette fois, sera suivie d'une discussion sur les critères proposés en syntaxe fonctionnelle, plus précisément sur les critères utilisés dans l'article de M. Touratier.

**0.2** Je rappelle brièvement le principe et la terminologie de base de la description adoptée. Le principe est l'adaptation, aux fins de la description de faits grammaticaux, des concepts généraux de la phonologie pragoise et leur combinaison avec les notions de valeur en langue et d'effets de sens, repris à la psychomécanique du langage. Cette méthodologie ainsi adaptée permet, je le crois, de rendre compte, sans se limiter aux constructions syntaxiques, des notions véhiculées par les signifiants grammaticaux. Nous appelons *terme marqué* d'une opposition morphologique celui qui, dans le cadre de cette opposition, exprime en propre une catégorie grammaticale et n'a qu'une valeur unique en langue. Nous appelons *terme non marqué* celui qui par lui-même n'exprime pas cette catégorie grammaticale: tantôt il exprime la négation de la notion du terme marqué ou son absence: c'est sa *valeur d'opposition*; tantôt il sert, le contexte — textuel ou culturel — aidant, de substitut au terme marqué, lorsqu'il n'y a pas intérêt à insister ou lorsqu'il y a intérêt à ne pas insister sur la notion que celui-ci exprime en propre: c'est sa *valeur neutre*, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec la neutralisation d'une



opposition, due au fait que cette opposition, effective par ailleurs, cesse dans certaines conditions d'être pertinente.

**1.1** Je propose de présenter comme suit le schéma du système modal:

subjonctif — impératif  
indicatif

Ce qui signifie que les deux premiers termes constituent le bloc marqué et l'indicatif le terme non marqué d'une opposition privative. La notion pertinente globale du terme marqué est le caractère subjectif de la présentation d'un procès, la notion pertinente du terme non marqué, dans sa valeur d'opposition, est le caractère objectif de cette présentation; en vertu de sa valeur neutre, ce terme peut s'employer dans des contextes impliquant la notion du terme marqué. J'entends par caractère objectif le fait de présenter le procès *comme* un objet de constatation, présente ou passée, ou de certitude — peu importe que ce soit de façon affirmative, négative, dubitative, interrogative, hypothétique etc. et abstraction faite des conditions d'énonciation, dont je n'envisage pas ici les implications. La présentation a un caractère subjectif quand elle indique formellement, c'est-à-dire, dans ce cadre, par des moyens grammaticaux, que le procès est considéré autrement que *comme* un objet de constatation ou de certitude.

## **1.2 Le bloc subjonctif — impératif**

L'opposition entre les termes de ce bloc est tantôt graduelle tantôt privative. La notion de base de subjectivité donne lieu, en effet, à une double série de réalisations: l'une met en jeu la notion de volonté, l'autre celle de jugement ou, plus précisément, la notion d'appréciation personnelle (voir l'alinéa suivant). Cette distinction se voit validée par des critères formels, notamment la répartition courante des formes de négation, respectivement *ne* et *non*. Or l'effet de sens «volonté» se subdivise en «volonté plus formelle», associée à l'impératif, et en «volonté atténuée», associée au subjonctif. Il s'agit donc, sur ce plan, d'une opposition graduelle. L'impératif exprime l'ordre direct<sup>1</sup> (il est rarement employé à la 3e personne, où *esto* peut exprimer aussi la concession, «soit!», et dans l'interdiction), tandis que le subjonctif est le véhicule le plus courant de

l'ordre à la 3e personne et de l'interdiction et il est le seul à exprimer l'exhortation, la délibération, le souhait. Ces critères de nature sémantique se voient confirmés par des critères formels: a) le seul effet de sens de l'impératif est celui de volonté; b) l'ordre qui serait rendu à l'impératif en non subordonnée est transposé au subjonctif en subordonnée, c'est-à-dire là où cet ordre n'est pas exprimé directement; c) l'expression de l'interdiction au moyen de l'impératif, rare, nous l'avons dit, n'est qu'exceptionnellement accompagnée de la négation *non*; celle-ci est plus fréquente avec le subjonctif dans cet emploi (voir aussi 3.1).

Quant à l'effet de sens «appréciation personnelle», qui correspond à une distanciation intellectuelle par rapport au réel, il est propre au subjonctif. Sur ce plan, l'opposition subjonctif ~ impératif est donc privative. Cet effet de sens englobe ce qu'on appelle le potentiel et l'irréel, c'est à lui que sont redevables le subjonctif du style et de l'interrogation indirects, le sens «puisque» et le sens «comme historique» attribués à *cum* suivi du subjonctif, par opposition au sens «lorsque» de ce même *cum* suivi de l'indicatif; c'est lui aussi qui s'attache à *quamvis*, pratiquement toujours suivi du subjonctif, par opposition à *quamquam*, suivi de l'indicatif, l'élément *vis* associant ce subordonnant à un certain degré d'appréciation, rendue par la traduction «à quelque degré que»; c'est lui enfin qui s'attache aux phrases du type *sequitur ut, multum abest ut, verum est ut* + subjonctif, même là où le procès exprimé au subjonctif est réel. Sans vouloir assimiler les deux systèmes, on peut rapprocher de cet emploi celui du subjonctif en français dans les phrases du type *le fait qu'il soit venu montre que...*: il est effectivement venu, mais on présente cette venue dans le cadre d'une appréciation personnelle (cp. A. Martinet 1979: 124).

En résumé, la valeur en langue de l'impératif est une subjectivité liée à l'expression de la volonté formelle, celle du subjonctif est une subjectivité susceptible de se réaliser soit en l'expression d'une volonté atténuée, soit en l'expression d'une distanciation intellectuelle, que j'appelle «appréciation personnelle».

### 1.3 L'indicatif

En vertu de sa valeur d'opposition, l'indicatif est le véhicule de l'objectivité au sens défini plus haut. En vertu de sa valeur neutre, il s'emploie dans des situations où le subjonctif aurait été de mise.

Par exemple, dans Sén., *Ir.* I, 11, 5: *perierat imperium ... si Fabius tantum ausus esset ...* «c'en était fait de l'empire, ... si Fabius avait osé ...», où *perierat* remplace *periisset*. L'intérêt de l'emploi en valeur neutre consiste en ce que le sens contextuel, en l'occurrence l'irréel, est véhiculé par un signifiant dont la valeur d'opposition, statistiquement la plus répandue, correspond à un autre sens, le réel. C'est cette combinaison qui provoque l'effet stylistique que nous connaissons en français également.<sup>2</sup>

2.1.1 Après cette description sommaire, passons à la discussion annoncée sur les critères mis en œuvre.

Dans les deux articles mentionnés en 0.1, M. Christian Touratier rappelle et critique les principales positions mises de l'avant sur les valeurs et le fonctionnement du subjonctif latin et il pose, pour terminer, «la question du statut linguistique de ce que les grammaires latines appellent le subjonctif. Si l'on suit l'enseignement traditionnel [dit-il], le subjonctif doit être ... considéré comme une unité significative, comme un morphème. Or cela est en contradiction avec les faits puisque, d'une part, le subjonctif latin représente trois morphèmes différents: le morphème de volonté, le morphème de possibilité et le morphème de subordination complétive et que, d'autre part, le subjonctif latin ne représente à lui seul aucun morphème quand il apparaît par exemple dans une subordonnée complétive introduite par *ut* ... [On peut] postuler qu'une catégorie comme le subjonctif ne fait pas partie du niveau des unités significatives, mais appartient à un niveau inférieur que l'on pourrait appeler le niveau morphologique. De fait, si le subjonctif n'est par lui-même rien de plus qu'une forme grammaticale ou qu'une unité morphologique, la plupart des problèmes [de description et d'explication] disparaissent ... Dans la mesure où le subjonctif fait simplement partie du stock de moyens formels dont dispose la langue latine pour constituer le signifiant de ses morphèmes, il n'y a pas lieu de chercher à lui attribuer à tout prix une valeur particulière et une seule valeur, car cela reviendrait à lui imputer un rôle d'unité significative, alors qu'il n'a qu'un rôle d'unité morphologique» (Touratier 1983: 333–334).

2.1.2 Tout en appréciant la pertinence de la plupart des interprétations et des critiques formulées dans les deux articles en cause, je ne suis pas convaincu par la thèse principale, que je viens de résumer, ce qui n'empêche d'ailleurs que, finalement, nos conclusions res-

pectives se rejoignent en plus d'un point. Reprenons de façon plus explicite les deux principaux arguments de l'auteur. « Le fait qu'à côté de *Suadeo tibi ut legas* il soit impossible d'avoir \**Suadeo tibi ut legis* prouve que dans ce contexte la présence de *ut* entraîne obligatoirement l'apparition d'un subjonctif et que le subjonctif ne correspond pas à un choix indépendant... Ce qui correspond à un seul choix et par conséquent à un seul morphème, ce sont les deux segments [*ut* et *-a-*], ce qui veut dire que la conjonction *ut*, tout comme le subjonctif *-a-* n'est qu'un des éléments du signifiant discontinu d'un seul morphème, que l'on pourrait appeler le morphème de subordination complétive. Le subjonctif, ne représentant pas à lui seul, dans cet emploi, un morphème, c'est-à-dire une unité significative minimale, ne saurait avoir aucune valeur particulière » (Touratier 1983: 324).

Cet argument est important, car c'est lui qui a incité l'auteur à écarter aussi du domaine des morphèmes le subjonctif en proposition non subordonnée, c'est-à-dire là où il est l'objet d'un choix.

**2.2** Pour ma part, je considère que les propositions complétives se répartissent en deux groupes<sup>3</sup>: le premier contient en principale un monème lexical du type *suadeo*, le second un monème lexical du type *fit*, *accidit*. Or dans ce second cas, *ut* peut commuter avec *quod*, lequel est suivi de l'indicatif, possibilité inexistante dans le premier cas. Ce fait autorise à conclure que *ut*, dans les complétives directes, c'est-à-dire dans les deux groupes qui viennent d'être distingués, est associé à la présentation « subjective », et *quod*, normalement — c'est-à-dire là où n'intervient pas une donnée supplémentaire, comme le style indirect — à la présentation « objective ». Avec un verbe principal du type *fit*, *accidit*, le procès exprimé par la complétive peut être présenté par le locuteur soit comme un fait observable soit (et c'est l'effet de sens d'appréciation personnelle) comme imaginé ou simplement teinté de subjectivité: dans le premier cas, l'indicatif s'impose et est introduit par *quod*<sup>4</sup>, dans le second cas, le subjonctif s'impose et il est introduit par *ut* (que plusieurs grammairres traditionnelles rattachent au *ut* « consécutif »)<sup>5</sup>. La différence entre *quod* et *ut* en complétive est, à quelques détails près, parallèle à celle entre *quamvis* et *quamquam*: *ut* et *quamvis* sont choisis respectivement par opposition à *quod* et à *quamquam* quand le procès sur lequel ils portent est présenté comme subjectif et donc exprimé au subjonctif. Ce dernier n'est donc pas conditionné par *ut* ou par *ne*, c'est lui, ou plutôt sa valeur, qui les conditionne.

Quant aux phrases du type *suadeo tibi ut legas*, l'impossibilité pour le subjonctif de commuter avec l'indicatif et en même temps l'impossibilité pour *ut* de commuter avec *quod* s'expliquent bien à partir de la notion de volonté contenue dans le monème lexical du verbe principal. Après un verbe de volonté, le procès énoncé dans la complétive ne peut être que l'objet de cette volonté, et on ne voit pas pourquoi ce fait enlèverait au subjonctif, lorsqu'il l'exprime, la valeur de volonté qu'on lui reconnaît par ailleurs. Une paraphrase — ou une transformation — confirme ce raisonnement en le plaçant sur une base plus concrète. Si l'on exprime l'idée non plus au moyen d'une phrase complexe, mais de deux propositions indépendantes avec, en incise, *suadeo tibi* «je te le conseille», on aura *ut legas*<sup>6</sup>, *legas* ou *lege* et jamais l'indicatif *legis*, grammaticalement possible dans ce cas. Si l'on doit employer un subjonctif (ou un impératif) pour exprimer la même idée que celle de la complétive introduite par *ut*, on peut conclure que ce n'est pas le statut de complétive ni le subordonnant *ut*, d'ailleurs facultatif, qui sont responsables de cet emploi du subjonctif.

En résumé, dans les phrases du type *suadeo tibi ut legas* comme dans celles du type *accidit ut esset luna plena*, chacun des effets de sens est conditionné par le sens lexical du verbe principal, le premier type laissant attendre la manifestation concrète de la volonté, le second pouvant laisser attendre une appréciation personnelle, laquelle s'actualise dès l'apparition de *ut*. Ce que je voudrais faire ressortir ici, c'est le critère proposé. Je suis bien d'accord sur la formule «pas de choix, pas de monème». Mais je pense que ce choix ne doit pas nécessairement porter sur un segment, en l'occurrence le subjonctif. Dans le sens de ce qu'écrivait récemment M. Alain Lemaréchal (1983: 63 ss.), il convient de tenir compte aussi de leur combinaison. De même que M. Touratier (voir 2.3.1) reconnaît que c'est le contexte — notamment la répartition des variantes *ne/non* de la particule de négation — qui permet de distinguer la notion de volonté et la notion de possibilité véhiculées par le subjonctif, de même il faut reconnaître que la valeur en discours du subjonctif se voit répartie, quand il figure en complétive, sur plusieurs unités, lexicales ou grammaticales: la notion de volonté se répartit sur le monème lexical du type *suadeo* et sur le monème grammatical correspondant au subjonctif, et la notion d'appréciation personnelle se répartit sur le type lexical *accidit* et, grammaticalement, sur le subordonnant *ut*, préféré à *quod*, et sur le subjonctif. *Ut*, dans les complétives, y compris les consécutives, pourrait bien

être ainsi le signifiant amalgamé d'un morphème de subordination complétive et, en opposition à *quod*, une partie du signifiant discontinu du morphème de « présentation subjective », l'autre partie étant constituée par les suffixes du subjonctif<sup>7</sup>. Mais je reconnais que cette notion d'un monème « *ut* complétif » pose un problème, en raison de l'homonymie qu'elle suppose.

2.3.1 Passons au subjonctif en proposition non subordonnée. M. Touratier part du principe qu'il est suffisant et nécessaire <d'exiger, pour chaque unité, que son apparition *dans un contexte* corresponde à une *modification phonique quelconque*> (Touratier 1978: 406). Or le morphème de négation sous forme *ne* correspond toujours à un subjonctif de volonté, tandis qu'avec le subjonctif de possibilité, ce morphème a toujours la forme *non*. <Une telle différence de fonctionnement suffirait à prouver que le latin distingue effectivement la volonté de la possibilité et donc que le subjonctif représente deux unités significatives différentes> (Touratier 1978: 405), dont il est le signifiant homonyme (Touratier 1978: 403).

2.3.2 Pour répondre à cet argument, je distingue les effets de sens de la valeur en langue au moyen du critère suivant: <les valeurs susceptibles d'être considérées comme un effet de sens [doivent apparaître] dans un contexte sémantique ou syntaxique positivement définissable...; [il faut] qu'elles puissent être décrites comme une particularisation sémantique due à ce contexte ...> (Touratier 1978: 375). Or la variante négative *ne* constitue un contexte syntaxique positivement définissable. Quant à la variante *non*, on la trouve parfois là où on attendrait *ne*<sup>8</sup>. C'est alors le contexte, syntaxique et sémantique, constitué par la phrase tout entière qui indique qu'il s'agit de l'effet de sens « volonté ». D'autres contextes montreraient que l'effet de sens est celui de possibilité, ou plutôt, comme je l'ai proposé, d'appréciation personnelle. Ces deux effets de sens ont en commun la présentation subjective du procès, par opposition à une présentation objective, véhiculée en principe par l'indicatif. La « présentation subjective » semble donc bien la valeur unique en langue du subjonctif, lequel correspond ainsi à un monème et à un seul.

2.3.3 Je reconnais qu'il n'est pas aisé de départager ces deux positions, qui dans la pratique, c'est-à-dire ici la compréhension des textes, aboutissent au même résultat. Théoriquement, il me semble que la première, toutes choses égales d'ailleurs, devrait être écartée



en raison de son recours au phénomène de l'homonymie. Lorsque ce phénomène sert d'explication *ad hoc*, c'est-à-dire lorsqu'il n'est pas le résultat de faits historiques vérifiables, comme une convergence phonétique (cp. Lemaréchal 1983: 59 ss., 75), celui qui y recourt devra, pour rester cohérent, faire correspondre à un signifiant autant de monèmes qu'il y a de types d'effets de sens. Ainsi, il devrait dans le cas présent reconnaître entre autres l'existence non de deux effets de sens mais d'un monème de souhait et d'un monème de volonté, le premier généralement caractérisé par *utinam*, le second ne l'étant jamais. La distinction en soi ne serait pas absurde<sup>9</sup>, puisque le grec recourait effectivement en pareil cas à deux unités significatives différentes, l'optatif et le subjonctif ou l'impératif. Mais, justement, les signifiants des deux monèmes y étaient différents, tandis qu'en latin, compte tenu des variantes combinatoires, ils ne constituent qu'une seule catégorie. Et il est plus logique et plus économique — et probablement plus conforme au sentiment des usagers — de faire correspondre à un même signifiant un signifié en langue plutôt que plusieurs signifiés. Au contexte en général et, dans les cas les plus favorables, à l'emploi d'autres unités reliées plus étroitement au signifié en question, comme *ne/non*, est dévolu le rôle de faire apparaître les effets de sens.

**3.1** Il reste à éclaircir le statut de l'impératif et de l'indicatif. La forme du premier soulève un problème: elle ne présente pas de marque modale positive. Etant donné sa valeur constante en discours, on pourrait admettre que l'impératif est, sur le plan modal, caractérisé par le morphème zéro, combiné sur le plan personnel avec le morphème zéro à la 2<sup>e</sup> pers. sing. et le morphème réduit *-te* (opposé à *-tis* partout ailleurs) à la 2<sup>e</sup> pers. plur. Cette combinaison de marques est, en tout cas, typique de l'impératif. Celui-ci aurait alors le statut de monème, comme le subjonctif. Mais si l'on préfère mettre l'accent sur l'absence de marque concrète, on pourra considérer que le signifiant de l'impératif est une variante de celui du subjonctif (cp. Touratier 1978: 377) et dire qu'ils se partagent l'effet de sens «volonté», l'opposition graduelle signalée en 1.2 subsistant à ce niveau. Dans ce cas, on ne parlera plus d'un monème «subjonctif» ni d'un monème «impératif», mais d'une des deux réalisations d'un monème unique, «la présentation subjective», l'autre étant l'effet de sens «appréciation personnelle» réalisé par le subjonctif uniquement. C'est la solution vers laquelle je tendrais, en

raison de son caractère unificateur, mais je crois la première plus réaliste.

**3.2** Quant à l'indicatif, les fonctionnalistes en général ne le considèrent pas comme un monème (donc, en l'occurrence, comme un mode) pour la double raison qu'il n'a pas de marque modale ni un signifié unique en langue. Mais une forme peut très bien ne pas être un monème et exercer une fonction. Étant donné notamment les désinences personnelles dont il est pourvu, l'indicatif fait partie du système verbal; mais, étant donné son absence de marque modale et le fait que ses désinences peuvent se retrouver au subjonctif, en un mot, étant donné son absence de spécificité, à l'intérieur de ce système, par rapport à ce mode, on peut s'en servir pour exprimer à la fois l'objectif et le subjectif. Naturellement, on l'emploiera le plus souvent dans la première de ces fonctions, étant donné que le subjonctif pourvoit à la seconde: c'est la valeur d'opposition de l'indicatif (ou valeur négative, puisqu'il s'agit de ce que n'exprime pas le subjonctif). Mais rien n'empêche, puisqu'il n'a rien de spécifique, de l'employer comme substitut du subjonctif: c'est sa valeur neutre.

Cette discussion aura permis au lecteur, nous l'espérons, de se faire une opinion critique sur la valeur des critères qui ont fondé notre description du début.

## Notes

1. Ernout – Thomas (1964: 252 s.) mentionne des « notions dérivées ou annexes », comme la permission, la prière, le souhait, la supposition. Il s'agit, bien entendu, d'interprétations des conditions d'énonciation.
2. Les grammaires traditionnelles confondent souvent la substitution du subjonctif par l'indicatif avec l'expression logique de la réalité par l'indicatif. Par exemple, Cic., *C. M.* 55 *possum persequi* ... est traduit (par Ernout – Thomas 1964: 247) « je pourrais énumérer ... », ce qui est conforme à l'usage français, mais *possum* est commenté comme un indicatif « modal », qui désigne une action qu'il serait possible de faire. En fait, elle *est* possible. De même, ces auteurs affirment que « le futur I remplace aussi le subjonctif délibératif: Pl., *Capt.* 535: ... *quid fabulabor?* ... « que raconter? » reprise du v. 531: *quid machiner* « que machiner? ». En fait, tantôt le locuteur emploie le mode subjectif (« que pourrais-machiner? ») et tantôt le mode du réel (« que vais-je raconter? »). Il n'y a pas remplacement, mais alternance.
3. J'ai exposé ce point au XI<sup>e</sup> Convegno di Linguistica Funzionale (Bologne, juillet 1984). Voir les Actes, 295 – 300.



4. P. ex. Cic., *Att.* 1, 17, 2: *accidit perincommode quod eum nusquam vidisti* «il se fait, fort malheureusement, que tu ne l'as vu nulle part». Les adverbes d'appréciation, tels que *perincommode*, accompagnent généralement le verbe principal dans ce cas. Je pense que l'usage a fait preuve d'économie en exprimant dès lors à l'indicatif le fait réellement survenu (cp. Stéfanini 1982: 177–178).
5. P. ex. Cés. B. G. 4, 29, 1: *eadem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena* «le sort voulut que cette même nuit ce fût pleine lune» et donc marée haute, d'où un désastre pour les vaisseaux de César.
6. Cf. p. ex. Caton, *Agr.* 1, 2: *et uti eo introeas et circumspicias* «va donc visiter (le domaine) et observe à l'entour».
7. On pourrait faire intervenir la notion de neutralisation et dire que l'opposition indicatif ~ subjonctif est neutralisée dans les complétives introduites par *ut*. Mais cette solution, matériellement admissible, n'est pas à mettre au même niveau que l'absence d'opposition en langue entre le nominatif et l'accusatif, au neutre, où elle s'impose. Dans notre cas, étant donné la combinaison des segments en discours, elle me paraît plus superficielle que réaliste.
8. P. ex. dans Cic. *Clu.* 155: *a legibus non recedamus* «ne nous écartons pas des lois (puisque nous leur devons nos avantages, et songeons aussi que ...)».
9. M. Touratier ne peut d'ailleurs écarter cette analyse que pour une raison de simplicité (1978: 381).

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# **The Sacred Marriage — A study in Norse mythology**

Lotte Motz

0. The tale of a loving union between deities is frequently encountered in mythology. The fruit of such a marriage might be, as in Greek tradition, the features of the landscape, the mountains, rivers, or the sea. Students of mythology therefore understand the divine union to represent the primordial act from which arose the cosmos and all living things. Mircea Eliade (1961: 172) thus affirms the creative aspect of the marriage of male heaven and female earth, for it originates ‘... all that exists...’ (cf. Frazer 1913: 120–155). The ritual reenactment of such a marriage therefore is believed to revitalize the strength and fruitfulness of nature, and to serve in the renewal of the seasons.

Scholars of Germanic myth, in their turn, understand the “Sacred Marriage” of Norse tradition to be consummated between a male ruler of the sky and the fruitful earth, and to cause the fruit to ripen and the grain to grow. These views have been held, for instance, by Jan de Vries (1956: II. 191, 350) and by E. G. O. Turville-Petre (1964: 172), who speaks of divine pairs, sky god and earth goddess, who bring fertility and peace (cf. also Olsen 1909).

It is true that the Old Icelandic texts, our main source of Germanic, and especially Norse, myth, contain many instances of sexual union of deities, and some traditions of the countryside could be interpreted as vestiges of a ritual copulation which had been enacted in pagan time (Mannhardt 1875–1877: 480 ff.).

In this paper I attempt to assess more precisely the nature of the divine alliances of Germanic myth; I therefore collected the instances of such unions, as they occur in the *Eddas*, our prime source of information. Since mythical themes and personages found entrance also into the tales of men, and since superhuman unions, especially, are a marked feature of the Heroic Sagas, I have included some instances from this genre.<sup>1</sup> My survey led me to understand that the “Sacred Marriage” of the North pertains to the structure of society rather than to the fecundity of the soil.

In the superhuman marriages of the texts,

1. we sometimes meet a wedded pair without receiving information about the circumstances of the alliance, as in the case of the goddess Iðunn, wife of Bragi (gyl 14), or of the wise woman Gróa who had married Aurvandill (sk 26).<sup>2</sup>

2. Other unions engendered offspring: Nanna bore the son Forseti to her husband Baldr (gyl 18), and Sif bore Þrúðr to her husband Þórr (sk 30).<sup>3</sup>

3. Sometimes the marriage leaves an impact of a different type:

**3.1** Marriage might create a family, race, or class: The race of ruling gods came from Borr and Bestla of the family of giants (gyl 5); the race of giants had descended from Bergelmir and his wife (gyl 5), and Ask and Embla became the ancestors of men (vsp 17). Líf and Lífþrasir will give birth to a new race of beings after the destruction of the world (gyl 41, vaf 45). When Loki mated with an evil woman, he originated the race of witches (hyn 41).

In three different places Rígr, really the god Heimdallr, had intercourse with the mistress of a household. The first, Edda, gave birth to Þræll, the ancestor of bondsmen; from Amma came the class of free farmers and from Móðir the nobility (rig).

**3.2** A marriage might create an aspect of society and of the cosmic order: Nótt, a giantess, married Naglfari and gave birth to Auðr 'wealth'; when she married Ánnar, her child was Jörð 'earth, domain' and when she was the wife of Dellingr, she had Dagr 'day' (gyl 6). The waves are the daughters of Rán and Ægir, the gods or giants of the sea (sk 34).

**3.3** Sexual union may be an instrument for achieving vengeance: Óðinn slept with Rindr and begot Váli, who avenged the murder of his brother, Óðinn's son (gyl 17; sk 20; hyn 29); in his union with Gríðr, a giantess, he gained the son Viðarr, who avenged his father's death (gyl 39, sk 19,27). Völundr, of supernatural endowment, raped, or overcame through drink, the daughter of his enemy, the king, and brought him shame (vol).

**3.4** Marriage may bring appeasement: The giant's daughter Skaði had come to the stronghold of the Æsir to avenge her father's death; she was calmed by the promise of marriage to a god (sk 3).

**3.5** Gifts may be obtained through mating: The goddess Gefion is said to have slept with a fair lad and to have received a jewel (ls 20). When she “entertained” a king, she was told that she could have as much land as she could plough with four oxen in one night (gyl 1). After having “odged” with a giantess, Þórr received from her a belt of strength, a stout staff, and gloves of iron (sk 27).

**3.6** Marriage may result in establishing a dominion or in settling in a home: Gefion, as noted earlier, was allowed to have the land which she could plough within one night. She cut so deep a furrow that the area was separated from the mainland, Sweden, and was hauled into the sea; and in this way the island Selund came into existence. After traveling on a perilous road, Svipdagr at last reached the stronghold of his fated bride, and he stayed from then on in her golden hall (fjol).

**3.7** Sexual union may be a way of gaining wisdom: After Óðinn had lain with Gunnlöð, the guardian of the mead, she allowed him three sips of the drink of wisdom and inspiration which he thus secured for gods and men (hav 105; sk 6). Sigurðr obtained a drink of remembrance and the knowledge of magic runes after he had penetrated into the enclosure of a battlemaid; the union here is, however, only pledged (sigr).

**3.8** Marriage may bring protection and inspiration: The goddess Freyja helped and protected her human lover Óttar (hyn). The valkyrie Sigrún rescued her lover’s boat from a storm at sea (HH I,30). Helgi Hjörvarðzson grew up mute and without a name until his bride, a battlemaid, endowed him with speech and with a name; she also inspired him to deeds of valor (HHJ 6–9).

**3.9** In the instances presented we find no evidence that the sexual union has an effect on the growing of the crops; most closely related to agricultural activity is the tale of Gefion and her royal lover, for she leads a plough across the fields. But the result of her toil is not the creation of fertility, but the establishment of a dominion.<sup>4</sup>

**4.** Let us now examine the interaction of the sexual partners; the marriage rarely is between two equals.

**4.1** In the following cases the man is of superior social station and/or of greater power. The hierarchy rests on the following considerations: a god is superior to a giant, a supernatural creature is more powerful than a human, and Óðinn is the highest of the gods.

4.1.1 An element of trickery or manipulation, from the man's side, is discernible: Skaði, promised a husband from among the Æsir, was allowed to see only feet when she made her choice. And she chose Njörðr, with whom later she was not happy, thinking that his feet were Baldr's. Gunnlöð was seduced by Óðinn for the sake of the mead, and we are told that he left her weeping. Gerðr, eagerly desired by Freyr, was subjugated by a potent curse. Óðinn got the better, he states proudly, of seven sisters whom he had for sport (hb 18), and he lured with magic incantations "night-riding" wenches from their men (hb 20). He also employed charms when he wished to sleep with Rindr (sk 10). The smith Völundr, of superhuman skills, used beer when he overcame the maid (vol 28).

4.1.2 In the case of Rígr—Heimdallr, however, the love of earthly women was freely given to the god.

4.1.3 We do not know how the union was consummated between Þórr and Gríðr, Þórr and Járnsaxa, and Óðinn and Jörð.

4.1.4 Since Æsir are dwellers of the sky and giantesses live within the rocks and mountains of the earth, the union of the following is indeed a mating of 'Sky' and 'Earth':<sup>5</sup> Óðinn and Gunnlöð, Njörðr and Skaði, Þórr and Gríðr, Þórr and Járnsaxa, Freyr and Gerðr. Óðinn also had his fun with some girls who probably were of giant origin (hb 18). He also was wedded to Jörð, the daughter of a giantess, and he had embraced the woman Rindr. A marriage between 'Sky' and 'Earth' is also consummated in Heimdallr's embracing of three earthly women.

The women cited in this section are of the race of men or, more often, of the race of giants; the latter dwell in rocks or caves or in the icy wasteland of the North and thus they have no relation with the fertile soil.<sup>6</sup>

**4.2** We shall now consider the alliances in which the woman is of higher standing, or of greater power, than the man.

An Eddic poem tells of Menglōð who receives the wandering Svipdagr into her hall of riches, of the goddesses Gefion and Freyja and their human lovers; Helgi, son of Hjörvarðr, and Helgi, who killed Hundigr, had wedded ladies of supernatural descent.<sup>7</sup>

While men of superior station often use their power to manipulate their partner into sexual surrender, the women, on the other hand, are of a giving, protective, and inspiring nature. We find Sigdrífa sharing with Sigurðr her knowledge of magic runes and offering

him her horn of mead, just as Menglōð offers to Svipdagr the peace and safety of her home. The valkyries Sigrún (HH II) and Sváva (HHJ) and the goddess Freyja render guidance, help, and inspiration to those whom they have cherished.

#### 4.3 Gifts may be exchanged between the man and woman.

4.3.1 On the whole the ladies are more generous: Besides the examples cited under 4.2, we may note Gunnlōð's offering of the precious mead to Óðinn and Gríðr's presentation of a staff and iron gloves to Þórr.

4.3.2 A man may also bestow a gift: Gefion receives a jewel, and, at another time, a plot of land from her lover.

5. Let us now turn to some instances taken from the Heroic Sagas. Since it is not possible to deal with all the cases within the framework of a paper, we shall merely note that some of the Eddic patterns appear to find an echo in the Sagas.

5.1 Marriage may create a family or a dynasty: When the giant's daughter Hljóð married King Völsungr of Húna-land they brought forth eleven children and founded the family of the Völsungar (*Völsunga saga*, f 1, ch. 2).<sup>8</sup>

5.2 Gifts may be obtained through mating: Freyja gave herself to each one of four dwarfs to obtain her splendid torque (*Sörla þáttur*, f 1, ch. 1). Ketill of *Ketils saga hængs* was given an arrow and a shaft when he left his beloved friend, a giantess; gifts of magical endowment were handed to Hálfðan by his giant mistress Brana at their parting (*Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra*, f 4, ch. 8).

5.3 Marriage may bring protection and salvation: The hero Helgi, of the Saga of Hrómundr Gripsson, achieved victory in battle through the powers of his mistress Lára, a valkyrie and swan-maiden.<sup>9</sup> The warrior Hálfðan spent the winter with the giant woman Brana in her cave and she gave him guidance, help and counsel throughout his future life; he was henceforth known as 'Fosterson of Brana' (*Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra*, f 4, chs. 13, 17). Grímr lay deeply wounded and close to death on the shore when Geirríðr came upon him; she restored his strength and health and later clasped him in her arms (*Gríms saga loðinkinna*, f 2, ch. 2). In

a similar fashion Þorsteinn was saved by Skellinefja and he too became her lover (*Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, f 3, ch. 19).

**5.4** We have many instances of a love relation between a man and a superhuman woman.

5.4.1 As in the Eddic episodes the lady is generous and protective: Precious and magical gifts are offered by Brana to her human lover when he leaves her to rejoin the world of men; Geirríðr and Skellinefja rescue the men they love from death; and Lára shielded her lover in his battles (see instances of 5.3).

5.4.2 Women in their turn may have cause for gratitude, for release from enchantment may be affected by the hero whom they embrace. The embrace of Þorsteinn thus helped Skellinefja to return to her former beauty and in the same way the hero Grímr liberated Geirríðr from her spell. King Helgi had offered to a beggar woman both the warmth of his chamber and the comfort of his bed. Through his generosity were restored to her the rich garments and the loveliness of her state before enchantment (*Hrólfs saga kraka*, f 1, ch. 15).

5.4.3 I have found only one instance in which misfortune befell the lover of a superhuman woman: Helgi of *Helga þáttur Þórissonar* died, a blind man, soon after he had departed from the enchanted kingdom of Ingibjörg. In this tale, however, we meet also with the conflict between paganism and Christianity so that the aspects of pagan faith show some distortion (f 4).

5.4.4 It may be significant that the Eddic theme of a woman's subjugation through the superior powers of a man does not find a counterpart in the Heroic Sagas.

**6.** The brief analysis of the *connubia* of Eddic poetry and prose does not show them to pertain especially to the sky god and the fertile earth. When a male divinity has intercourse with a chthonic force she is, frequently, a giantess and the affair shows elements of coercion or manipulation. The alliance of earthbound man and superhuman woman (and if she is a valkyrie, she would be of the upper air) offers help and guidance to the hero.

Both, the Sagas and the *Eddas*, contain the tale of a young man's union with a superior woman who is generous in her protectiveness and in her gifts. Sigdrífa's disclosure of magic wisdom to Sigurðr



and Sváva's fitting Helgi with a sword and with a name, and endowing him with speech point to the educational aspect of the superhuman bride. By inciting her lover to engage in combat, as does Sigrún (HH I), or by allowing him to settle in her home, as does Menglöß, the woman is also instrumental in guiding her lover to his place in life. She herself may be released through the hero's action from enchantment (such release is recurrent in the Sagas and happens in the Eddic context in the case of Sigdrifa).

In those instances, on the other hand, and these are restricted to the Eddic sources, in which a woman is brought to bed through the greater strength and cunning of a man, it is possible to discern the elements of a struggle of contending forces and of an ultimate assertion of superiority.

Both in Sagas and in myth, a king frequently receives the affection of a superhuman mistress, as do Óttarr, Gylfi, and Agnarr. The hero, favored by the lady, may also bear the designation *Helgi* 'the blessed', 'the bringer of blessing'. This name has been understood to be a synonym for 'king' (de Vries 1956. I: 340) because the king embodies, in his sacred aspect, the prosperity of his domain.

If we acknowledge the possibility that the superhuman mistress may be instrumental to her lover's finding his role in life and also take note of the fact that a king frequently appears as the lover of a spirit maiden, we may consider the possibility that such a union was needed for the gaining of the royal office. The assumption would be strengthened by non-Germanic parallels. In Irish tradition the king's ascendance to the throne is designated as *banais rígi* — 'the wedding of the king' (de Vries 1961: 129; Höfler 1962: 60–63; Ebenbauer 1970). In this tradition also the releasing of a woman through loving union from her enchantment is brought into the context of gaining the royal state. By embracing a hideous hag one may turn her into a beauty and receive in recompense the kingship of the land (de Vries 1961: 242).

In ancient Mesopotamia the fate of being chosen by Inanna — Ishtar for her pleasure led the young man to the royal throne (Kramer 1969). And we have seen that the 'merry-making' of King Gylfi with a goddess led to the establishment of a domain. If we accept the function of the superhuman woman in the confirmation of kings, for the realm of the Germanic nations, then we may view the "Sacred Marriage" as instrumental in the bestowal of sovereignty.



We may summarize that a union, in which at least one partner is superhuman, serves in our texts to engender a family, race, or class (3.1, 5.1); the alliance may help in the calming of hostility or in the gaining of revenge (3.3, 3.4); it may lead to an exchange of gifts (3.5, 5.2), to the settling in a home (3.6, 4.2), or to the establishment of a dominion (3.6); it may help a young man in gaining wisdom, wealth, guidance, or protection (3.7, 3.8, 4.2, 5.3). The union may function, possibly in the social hierarchy, either by bestowal of sovereignty (pp. 9, 10) or through the assertion of superior strength (4.1.1). All the effects noted pertain to human interaction in society.

Only three unelaborated instances show the creation of a cosmic feature through marriage: the origin of 'earth', 'day', and 'waves' (3.2). Only the gaining of the mead by Óðinn and of the magic runes by Sigurðr through a woman's love (3.7) may be regarded as transcending the working of the social order. We must repeat that no mythical marriage is associated with agricultural fertility.

7. In conclusion, we shall now turn to the non-literary evidence. There is frequent reference in discussions of the "Sacred Marriage" to Scandinavian rock drawings which were attributed to the Bronze Age. In these, images of a male and female in embrace have been discerned, and they too have been related to the aim of securing the harvest, as by de Vries (1956: I.110). The pictures of such a union, however, are rare and are not placed in a context of agricultural activity. We find the embracing couple on a boat, or in a dance, or without any relation to the surrounding scene (Gelling—Davidson 1965).

Much more striking and more frequently drawn are men with large and erect phalluses. These appear in a bewildering variety of activities, such as leaping, or carrying spears or disks, guiding a plough, or playing an instrument. Clearly male potency is of high significance, yet it is not directed towards a female partner. It must have seemed sufficient in itself for the support of life. We find indeed references in the text showing *ergi*, some sort of sexual perversion, to be part of the sorcerer's *séance*. The noun *göndull*, designating both, the male member and the magic rod, also indicates the magic power attributed to male potency.

Let us note, moreover, that the divine *connubium* appears also in some non-Germanic cultures not to be essential to the growth of grain. While undoubtedly a "Sacred Marriage" was enacted in many

seasonal festivities it did not, in fact, create the miracle of the return of spring. The triumph of Marduk, of ancient Babylon, over a marine monster assured the continuance of life, and the marriage was enacted after the victory. The rebirth of Osiris was accomplished through magic rites. In Hittite myth the anger of the god Telepinu had caused the wilting of the plants, and the persuasion (non-sexual) of his mother soothed his wrath so that the earth began to bloom again. The violence of Anat of the Canaanites destroyed the monster of aridity and brought back Baal of the fruitful waters. In the most important agricultural festival of ancient Greece, the Thesmophoria, not copulation but the death of suckling pigs was thought to quicken the seed within the earth. The image of the Sky's embrace of Mother Earth in which originates the growth of vegetation thus would seem to belong to the poetic imagination of modern time rather than to archaic faith.

### Abbreviations

The following Eddic poems are cited from *Edda* 1962:

fs — *För Scírnis*; gr — *Grimnismál*; hb — *Hárbarðzlióð*; HH I — *Helgaqviða Hundingsbana in fyrri*; HH II — *Helgaqviða Hundingsbana önnor*; HHJ — *Helgaqviða Hiörvarðssonar*; hav — *Hávamál*; hyn — *Hyndlolióð*; ls — *Locasenna*; rig — *Rígsþula*; sigr — *Sigrdrífomál*; vaf — *Vafdrúðnismál*; vol — *Völundarqviða*; vsp — *Völuspá*.

The following poem is cited from *Edda* 1922:

fjol — *Fjölsvinnsmöl*.

Eddic prose is quoted from *Edda* 1931:

gyl — *Gylfaginning*; sk — *Skáldskaparmál*.

Sagas (quoted from *Sögur* 1959): f — *Fornaldar Sögur*.

### Notes

1. Editions used: *Edda* 1922, 1931, 1962; *Sögur* 1959.
2. Other instances are: Saga and Óðinn, gr 7; Sól and Glenr gyl 6; Iðunn and her brother's slayer, ls 17; Frigg and Vili and Véi, Óðinn's brothers, ls 26; Freyja and her brother, ls 32; Skaði and Loki, ls 52; Sif and Loki, ls 52; Beyla and Byggvir, ls 56.
3. Other instances are: Loki and Sygin — Nari, gyl 19, sk 24; Fárbauti and Laufey — Loki, Byleister, Helblindi, gyl 19; Þórr and Járnsaxa — Magni, sk 25; Óðinn and Jörð — Þórr, gyl 6; Frigg and Óðinn — Baldr, sk 13; Freyja and Óðr — Hnoss, gyl 22; Loki and Týr's wife — child (name unknown), ls 40; Gymir and

- Aurboða — Gerðr, fs; Gefion and a giant — four oxen, gyl 1; Loki and Angrboða, Hel, Fenrir, Jörmungandr, gyl 19.
4. The same conclusion is reached by Clunies-Ross (1978: 149–165).
  5. We know that the dwelling of the Æsir lies in heaven because a bridge connects their celestial place with the earth, gyl 8.
  6. The name Gerðr, of a giantess, has been interpreted to mean: 'fertile field', but there is no basis for this interpretation; cf. Motz (1981: 121–136).
  7. King Agnarr begets children with a troll-woman, gr, prose; Sigdrífa, a battle-maid, pledges her love to Sigurðr, sigr.
  8. Dynasties also are created, according to the Kings' Sagas through the following marriages: Óðinn and Skaði, Gerðr and Freyr, and Gefion and Skjöldr.
  9. *Hrómundar saga Gripssonar* f 2, ch. 7; she hovered over him in his battles; when she died by accident he too soon lost his life.

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# Zum Verhältnis der grammatischen Kategorien Person und Modus im Indogermanischen

Erich Neu

1. Für das sprachliche Zeichen im Kommunikationsakt werden von K. Bühler (1965: 24 ff.) im Rahmen seines bekannten Organonmodells drei Relationen aufgezeigt, aus denen sich als Leistung der menschlichen Sprache eine Ausdrucks-, Appell- und Darstellungsfunktion ergeben. Dieser Dreifunktionalität lassen sich entsprechend der angegebenen Reihenfolge die drei grammatischen Personen ‚Sprecher‘ (1. Person), ‚Angesprochener‘ (auch: ‚Hörer‘; 2. Person) und ‚Besprochener‘ (3. Person) zuordnen. Der Modus als eine kommunikativ-grammatische Kategorie<sup>1</sup> ist stark subjektiv<sup>2</sup> geprägt und steht in engem Bezug zur jeweiligen Sprechsituation,<sup>3</sup> die durch die deiktischen Beziehungen, die der Sprecher zu ihr einnimmt, mitbestimmt wird. Auf diesem allgemeinsprachlichen Hintergrund erscheinen die Modi in einem engeren, wenn auch unterschiedlich strukturierten Bezugssystem zur Kategorie der grammatischen Person.<sup>4</sup> Wie schon J. Wackernagel (1950: 210) festgestellt hat, sind „unbestimmt viele Modi denkbar ... Die Beschränkung auf drei oder vier Modi ... ist, wenn man es so will, zufällig und willkürlich“. In dieser kleinen Studie, die wir dem verehrten Jubilar ergebenst widmen, sollen im Anschluß an die voranstehenden Überlegungen einige Gesichtspunkte aufgezeigt werden, die vor allem die Frage nach der kategoriellen Herausbildung von Modi im indogermanischen Sprachbereich ein wenig zu beleuchten vermögen.

2.1 Der Modus Imperativ – um mit diesem zu beginnen – steht ohne Zweifel in einem engen Beziehungsverhältnis zur 2. grammatischen Person, denn es ist der ‚Angesprochene‘, an den sich in einer natürlichen, von ‚Sprecher‘ und ‚Angesprochenem‘ bestimmten Kommunikationssituation ein Befehl, eine Aufforderung, eine Bitte, eine Ermunterung usw. richtet. Wenn sich der ‚Sprecher‘ nur an ein einziges Gegenüber wendet, steht die Imperativform (des Aktivs) gewöhnlich in der bloßen Stammform, zeigt also keine Personalendung. Auch bei \*-*dhi* in Imperativformen wie aind. *edhi*, avest. *zdi* oder griech. *isthi* „sei!“ handelt es sich nicht um eine Personalen-

dung, sondern um eine Partikel, die auch schon in dem früh bezeugten Hethitischen überliefert ist (vgl. *it* „geh!“); sie unterstreicht bei den meist kurzen athematischen Imperativformen das Merkmal [+ Appell], wodurch sich Imperativsätze sehr deutlich von (nicht-emphatischen) Aussagesätzen sowie von Fragesätzen abheben. Im Gegensatz zu den sogenannten Imperativformen der 3. Person vermag die an die 2. Person gerichtete Aufforderung kein Nomen als Subjekt zu sich zu nehmen.<sup>5</sup> Auch in einer Wendung wie lat. *abi tu intro* hat man *tu* nicht als grammatisches Subjekt, sondern vokativisch zu verstehen;<sup>6</sup> das Pronomen unterstreicht den Appell, die Hinwendung an das Gegenüber und kann noch zusätzlich durch einen Vokativ verstärkt werden (Typ: *tu, felix Austria, nube!*).

**2.2 Der Imperativ (2. Person)** war im Indogermanischen zunächst diathesenindifferent und wird dies auch nach der sekundären Herausbildung der Diathese Medium aus einer Art Kontamination von Aktiv und altem (Zustands)perfekt<sup>7</sup> noch längere Zeit gewesen sein, vergleichbar gr. *paûe* als Imperativ zu *paúō* und *paúomai*.<sup>8</sup> Die Auffassung, daß mediale Imperativformen entstehungsgeschichtlich (relativ) jünger sind als die entsprechenden endungslosen Formen des Aktivs, wird auch durch die unterschiedlichen Bildungsweisen in den Einzelsprachen nahegelegt (vgl. heth. *-hut(i)*; aind. *-sva*, avest. *-svā*; griech. *\*-so*; air. *-the, -de*). Da der Numerus beim indogermanischen Verbum normalerweise durch die entsprechende Endung markiert ist, der endungslose Imperativ aber über keine besondere Numerusmarkierung verfügt, liegt die Annahme nahe, daß die reine Stammform in ihrer Verwendungsweise als Imperativ zunächst auch numerusindifferent war.<sup>9</sup> So ist man sich schon seit langem darüber einig, daß die spätere Pluralendung *\*-te* aus dem ‚Injunktiv‘ stammt, ursprünglich somit nicht dem Modus Imperativ zugehörte. Das Imperativparadigma, wie es uns die deskriptiven Grammatiken altindogermanischer Sprachen darbieten, ist nicht aus einem einzigen Guß entstanden, sondern läßt sehr deutlich eine historische Schichtung erkennen, wobei der Eingliederung der Injunktivendung *\*-te* ins Imperativparadigma ganz sicher hohes Alter zukommt. Mit der Übernahme der Endung *\*-te* vollzog sich die funktionelle Festlegung der bloßen Stammform auf den Singular. Beide Formen, die endungslose (2. Person Singular) und die auf *\*-te*, bilden den Kern des späteren Imperativparadigmas und stellen den ‚eigentlichen Imperativ‘ mit unmittelbarer Aufforderung an den/die ‚Angesprochenen‘ dar.<sup>10</sup>

2.3 Demgegenüber erfolgt die Aufforderung an die 3. Person nur mittelbar. Das Subjekt ist nicht nur in die Verbalform inhärent, sondern kann durch Nomina als eigener Satzteil zum Ausdruck gebracht werden. Auch für diese Formen hat wieder der archaische ‚Injunktiv‘ Pate gestanden (vgl. aind. *bhávāt-u*). Die einzelsprachlichen Abweichungen in der Bildungsweise<sup>11</sup> lassen zwar eine gemeinsame Anlagetendenz erkennen, zeigen zugleich aber auch, daß die sogenannten Imperativformen der 3. Person gewiß nicht zum allerältesten Bestandteil der indogermanischen Imperativkategorie gehören. Dies gilt erst recht für die entsprechenden Imperativformen des Mediums. Das ‚eigentliche Imperativparadigma‘ ist um Formen der 3. Person gleichsam aufgefüllt worden, unter Zuhilfenahme von deiktischen Partikeln oder einer pronominalen Kasusform, die wie im Lateinischen adverbialen Charakter besaß („von da an, dann“).

2.4 Streng genommen gibt es auf dem Hintergrund des oben skizzierten Kommunikationsmodells, in welchem sich natürlicherweise der Befehl unmittelbar an den ‚Angesprochenen/Hörer‘ (2. Person) richtet, auch keinen Imperativ der 1. Person. Wenn z. B. in Grammatiken des Sanskrit (vgl. Thumb – Hauschild 1959: 239, etc.) Verbalformen wie *bhávāni* (zu *bhū-* „sein, werden“) oder *áyāni* (zu *i-* „gehen“) als Imperative angesprochen werden, so zeigt schon deren Morphologie, daß es sich ursprünglich am Konjunktivformen handelt, die etwa in Analogie zu den aus drei Personen bestehenden Indikativparadigmen zur Paradigmaauffüllung dienten. Anschaulich zeigt gerade das altindische Imperativparadigma, wie heterogen diese Moduskategorie morphologisch strukturiert ist: *bhávāni* (Konjunktiv), *bháva* (bloße Stammform; ‚eigentlicher Imperativ‘), *bhávatu* (Injunktiv + Partikel *-u*). Vergleichbare Heterogenität trifft man im Plural an (der Dual bleibt hier unberücksichtigt): *bhávāma* (Konjunktiv), *bhávata* (Injunktiv), *bhávantu* (Injunktiv + Partikel *-u*). Schon auf diesem Hintergrund wird die Rekonstruktion eines aus drei grammatischen Personen bestehenden Imperativparadigmas für das sogenannte Urindogermanische nicht nur problematisch, sondern geradezu unmöglich. Was wir gemeinhin als Imperativparadigma bezeichnen, ist in seinen Bestandteilen historisch geschichtet und aus verschiedenen Quellen gespeist. Auch eine Injunktivform wie *bhávata* konnte ohne das Merkmal [+ Appell] nicht als Imperativ fungieren, denn nach den grundlegenden Untersuchungen von K. Hoffmann (1967) zum Injunktiv im Veda<sup>12</sup> besaß dieser Modus zunächst nur ‚Erwähn‘-Funktion. Das Merkmal



[+ Appell] konnte sich kontextuell oder auch durch besondere Intonation ergeben.<sup>13</sup>

**2.5** Auch in der deskriptiven Grammatik des Hethitischen werden gewöhnlich Imperativformen der 1. Pers. Sing. angesetzt (vgl. Friedrich 1960: 78; Kammenhuber 1969: 224). Doch hat schon E. Benveniste die heth. Verbalformen auf *-(a)llu*, *-lit*, *-lut* nicht als Imperative angesprochen, sondern sie eher als Voluntativ- oder auch Optativformen verstehen wollen (vgl. Neu 1984: 102). Vielleicht sollte man sich für die hethitische Grammatik auf den Terminus Voluntativ einigen, da Optativ gar zu leicht an eine bestimmte morphologische Formation denken läßt. Es handelt sich beim hethitischen Voluntativ jedenfalls um einen Modus, der in ganz besonderem Maße den Wunsch, den Willen, die Absicht des ‚Sprechers‘ zum Ausdruck bringt. Diese Voluntativformen sind hinsichtlich ihres immens subjektiven Charakters typisch für die ‚ich‘-Person. Daher wird es auch wohl kaum ein Zufall sein, daß das sehr früh bezeugte Hethitische nur für die 1. grammatische Person über eine deutlich sprecherbezogene Wunschform verfügt (verneint mit *lē* + ‚Indikativ‘; vgl. *lē akmi* „ich will nicht sterben“), die noch nicht paradigmatisch unter Schaffung weiterer diesbezüglicher Formen auf die übrigen Personen ausgedehnt worden ist (\*du willst sein, \*er will sein). Auch das in seiner Überlieferung bis in das 3. vorchristliche Jahrtausend hinaufreichende, nicht-indogermanische Hurritische hat offenbar nur für die 1. grammatische Person einen echten Voluntativ entwickelt.<sup>14</sup> Die von J. Friedrich (1960: 78) angeführte hethitische Imperativendung *-uēni* (1. Person Plural) ist identisch mit der entsprechenden Indikativendung und stellt lediglich eine okkasionell futurisch bzw. adhortativ gebrauchte Präsensform dar, die man mit A. Kammenhuber (1969: 224) besser aus dem Imperativparadigma ganz heraus hält.

**3.** Sehr viel spricht dafür, daß in einer frühen Phase des Indogermanischen modale Aussagen nicht durch ein synthetisch gebildetes Modussystem bezeichnet, sondern durch syntaktische Fügungen dargestellt wurden. Wie dies funktionierte, läßt uns das altertümliche Hethitische noch recht gut erkennen. Diese Sprache verfügt weder über Optativ noch Konjunktiv, vermochte aber trotzdem recht flexibel modale Sehweisen zum Ausdruck zu bringen, wobei eine besondere Modalpartikel *man* (vgl. Friedrich 1960: 165–166; Hoffner 1982: 38 ff.), typologisch vergleichbar etwa griech. *án*, *ke*,

in den syntaktischen Fügungen eine wichtige Rolle spielte. Im Bereich der 1. grammatischen Person, des ‚Sprechers‘, werden so subjektiv geprägte Kategorien wie Konjunktiv und Optativ<sup>15</sup>, und zwar getragen von synthetischen Verbalformen, aufgekommen sein. Wie der Voluntativ des Hethitischen oder Hurritischen (s. oben 2.5) könnten sich auch die Paradigmen des Konjunktivs und Optativs von der 1. Person her aufgebaut haben. Im Rahmen dieser Überlegung wird man weiter annehmen dürfen, daß z. B. das sogenannte Optativkennzeichen *\*-iē-*,<sup>16</sup> das J. Kuryłowicz (1964: 136 ff., 140–141) aus *i* und *ē* zusammengesetzt ansieht, zunächst in der 1. Person Singularis heimisch wurde, bevor es (nach dem Ablautmuster athematischer Verben) schwundstufig auch in den Plural eindrang. Optativische Verbalformen der 2. und 3. Person sind sekundär zur 1. Person hinzugebildet worden.<sup>17</sup>

**4.1** Auch die morphologische Struktur der Konjunktivformen unterstreicht die besondere Stellung des ‚Sprechers‘ (1. Person) bei der Entstehung bestimmter Modalparadigmen. Bei den indogermanischen Personalendungen pflegt man gemeinhin zwischen thematischen und athematischen zu unterscheiden. Wenn wir jetzt nur mal den Singular ins Auge fassen, zeigt sich der Unterschied bekanntlich nur in der 1. Person, und zwar im Bereich der Primärendungen (thematisch: *\*-ō*, athematisch: *\*-mi*),<sup>18</sup> bei den Sekundärendungen ist dieser Unterschied aufgehoben (vgl. gr. *éphero-n* – *etithē-n*). Dies muß eine tiefere Ursache haben.

**4.2** Das altertümliche Hethitische zeigt nun gerade bei der so häufigen thematischen Klasse der *-sk*-Verben in der 1. Person Singular Aktiv durchweg die Endung *-mi*, die dort meines Erachtens auch den ursprünglichen Zustand widerspiegelt. Für die Annahme, hier hätte irgendwie ein sekundärer Ausgleich stattgefunden, besteht kein überzeugender Anlaß. Daher wird man die Endungen *\*-mi*, *\*-si*, *\*-ti* für ursprünglich nicht nur bei den athematischen, sondern auch bei den thematischen Verben halten dürfen. Es wird kein Zufall sein, daß es ausgerechnet in der 1. Person (also dem Bereich des ‚Sprechers‘), die sich gegenüber der 2. und 3. Person deutlich durch das Merkmal [+ subjektiv] auszeichnet, zu einer recht eigenwillig anmutenden Bildungsweise kam, als die synthetischen Konjunktivformen vor allem zur Bezeichnung der volitiven Funktion entstanden. Der Ausgang *\*-ō* dürfte sich nach Ausgliederung des Altanatolischen vor allem im modalen Bereich festgesetzt haben.<sup>19</sup>

**4.3** Da Präsensformen von Alters her auch futurisch (modal und temporal) gebraucht werden konnten, war in dieser Funktion des Präsens die semantische Nähe zum Konjunktiv, der einzelsprachlich auch zum Träger der Futurbedeutung geworden ist (vgl. lat. *tegam* als Konjunktiv- und Futurform), gegeben. Von daher ist es verständlich, wenn der Ausgang *\*-ō* bei den thematischen Verben immer mehr in Konkurrenz zur Endung *\*-mi* bzw. zum Ausgang *\*-o-mi* trat und sich teilweise auch durchsetzen konnte (vgl. gr. *phérō* als Indikativ und Konjunktiv). Mitunter erhielt der Indikativ noch eine zusätzliche Markierung (vgl. aind. *bhāvā-mi* Indikativ – *bhāvā* Konjunktiv); markiert werden konnte auch der Konjunktiv (vgl. avest. *-ā-ni*, neben *-ā*, gegenüber Indikativ *-ā*, aber auch *-ā-mi*). Zeugen aus der Zeit, als der Konjunktivausgang *-ā* (*\*-ō*) auch auf den Indikativ übergriff, sind möglicherweise z. B. die vedischen Konjunktivendungen *-si*, *-ti* (vgl. *bhāvā-si*, *bhāvā-ti* neben *bhāvā-s*, *bhāvā-t*), die ihr *-i* in der Gegenrichtung aus dem Indikativ bezogen haben könnten, vielleicht zusätzlich gefördert durch die *i*-haltige Konjunktivpartikel *-ni* (1. Person). Immerhin zeigen die Pluralformen des vedischen Konjunktivs kein *-i* im Auslaut (*bhāvā-ma*, *bhāvā-tha*, *bhāvā-n*), jedoch weist die Endung *-tha* (2. Person Plural) auf Beeinflussung durch das Präsens hin. Die in Handbüchern anzutreffende Aussage, daß der indogermanische Konjunktiv (gegenüber dem Optativ) auch die *i*-haltigen Primärendungen tragen konnte, ist in dieser Absolutheit gewiß nicht richtig; dafür hat man allzu sehr das Arische (und Griechische) in den Vordergrund gestellt. Der Konjunktiv, als Modus mit zum Nicht-Präsens gehörig, konnte von Hause aus wohl kaum die für die aktuelle Gegenwart charakteristische Partikel *-i* („hic et nunc“) anfügen. In allen einzelsprachlichen Konjunktiv- und Optativparadigmen, in denen eine Primärendung auftritt, ist diese kaum ursprünglich, sondern sekundär durch bestimmte interne Umbildungen hineingekommen (vgl. gr. *phéroimi* gegenüber *exelaúnoia* mit *-a* aus *\*-ḡ*). Im Anschluß an die 1. Person sind dann auch Konjunktivformen der 2. und 3. Person gebildet worden.

**5.1** K. Hoffmann verdanken wir eine exzellente Monographie zum Modus Injunktiv im Veda (Hoffmann 1967), für den er überzeugend als Hauptfunktion die ‚Erwähnung‘ herausgearbeitet hat. „Eine Injunktivform erwähnt eine Verbalhandlung in ihrem Aspekt mit Angabe von Person und Diathese“ (Hoffmann 1967: 279). Der Terminus Injunktiv, den seinerzeit K. Brugmann vornehmlich wegen

dessen Affinität zum Imperativ geprägt hat (vgl. Wackernagel 1950: 212), ist vor dem Hintergrund der ‚Erwähn‘-Funktion kaum noch recht sinnvoll, und er sollte daher, falls man sich von diesem Etikett überhaupt lösen möchte, mit K. Hoffmann angemessener ‚Memorativ‘ genannt werden; wegen seiner wichtigen Funktion, die dem ‚Injunktiv‘ bei der Herausbildung des indogermanischen Verbalsystems zukommt, könnte man ihn auch ‚Primitiv‘ heißen.

Der spätere Indikativ ist z. B. im Präsens schon durch die Partikel *-i* (vgl. aind. *bhávati-i*, aus ‚Injunktiv‘ *bhavati* + *-i*) primär auf die aktuelle Gegenwart festgelegt (vgl. K. Strunk 1968: 311: „Zeitbezeichnung begann im Indogermanischen mit der Signalisierung von Gegenwart“), doch setzen sich in diesem ‚Modus‘ auch tempusneutrale Gebrauchweisen des alten Injunktivs (Memorativs) fort. J. Wackernagel (1950: 224) hat die Funktion des Indikativs sehr treffend beschrieben: „Einerseits hat er [d. h. der Indikativ, E. N.] eine ausgesprochene Spezialbedeutung, indem er die Wirklichkeit im Gegensatz zu dem bloß Gewollten oder Möglichen ausdrückt. Aber zugleich auch kann er, ich möchte sagen eine modale Indifferenz ausdrücken, d. h. da gebraucht sein, wo man weder Wirklichkeit noch Unwirklichkeit aussagen, sondern eine der modalen Färbung überhaupt entbehrende Aussage geben will“. Man darf ihn vielleicht als eine Art Null-Modus ansprechen, er ist zumindest merkmallös, erst im Vergleich zu ihm erhalten die ‚echten‘ Modi ihre klaren Konturen. Würde man den Indikativ dem Bereich einer bestimmten grammatischen Person zuordnen wollen, wäre er wie der alte Injunktiv (als Memorativ; s. unten) am ehesten der Darstellungsebene und somit der 3. Person zuzuweisen. ‚Memorativ‘ und Indikativ waren wegen ihres neutralen Charakters in besonderem Maße paradigmakonstituierend.

**5.2** Von den drei grammatischen Personen stellt die 3. Person den Bereich des ‚Besprochenen‘, man könnte auch sagen des ‚Erwähnten‘ dar. Es ist diejenige grammatische Person, der das Merkmal [+ subjektiv] am deutlichsten ermangelt und die im Anschluß an E. Benveniste (1947: 9; vgl. auch Erhart 1970: 27–28) geradezu als eine „forme de ‚non-personne‘“ (Nichtperson) angesprochen werden darf. Wenn oben dem sprachlichen Zeichen Ausdrucks-, Appell- und Darstellungsfunktion zugeschrieben worden war und diese drei Bereiche mit den drei grammatischen Personen in Zusammenhang gebracht wurden, dürfen wir den gleichsam neutralen Modus ‚Injunktiv‘ (wie schon den Indikativ) wohl der Darstellungsebene

zuweisen und damit als typisch für die 3. grammatische Person ansehen. Das Bühlersche Organonmodell schafft zugleich den kommunikationstheoretischen Hintergrund für die Frage nach den Ursachen der Herausbildung der Modi im grammatischen System des Indogermanischen. Es läßt sich nicht übersehen, daß eine engere Beziehung, wenn auch im einzelnen unterschiedlich strukturiert, zwischen den Modalkategorien und den drei grammatischen Personen besteht. Etwas schematisch dargestellt ergeben sich unter kommunikationstheoretischem Aspekt folgende Zuordnungen:

<i>Person</i>	<i>Bereich</i>	<i>Modus</i>
„Sprecher“ (1. Pers.)	Ausdrucksbereich	Voluntativ <sup>20</sup> , Optativ <sup>21</sup> , Konjunktiv <sup>22</sup>
„Angesprochener“ (2. Pers.)	Appellbereich	Imperativ
„Besprochener“ (3. Pers.)	Darstellungsbereich	Injunktiv <sup>23</sup> , Indikativ

6. Die hier vorgetragenen Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Person und Modus mögen hinsichtlich ihrer Darstellung vielleicht allzu skizzenhaft erscheinen, und man wird vielleicht auch einwenden, daß vieles, was uns alle recht komplexer Natur zu sein dünkt, etwas vereinfacht dargestellt worden ist. Bewußt sind Prohibitiv, Inhibitiv und andere Bedeutungsschattierungen im Bereich negierter Modalformen ausgeklammert worden, um die Grundlinien dieser Konzeption nicht durch Abhandlung vieler „Sonderphänomene“ unscharf werden zu lassen. So blieb auch die Stammbildung<sup>24</sup> der Modalformen unerörtert, die einzelsprachlich (vgl. Altirisch, Altlatein, Tocharisch) gar noch auf eigenständige Konjunktivstämme weist. Es ging hier vornehmlich um das Auftreten von Modi in Hauptsätzen, nicht um Modalformen in der Hypotaxe, die ja selbst verhältnismäßig jungen Datums ist; oft führten lediglich syntaktische Gliederungsverschiebungen von der Parataxe zur Hypotaxe. Die Zeiträume, mit denen wir uns entwicklungsgeschichtlich in dieser kleinen Abhandlung befaßt haben, liegen sehr weit zurück und berühren ein Frühstadium indogermanischer Sprachgeschichte. Auf die gewiß sehr reizvolle Frage, inwieweit sich in der Herausbildung der Modi und in der Art ihrer Strukturierung bestimmte Entwicklungsstufen des menschlichen Denkens und Vorstellungsvermögens widerspiegelt, sei hier nicht eingegangen.

## Anmerkungen

1. Zu diesem Terminus s. Wl. Admoni (1970: 5).
2. Bei K. Brugmann (1904: 578 [§ 748]) liest man dazu folgendes: „Die Modi stellten seit uridg. Zeit eine Aussage über eine Seelenstimmung (ψυχική διάθεσις) des Sprechenden dar, über einen subjektiven Zustand, zu dem die Handlung die objektive Nebenbestimmung bildet, auf die sich dieser Zustand bezieht“; zur Moduskategorie allgemein siehe auch J. Lyons (1975: 304 ff.).
3. Zu den Modi im Verhältnis zur pragmatischen Komponente in der Grammatik s. W. P. Schmid (1983: 66 ff.), hier auch zur Sonderstellung des Sprechers.
4. W. P. Schmid (1983: 68) geht es bei seiner Betrachtung weniger um die Kategorie Person als um das Aufzeigen der deiktischen Beziehungen, die vom Sprecher zur sprachlichen Äußerung und deren pragmatischer Einbettung bestehen.
5. Syntax und Pragmatik der Moduskategorie Imperativ bedürfen m. E. für einzelne altindogermanische Sprachen noch einer gründlicheren Sichtung.
6. Im Hethitischen wird vokativisches „du!“ gern plene geschrieben (*zi-i-ik*, vgl. E. Neu 1983: 219, althethitisch, deutlich vor allem in E. Neu 1980: Nr. 112 II 12', 13', 19', 20' et passim), was auf Akzentuierung von *zik* in dieser Verwendung weisen dürfte.
7. S. dazu zuletzt E. Neu (1985: 288).
8. Vgl. J. Wackernagel (1912–13: 260), E. Schwyzer (1968: 196 s. v.), doch auch B. Forssman (1985: 191 f.). Mit B. Forssmans Darstellung des indogermanischen Imperativs, die erst nach Fertigstellung des vorliegenden Festschriftbeitrages erschienen ist, stimme ich in Einzelheiten wie auch im Grundsätzlichen nicht immer überein, was hier aber nicht diskutiert werden soll.
9. Vgl. altlat. *age ... abite* (Plautus), worin sich auch die semantische Nähe des Imperativs zur Interjektion zeigt (s. M. Leumann – J. B. Hofmann – A. Szantyr 1972: 339).
10. Mit J. Wackernagel (1950: 212) sei ausdrücklich betont, daß nur die Imperativform der 2. Person Aktiv „ererbte Imperativformen <darstellen>, die nie etwas anderes waren; es sind die Imperativformen κατ' ἐξοχήν, die eigentlichsten Ausdrücke, um etwas zu befehlen“. Allerdings ist die imperativische Pluralendung \*-te, wie soeben ausgeführt wurde, dem archaischen ‚Injunktiv‘ schon sehr früh entlehnt.
11. Vgl. heth. -(t)u (wie aind. -tu), got. -dau (*bairadau*), lat. -tō(d) (wie aind. -tāt); zum Altirischen s. R. Thurneysen (1975: 372 ff., besonders § 587).
12. Zum Injunktiv wie auch zu den anderen Modi des Awestischen s. J. Kellens (1984; mit ausführlichem und übersichtlichem Inhaltsverzeichnis).
13. Dazu gehören bestimmte, den Injunktivformen vorgeschaltete Sätze, die aus der bloß ‚erwähnenden‘ Verbalform einen Appell, Befehl usw. werden lassen. Auch Vokative spielen dabei eine wichtige Rolle; ihnen kommt mitunter eine Art Signalwirkung zu. Im Verbot (Typ: *mā pūnar gāh*) ist das Merkmal [+ Appell] vor allem mit der Negation verbunden.
14. Vgl. Laroche (1980: 28) – z. B. *kul-li* < \**gul-(i)li* (151), von ihm als ‚optatif‘ bezeichnet.
15. Zum Merkmal [+ subjektiv] der 1. Person vgl. A. Erhart (1970: 27–28).
16. Ich sage deshalb ‚sogenanntes‘ Optativkennzeichen, weil \*-iē-/i- möglicherweise von Hause aus nicht auf die Moduskategorie allein festgelegt war. Einzelsprach-



lich findet sich nämlich dieses Formans auch im Präteritalbereich (bemerkenswert — wie im Iranischen — die Augmentierung; vgl. zum Iranischen Weber (1970: 58 ff.; mit weiterführender Literatur), zu diesem Komplex auch Benveniste (1951: 11 ff.); Hoffmann (1976: 606, 619; nach ihm bezeichnen die augmentierten Optativformen eine wiederholte Handlung in der Vergangenheit; es handele sich um eine besondere Verwendung des alten Optativs); Szemerényi (1983: 76). Ähnlich sind die Formantien *\*-ā-* (vgl. lat. *tegit* — *erat*, dagegen sind nach K. T. Schmidt 1982: 362 ff., 366 der tochar. *ā*-Konjunktiv und das tochar. *ā*-Präteritum davon fernzuhalten), *\*-ē-* (vgl. lat. *-ē-* im Konjunktiv und Futur gegenüber dem baltischen *\*ē*-Präteritum, dazu W. P. Schmid 1966: 286 ff., hier auch zum *\*ā*-Präteritum), *\*-s-* (Desiderativ, Futur, Konjunktiv, Aorist, Präteritum) oder *\*-e-/o-* (vgl. griech. (ἐ)λέγομεν Indikativ — ἵομεν Konjunktiv) zu beurteilen. Zu dieser mehr strukturellen Sprachbetrachtung, die mit Bedeutungsoppositionen operiert, vgl. u. a. Adrados (1965: 131 ff.; 1968: 1 ff.).

17. Diese Überlegungen wie auch die von Kuryłowicz (1964: 136 ff.), wird man mitzubedenken haben, wenn man sich im Hethitischen auf die Suche nach einem frühen morphologischen Vorläufer des späteren ‚optativischen‘ *\*-iē-* machen will; zur Problematik vgl. Meid (1979: 167–168), Strunk (1984: 135 ff.).
18. Den Verbal Ausgang *\*-ō* (1. Person Singular) als Endung anzusprechen, ist insofern problematisch, als darin auch der Stammbildungsvokal *\*-o-* (vgl. im Medium griech. *paideú-o-mai*, Imperfekt *épher-o-n*) enthalten sein dürfte.
19. Ursprünglich war die Endung *\*-Ho*, die in Verbindung mit dem Themavokal *\*-o-* (1. Person Singular) nach Schwund von *H* schon sehr früh zu *\*-ō* geworden sein dürfte (s. Neu 1985: 290–291), im Nicht-Präsens angesiedelt, wobei Nicht-Präsens neben Präteritum auch Modus (→ Futur) umfaßt. Darauf beruht u. a. auch die oben Anm. 16 aufgezeigte Verteilung bestimmter Formantien auf Präterital- und Modalkategorien. Zwischen diesen beiden Bereichen besteht ein ursächlicher Zusammenhang. — Die einzelsprachliche Kontinuante von *\*-ō* (1. Pers. Sing. Präs. Indik.) setzt nicht automatisch das Vorhandensein einer ‚Endung‘ *\*-ō* auch im Konjunktiv dieser Sprache (falls ein Konjunktiv dort überhaupt vorhanden ist) voraus. Der Übertritt von *\*-ō* aus dem Nicht-Präsens (mit allmählicher Festlegung auf einen Sektor des theoretisch weit gefächerten Modalbereichs) in ein Paradigma, das auch die aktuelle Gegenwart bezeichnet, dürfte sich bereits in einer grundsprachlichen Phase des Indogermanischen vollzogen haben. Auf die relative Chronologie kann hier aus Raumgründen nicht eingegangen werden. Im Lateinischen z. B. zeigt der Konjunktiv (Präs.) die Ausgänge *\*-ē-m* (vgl. *laudem*), *\*-ā-m* (vgl. *moneam*, *tegam*) oder gar ‚optativisches‘ *\*-iē-m* (vgl. altlat. *siem*), doch liegt dem Futur von *esse* bekanntlich der ‚kurzvokalische‘ Konjunktiv zugrunde (*erō* < *\*es-ō*, *eris* < *\*es-e-s*, *erit* < *\*es-e-t* usw.; vgl. die Futurausgänge *-bō*, *-bis*, *-bit* usw.). Hier haben Umschichtungen und Neuerungen stattgefunden, die nur im Rahmen einer relativen Chronologie in ein sinnvolles System gebracht werden können. Das einzelsprachliche Auftreten der Kontinuante von *\*-ō* (1. Pers. Sing. Präs. Indik.) läßt auch nicht automatisch den Schluß zu, daß das indogermanische Dialektareal, dem die betreffende Sprache entstammt, schon über eine fest umrissene Konjunktivkategorie verfügt hat. Das Vorhandensein gewisser morphologischer Formationen des Nicht-Präsens in indogermanischer Frühzeit oder auch später setzt nicht zugleich auch deren Inhaltsbestimmung als ‚Konjunktiv‘, ‚Optativ‘ usw. voraus (vgl. W. Meid 1979: 167).

20. Vgl. Hethitisch (oben 2.5).
21. Vor allem Optativus cupitivus.
22. Vor allem bei volitivem (voluntativem) und deliberativem Gebrauch des Konjunktivs, wobei die volitive Funktion in gewissen Verwendungsweisen dem prospektiven Gebrauch nahesteht. Bei dieser mehr theoretischen Auffächerung von Bedeutungsnuancen gilt es grundsätzlich, K. Brugmann (loc. cit. 579) zu beachten: „Es liegt sehr nahe, in der Gebrauchsverschiedenheit des Uridg. das Ergebnis einer synkretistischen Entwicklung ... zu sehen ...“ Der Konjunktiv steht in seiner gelegentlichen Verwendung als Iussiv dem Imperativ nahe (vgl. z. B. für das Armenische G. Klingenschmitt 1982: 38).
23. Injunktiv als Memorativ.
24. Dazu s. Szemerényi (1980: 238 ff.), zum Imperativ auch Szemerényi (1980: 229 ff.), zur Diskussion um die Frage, ob der *ā*-Konjunktiv ein ursprünglicher Optativ war, Szemerényi (1980: 242–243). Daß der Ausgang *\*-ō* (1. Pers. Sing. Präs. Ind.) etwas zu tun haben könnte mit dem entsprechenden Ausgang *\*-ō* des (kurzvokalischen) Konjunktivs, vermutet u. a. auch H. Rix (1976: 250) und rechnet für den Indikativ Präs. (1. Pers. Sing.) ebenfalls mit einem ursprünglichen Ausgang *\*-o-mi*, „der in der idg. Grundsprache nur partiell durch *\*-o₂* bzw. *\*-ō* ersetzt worden wäre“; zu den Modi s. auch Rix (1976: 241–242, 259 ff.). [Korrektur-Zusatz: Auf die 1986 als IBS V 36 erschienene Abhandlung „Zur Entstehung des urindogermanischen Modussystems“ von H. Rix konnte hier nicht mehr eingegangen werden].

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## **Alternative historical sources for Swahili vocabulary**

Derek Nurse

There is a tradition of Swahili scholarship which ascribes the bulk of Swahili vocabulary either to Proto-Bantu (PB) or to non-African sources.

Guthrie calculated that 44% of his Proto-Bantu reconstructions have reflexes in Swahili. If we add Meeussen's reconstructions to those of Guthrie, we have a total of some 3,000 starred items. Assuming the average Swahili speaker's competence is similar to that of the average English speaker's estimated passive vocabulary of 20,000 words, then any estimate based on these reconstructions will deal with only a small part of today's Swahili vocabulary. By Swahili, Guthrie presumably meant Unguja, the basis for Standard Swahili. However, as I have suggested elsewhere (Nurse 1985) there is considerable variation in the range of retention of inherited lexis among Swahili coastal communities.

Estimates of the proportion of Swahili words of non-African origin vary widely, from some 20% up to 50% (Krumm 1940: 2; Bertoncini 1985). The variation depends on the parameters used by different authors: ancient versus modern texts, poetry versus prose, spoken versus written, formal versus informal, basic versus cultural lexis, geographical and social variation, and so on. Even if we accept the higher estimates of the proportion of 'foreign' items, they are not apparently out of line with the percentages of English words taken from French, Danish, or classical languages (Williams 1975: 67; Nurse 1985). It has been suggested that both Swahili and English have absorbed exceptional numbers of loanwords because of the peculiar circumstances of their histories. However, comparison of Swahili and English on a very limited scale to minor East African languages (Nurse 1985) indicates that all have absorbed similar quantities of loanwords. Thus, the notion that Swahili has unusually large numbers of noninherited words at least needs further comparative examination.<sup>1</sup>

If we put together even the most generous estimates of inherited and foreign lexis for Swahili, it is clear that we have not accounted for all of today's vocabulary. The gap may never be completely

filled for the best researched languages have residues of items of unidentified origin. Nevertheless there is a major, as yet hardly tapped, historical source for Swahili vocabulary, and that is loan material from other (East) African languages. Proto-Bantu split up between 3,000 and 4,000 years ago. Some 2,500 years ago early speakers of Eastern Bantu languages emerged out of the forests of Zaire into East Africa. For the next thousand years, Eastern Bantu farming communities dispersed across East Africa, displacing and/or absorbing communities of Khoisan, Nilotic, and Cushitic speakers. Just after the middle of the first millenium A. D., the ancestral Sabaki<sup>2</sup> community had occupied the coastal strip and riverine plains of northern Kenya and southern Somalia. Thence, for several hundred years, Swahili speakers spread south along the Tanzania and Kenya coast. So for upwards of 3,000 years, since the breakup of Proto-Bantu, various communities ancestral to Swahili have been developing, interacting with their neighbors, and innovating among themselves.

It is only at the point where Eastern Bantu peoples moved into East Africa that we start to have a clear picture of these linguistic interactions. In principle there might be detectable loan material in Swahili from Khoisan, Nilotic/Central Sudanic, Cushitic, and Bantu languages, but in practice present research only allows us to say that the latter two have made substantial contributions. Very few Khoisan loans can be identified, mainly because our knowledge of East African Khoisan lexis is restricted: it is probably in the domain of flora and fauna that it will be found in future. Borrowed words from Nilotic/Central Sudanic are also scarce in Swahili, partly because what little contact there was occurred long ago, mainly because the brunt of Nilotic/Central Sudanic presence was felt further west, in the interior of East Africa, rather than along the coast.<sup>3</sup>

The first clear local lexical set derives from Southern Cushitic (SC). The reasons for attributing it to Southern Cushitic are as follows: the items have a very limited distribution within the Bantu speaking area, being found only in East Africa; even in East Africa they are restricted in distribution; each has a clear Proto-Southern Cushitic etymon (Ehret 1980); they appear in all or most of the Sabaki languages and in cognate form; and the Sabaki forms, with minor exceptions, are cognate with the other East African attestations. Several have undergone pre- or early Sabaki sound changes, thus *l/r* to *z/high \*i*, and *g*-loss in northern Swahili:

Proto-SC \**ʔiliba* 'milk' Swahili *ma-ziwa*/(*i-*)*ziwa*  
 \**ʔarigʷ* 'ensete' Northern Swahili *izu* (from \**izigu*)

Thus the set exemplified by Appendix 1 is most easily explained by assuming their borrowing into pre-Sabaki at an early point after Eastern Bantu communities spread out across East Africa and before the emergence of Proto-Sabaki. They may have resulted from direct contact between pre-Sabaki and early Southern Cushitic communities, or they might have been mediated through other Bantu languages.

Before examining further local loans in Swahili, it is necessary to look briefly at the historical background to Swahili on the coast, since it is different in certain ways from the contemporary situation. Today Swahili is the language of 30 million people across East Africa, it has a standard form, the traditional coastal dialects are in retreat. For nearly a millennium prior to the nineteenth century, there was no standard, only dialect communities coexisting and competing, and most coastal settlements were small. Its geographical situation was unique, in that from or near Muqdisho on the Somali coast down to the Kerimba Islands in northern Mozambique stretched a thin line of Swahili-speaking villages and towns a thousand miles long. Lines of communication were largely seaborne. The past millennium saw the rise and fall of a series of regional centers, Muqdisho, Kilwa, Pate, Lamu, and finally in the nineteenth century, Zanzibar. As each center rose it attracted traders and others from across the Indian Ocean, local traders and families from other coastal centers, people from the adjoining mainland and interior. Intermarriage at all levels connected the local centers to each other and to communities inland (Nurse – Spear 1985). During its period of power, each center in turn radiated power and linguistic influence outward, overlaying older and lesser settlements. As one center was replaced by another, the lexical pattern also changed, leaving a complicated, criss-crossing heritage.

Any narrow dialect spectrum strung out along a thousand-mile coastline for a thousand years, as Swahili has been, will naturally have been exposed to potential influence from all the adjacent language communities from the immediate and less immediate interior. In this century it is Swahili influence which has spread out across East Africa, but in the past the influence also worked in the opposite direction. Initially any Swahili settlement, or cluster of settlements, would draw lexically on adjacent communities inland.

But given the close interrelationship among the coastal settlements, loan material could spread quite rapidly along the coast. As other and later centers rose in power their influence could then diffuse such items back across the interior, but at different points. For example, the Standard Swahili word *ukoo* 'clan' (Class 11) derives from a Proto-Sam<sup>4</sup> root *\*qoolo*, which is likely to have entered Proto-Sabaki in the late first millennium A.D. from an Eastern Cushitic language somewhere in northern Kenya or southern Somalia.<sup>5</sup> It has since spread widely into Bantu languages in Tanzania, probably initially via Swahili. Such distribution often makes it hard to pinpoint the exact point of entry of a loan item. Nevertheless it is possible to distinguish four other sets of items in Swahili which derive from local sources. With some minor exceptions, it seems that the different language communities adjacent to traditional Swahili settlements along the coast today have been in place for at least a millennium, and it is to them that we now turn.

The second identifiable set comes from the Eastern and Southern Cushitic communities of the northern Kenya and southern Somalia coast. Today, adjacent to Bajuni, Siu, Pate, and Lamu, on the mainland, there are peoples who speak northern and central Somali dialects, and a Southern Cushitic remnant language, Dahalo.<sup>6</sup> At the end of the first millennium A.D., and for much of the present millennium up to the seventeenth century, it was southern Somali dialect communities which played the major role in the same area. The Dahalo seem to have been more numerous, influential, and extended more widely along the mainland and up the Tana River. Although the items in Appendix 2 represent only a part of the set clearly derivable from (southern) Somali and Dahalo, the whole set so far identified amounts to just under a hundred items, which is not enough to permit of solid generalisation. The Eastern Cushitic set is larger and apart from general vocabulary, contains subsets of kinship and cattle terminology. The smaller set from Dahalo centers on flora and fauna.

Time limits can be put on this set, largely on external grounds of historical fact, partly for internal reasons of sound change. Northern Swahili<sup>7</sup> communities moved into their present locale just after the middle of the first millennium A.D. As far as we can see, Dahalo speakers were already in place at that time. Thus, Dahalo-northern Swahili interaction could have taken place continuously since then, although the little we know through historical accounts and oral traditions suggest that Dahalo influence was minimal in

recent centuries. Around the same time, or soon thereafter, southern Somali speakers arrived, being replaced by other Somali speakers only in recent centuries. So borrowing from southern Somali could also have occurred over nearly a millennium. Internal evidence suggests that borrowing from Dahalo and southern Somali was not limited to one period but went on continuously. For instance, there are loans from both in which /l/ has been deleted by regular Swahili sound change: *-faa* 'be suitable', *hoa* (Mwiini *hola*) 'cattle enclosure', *-sea* 'diminish', *-soa* (Mwiini *-soola*) 'pound', *ukoo* 'clan'. In the source languages these have /l/, so they were borrowed before *l*-loss in northern Swahili. Other items are likely to have been borrowed later, as they retain the /l/ of the source languages: *babelona* 'marabou stork', *kidila* 'slice', *loya* 'cattle', *ubele* 'feather' (note Giriyama *lubele*). There appear to be more cases of *l*-loss among Dahalo loans than Eastern Cushitic ones, that is, a higher proportion of the Dahalo words were early loans.

Further south on the coast a third set, exclusively of Southern Cushitic origin, occurs in the southern Swahili dialects of the Tanzanian coast and islands.<sup>8</sup> Today two major Southern Cushitic communities still live in Tanzania, the Iraqw group of westcentral Tanzania and the Ma'a (Mbugu) of the Usambara Mountains. Two minor groups in the Maasai Steppe have, or will, become extinct in this century, the Qwadza and the Asa (Winter 1979). Judging by loan-word sets in Taita (Ehret – Nurse 1981) and Luguru, the Taita Hills and the Uluguru Mountains had Southern-Cushitic-speaking populations until recently. None of these directly abuts the coast in Tanzania although along the Kenya coast, where the Mijikenda now live, there may have been earlier Cushitic communities. So there is geographical reason to suppose that the Southern Cushitic loan set in southern Swahili did not derive from direct contact with, or assimilation of, earlier communities. More likely it came from indirect activity such as trading, or even more likely, from no contact at all: some of the items in question (e.g., *k'obe*, *ndama*, *p'unda*) are very widely distributed in East African Bantu, but in noncognate form, which points to a gradual diffusion of lexis over many centuries from the major Southern Cushitic communities, moving slowly from one language to another.

This is supported by examining the phonological shape of the members of the set. Some (e.g., *duma*, *ndama*) have the specific phonological characteristics of the Iraqw group, while others (*-chache*, *dang'a*, *gome*, *gwase*) appear to be specifically Ma'a in origin.



The fourth set (Appendix 4), borrowed from the Bantu languages of (mainly) Tanzania, appears in the southern Swahili dialects. It is large, similar in size to the second set preceding, but could probably be much expanded if we had more lexical data on the source languages. A word of explanation is in order about the methodology underlying the claims implicit in this paragraph. An item can be reconstructed for Proto-Sabaki, thus Proto-Swahili, on the basis of a set of cognate items with a reasonably wide distribution within Sabaki/Swahili. An item having a narrow geographical distribution, so in this case restricted to southern Swahili, may be suspected of having been borrowed. This suspicion is strengthened or confirmed if the members of the narrow set are irregular phonologically and/or widely present in neighboring languages in cognate form. So, for instance, the Proto-Sabaki form for 'elephant' is *\*nJovu*, attested in regular form in all the Sabaki languages except southern Swahili, which has *ndovu* and *t'embo*. The southern Swahili form of *\*nJovu* would be *njovu*, attested to our knowledge only as a place name on the southern Kenya coast. *Ndovu* is borrowed into southern Swahili from the northern form *ndovu*, the dental [d] being interpreted as alveolar [d]. *T'embo* on the other hand is not attested elsewhere in Sabaki but is the universal word for 'elephant' in all the adjacent Bantu languages of Tanzania, whence it is therefore borrowed.

However, practical decisions about borrowing are not always as clear as the foregoing implies. The major donors are the Seuta and Ruvu<sup>9</sup> languages of eastern Tanzania, but these languages are similar and closely related to the Sabaki languages and care has to be exercised in deciding about loan status. It is also possible that items occurring in southern Swahili and adjacent Bantu languages might be southern Swahili innovations taken over into the latter. Easier to identify as loans are words taken from Bantu languages other than Seuta/Ruvu. Although fewer in number, some items can be detected from the languages of southeastern Tanzania,<sup>10</sup> from further west and south in Tanzania, and from Thagicu.<sup>11</sup>

For readers conversant only with Standard Swahili or Unguja, some of the words in Appendix 4 will be unfamiliar. Unguja is to some extent anomalous lexically in that it has often replaced common southern Swahili items with northern dialect forms (Nurse 1982: 188–189, and Set 5, below). The notion of 'southern Swahili' in Appendix 4 is based on their widespread distribution in the southern Swahili spectrum, regardless of their appearance or lack of it in Unguja/Standard Swahili.

This material borrowed from nearby Bantu languages does not seem to center on specific semantic areas but is general in reference. It is hard to say whether the influence of these nearby languages responsible for the material in Appendices 2 and 4 was substratal, superstratal, or mutual. Swahili coastal trading centers have always proved a magnet for neighboring peoples, but that apart, Swahili- and non-Swahili-speaking communities had much in common economically. There were various kinds of economic mutual dependence. Swahili and non-Swahili villages were often adjacent, even mixed. This is likely to have been so throughout the present millennium. Judging by phonological indicators (e. g., *l*-loss in Swahili, no *l*-loss in the source languages) many of the loanwords in southern Swahili are long established. Present linguistic models for distinguishing sub- and super-stratal effects in related languages are poorly developed, and the data base for Appendix 2, especially, was limited.<sup>12</sup> Such distinctions must await more detailed investigation.

The fifth and final set is from the northern Swahili dialects into the southern Swahili dialects. In this century it is southern Swahili in the form of Standard Swahili which has been taken north. In earlier centuries it was northern Swahili forms which were carried south. Southern and northern Swahili can be easily distinguished by certain clear and striking phonological isoglosses of which the main ones are set out in Appendix 5. These northern loans can be found in all the southern dialects, even as far south as Mwani, but tend to cluster in urban centers, old (e. g., Zanzibar Town) and new (Dar es Salaam). In these towns they have largely replaced the southern forms, whereas in the coastal rural dialect areas northern and southern forms often still coexist. The point of entry seems to have been the older urban centers, most obviously Zanzibar Town and southern Pemba. Elsewhere (Nurse 1982: 190–191) I suggested that these loans were the result of an emigration to Zanzibar from the Lamu/Siu/Pate area of northern Kenya. Another explanation is possible. Prestige is based on power but often lingers long after the demise of that power. There are many cases in Africa and elsewhere of languages and dialects being considered prestigious as a result of recent or even dimly remembered historical events. For centuries before the rise of Zanzibar in the late eighteenth century, the towns of northern Kenya had played a prominent role on the coast. The most obvious result was the elevation of the dialects of these towns, especially Lamu, to a writing convention for most traditional poetry and songs which lingered on into this century

(Whiteley 1958). Writing conventions are frequently longer lasting than spoken ones. Given the recent urban orientation of much coastal society and its sea-borne nature, it was natural that prestige forms, written and oral, would be transferred from one town to another, overleaping intervening rural areas, to which the conventions would only diffuse later. This would provide another explanation for the prevalence of northern forms in Zanzibar Town and southern Pemba and their relative paucity in the more rural dialects.

In summary, my purpose here has been to propose the outline of an alternative historical origin for some Swahili lexis. With the exception of Sacleux, Swahili etymological dictionaries mark items of foreign origin, and the unmarked remainder are implicitly assumed by many to be derived directly from Proto-Bantu. Although this two-way distinction is too simplistic, the foregoing represents but an initial description of a third source. Some of the sets, notably the second and the fourth, will probably have to be further divided. All need expansion, as does the local data base. Above all, we need plausible linguistic models for capturing the kind of interactions that led to these borrowings.

Main phonological correspondences between southern and northern Swahili. In most cases the southern situation is closer to the original situation.

	Southern Swahili	Northern Swahili
	ch/ch <sup>h</sup>	t/t <sup>h</sup>
	nz, nj	nd
	j	y/∅
	g	∅
	fi/fy	si/s
	vi/vy	zi/z

Item	Distribution in Sabaki	Distribution in East African Bantu
- <i>coka</i> 'be tired'	general	
- <i>cora</i> 'carve, engrave, scratch, etc.'	general	Thagicu, etc.
<i>izu</i> 'banana'	all except southern Swahili	Chaga, Thagicu, Pare, Zigua
<i>kiazi</i> 'potato'	general	Thagicu, Taita
<i>kidari</i> 'chest (nonhuman)'	general	Chaga, Ruvu, Pare, G60, etc.
<i>k'uro/k'ulo</i> 'sp. gazelle'	general	widespread
-( <i>l</i> ) <i>awa</i> 'go out'	general	Seuta, Ruvu

<i>mtama</i> 'sorghum vulgate'	general	Ruvu, etc.
<i>ng'onzi</i> 'sheep'	all except southern Swahili	widespread
<i>p'ugi</i> 'sp. pigeon'	southern Swahili; LP, southern MK	Seuta, Ruvu, Thagicu
<i>p'unda</i> 'donkey'	all except Elwana	widespread
<i>-suka</i> 'plait, twist, churn'	general	Seuta, Ruvu, (Thagicu), etc.
<i>swara/swala</i> 'sp. gazelle'	general	widespread
<i>-tasa</i> 'barren'	southern Swahili, LP, MK	Chaga, Thagicu, Langi, etc.
<i>utitiri</i> 'chicken louse'	Swahili, MK, LP	?
<i>ma-ziwa/(i-)ziwa</i> 'milk'	general	Thagicu, Chaga (other languages in loan form)

*Appendix 1.* Early Southern Cushitic loans in Sabaki languages.

MK stands for Mijikenda, (L) P for (Lower) Pokomo. Numbers such as G60 refer to Guthrie's (1971) numbering system.

Northern Swahili	Source		
<i>babulona</i> 'marabou stork'	EC	<i>(i)kurabu</i> 'crow'	SC?
<i>bario</i> 'leftover food'	EC	<i>-jepa</i> 'steal'	EC
<i>barobaro</i> 'youth'	EC	<i>-jera</i> 'be ashamed'	EC
<i>bodo</i> 'ugali'	EC or SC?	<i>k'engewa</i> etc. 'kite sp.'	SC
<i>buru</i> 'maize'	EC or SC?	<i>kidila/(i)dila</i> 'slice, etc.'	EC
<i>damari/tamari</i>	EC	<i>kiharehare</i> 'honey badger'	SC
'beestings'		<i>kirori</i> 'buttermilk'	EC
<i>dandari/dindiri</i>	EC	<i>kongoja</i> 'cycad tree'	SC
'sp. antelope'		<i>k'unewe</i> 'chicken louse'	SC
<i>-dara</i> 'touch'	EC	<i>msikita</i> 'dried meat'	SC
<i>dewere</i> 'local spinach sp.'	SC	<i>-sea</i> 'diminish'	SC
<i>doko</i> 'anus'	EC	<i>-soa</i> (Mwiini <i>-sola</i> )	SC
<i>duhu</i> 'bone marrow'	EC	'pound'	
<i>duke</i> 'dust'	SC	<i>-sua</i> 'pour, spill'	SC
<i>-duko</i> 'deaf'	SC or EC?	<i>-taba</i> 'imitate'	SC
<i>-fanya</i> 'do'	* <i>fal-</i> , EC, SC, or Arabic? plus suffix	<i>t'awau</i> 'vervet monkey'	SC
		<i>-tufa</i> 'spit'	EC
		<i>ubele</i> 'feather'	EC 'wing'
<i>-fura</i> 'swell, be satiated'	SC or EC		with stem vowel change
<i>-gura</i> 'migrate'	EC	<i>umande</i> 'dew'	SC
<i>hajawa</i> 'pelican sp.'	SC	<i>yeye</i> 'wild dog'	SC
<i>hoti</i> 'cattle pen'	EC	<i>zela</i> 'container'	EC or Persian
<i>hoa</i> (Mwiini <i>hoola</i> )	EC		
also <i>loya</i> 'cattle'		<i>-zuri</i> 'good'	EC
<i>(i)gururu</i> 'curdled milk'	EC		

*Appendix 2.* Eastern (EC or Southern (SC) Cushitic loans in Northern Swahili.

Item	Distribution in Sabaki	Distribution in East African Bantu
<i>-chache</i> 'few'	southern Swahili, Mijikenda	Taita
<i>chete</i> 'market'	southern Swahili, Mijikenda	Taita
<i>dang'a</i> 'beestings'	southern Swahili	Chaga, Seuta
<i>duma</i> 'cheetah'	southern Swahili	Ruvu, G60, etc.
<i>gome</i> 'bark, skin'	southern Swahili, Mijikenda	Ruvu, Seuta
<i>-gota</i> 'knock'	southern Swahili, MK	Taita
<i>gwase</i> 'warthog'	Mombasa, MK	Seuta, Ruvu
<i>kidindingwi</i> 'wooden hoe'	Pemba	
<i>kobe</i> 'tortoise'	southern Swahili, MK	Seuta, Ruvu, G60, etc.
<i>ndama</i> 'heifer, calf'	southern Swahili, MK Pokomo	widespread

*Appendix 3. Southern Cushitic loans in southern Swahili.*

Item	Possible source
<i>-beba</i> 'carry child'	Ruvu, Seuta
<i>-beza</i> 'scorn'	Ruvu, Seuta
<i>-bwaga</i> 'throw down'	
<i>bwawa</i> 'pool'	Ruvu
<i>chumvi</i> 'salt'	
<i>-dogo</i> 'small'	Ruvu?
<i>-eleka</i> 'carry child on hip'	Seuta
<i>-gugumiza</i> 'stutter'	Seuta, Ruvu
<i>-gusa</i> 'touch'	Seuta, Ruvu
<i>-guta</i> 'shout'	Seuta, Ruvu
<i>-hama</i> 'migrate'	Ruvu
<i>(h)onza</i> 'arrow'	Seuta?
<i>kidimbwi</i> 'pool'	
<i>k'enge</i> 'lizard sp.'	
<i>-koroga</i> 'stir'	Seuta
<i>k'ondoo</i> 'sheep'	Ruvu, P10, P20
<i>-kyafa</i> 'sneeze'	Seuta
<i>kh'i(l)u</i> 'thirst'	Seuta, etc.
<i>-loa/-roa</i> 'fish'	Seuta, Ruvu, P10
<i>mamba</i> 'crocodile'	Ruvu, etc.
<i>miye</i> '1 sg.'	Seuta
<i>mbogo</i> 'buffalo'	Seuta, Ruvu
<i>mkonga</i> 'elephant's trunk'	Seuta, Ruvu
<i>mkunga</i> 'midwife'	Ruvu
<i>mwiro</i> 'trunk'	Mijikenda
<i>mahoka</i> 'madness'	P10/P20
<i>ndoana</i> 'fishhook'	Seuta, Ruvu, P20
<i>nyuwe/nyiye</i> '2 pl.'	Seuta
<i>-osi</i> 'all'	Mijikenda
<i>-pwaga</i> 'boil'	

<i>p'ombe</i> 'beer'	Seuta, Pare
<i>-refu</i> 'tall, long'	Seuta
<i>-sema</i> 'say'	
<i>suwe/s(w)iye</i> '1 pl.'	
<i>sungura</i> 'hare'	Seuta, Ruvu
<i>t'embo</i> 'elephant'	Seuta, Ruvu
<i>-teleka</i> 'put on fire'	Ruvu
<i>umeme</i> 'lightning'	Seuta
<i>weye</i> '2 sg.'	Seuta, Ruvu
<i>wia</i> 'song'	Seuta, Ruvu

*Appendix 4. Loans in southern Swahili from nearby Bantu languages.*

This Appendix, as also 2 and 5, presents only part of the available data.

Northern loan	Inherited southern form	Northern loan	Inherited southern form
<i>-anguka</i> 'fall'	<i>-gwa</i>	<i>-ondoka/-toka</i>	<i>-lawa</i>
<i>(ki)banda</i> 'hut'	<i>kiwanja</i> 'plot'	'go out'	
<i>bao</i> 'board'	<i>bago</i>	<i>-posa</i> 'woo'	<i>-pofya</i>
<i>-enea</i> 'spread'	<i>-genea/-jenea</i>	<i>-potea</i> 'get lost'	<i>-aga</i>
<i>-fanya</i> 'do'	<i>-tenda</i>	<i>-somesha</i> 'teach'	<i>-fyomesa</i>
<i>jifya</i> 'cooking stone'	<i>figa</i>	<i>-shika</i> 'grasp'	<i>-gwia</i>
<i>kisu</i> 'knife'	<i>kifyu</i>	<i>-taka</i> 'want'	<i>-chaka</i>
<i>kitana</i> 'comb'	<i>kichana</i>	<i>-tano</i> 'five'	<i>chano</i>
<i>-twa</i> 'set (sun)'	<i>-chwa</i>	<i>-tawanya</i> 'scatter'	<i>-chawanya</i>
<i>mjuzi</i>	<i>mjuvi</i> 'wise'	<i>-tembea</i> 'walk'	<i>-chembea</i>
	person'	<i>-tupa</i> 'throw'	<i>-chupa</i>
<i>ndovu</i> 'elephant'	<i>njovu</i>	<i>uteo</i> 'tray sp.'	<i>ucheo</i>
<i>-le</i> 'that'	<i>-lya</i>	<i>-zaa</i> 'give birth'	<i>-vyaa</i>
<i>muwa</i> 'sugar cane'	<i>mguwa</i>	<i>mzee</i> 'old person'	<i>mvyele</i>
<i>-penda</i> 'like'	<i>-penja</i>		

*Appendix 5. Loans from northern, in southern, Swahili (also Nurse 1982: 188–189).*

*Notes*

1. For major European languages it is hard to find figures comparable to those in Williams (1975: 67).
2. A cover term for Elwana, Pokomo, Mijikenda, Comorian, Swahili, and Mwani. Proto-Sabaki is the ancestral language from which they derive.
3. Words such as *ng'ombe* 'cow', *k'ondoo* 'sheep', *mori* 'heifer', *ngwena* 'crocodile', *p'ea* 'rhino' derive ultimately from Central Sudanic/Nilotic, and have a fairly wide distribution in East Africa.
4. A cover term for the Eastern Cushitic subgroup including Somali and Rendille.
5. The same applies to foreign loan words. Thus Standard Swahili *t'aa* 'lamp' seems to have been an early loan into Sabaki from Arabic as it shows partly cognate forms: Mwiini *taala*, Mijikenda *ts'ala*, Pokomo *ts'aa*, Comorian *ta(y)a*. Most Swahili dialects have lost /l/ but loans from earlier coastal *l*-forms are found widely across East Africa, e. g., in Sukuma.

6. There are consistent phonological differences between southern and non-southern Somali dialects, set out in Heine (1978, 1981, 1982), where Proto-Sam reconstructions are also found. Southern Cushitic reconstructions are from Ehret (1974b, 1980).
7. Northern Swahili dialects are: Mwiini, Bajuni, Siu, Pate, Amu, the (sub)dialects of Mombasa, Chifunzi. The latter two are unimportant here.
8. Southern Swahili dialects are: Vumba, Mtang'ata, the various (sub)dialects of Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia, the southern Tanzanian coast, and Mwani. Although data on Mwani are limited (Rzewuski 1979), it shows a lower level of Southern Cushitic penetration, supporting the notion that the third set of the text originated in Tanzanian Cushitic communities, filtering south only to a minor extent.
9. Seuta: Bondei, Shambaa, Zigua, Ngulu. Ruvu: Kwere, Doe, Zaramo, Kami, Kutu, Luguru, Vidunda, Sagala, Kaguru, Gogo.
10. The Rufiji and Ruvuma languages, Guthrie's P10 and P20 groups.
11. Thagicu: Sonjo, Gikuyu, Embu, Meru, Kamba, Daisu.
12. The main source was the 1,000-word list used in the Language Survey of Tanzania.

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# The Horn of Gallehus and the subgrouping of the Germanic languages

Herbert Penzl

## 1. The Germanic protolanguage

There are few linguists nowadays — our esteemed recipient (Polomé 1972) is certainly not among them — who deny that we can reconstruct a common ancestral language for the Germanic languages, a Proto-Germanic (PGmc., in German: *Urgermanisch*).<sup>1</sup> For this reconstruction we use particularly the oldest attested stages of the individual Germanic languages: the Old English (“Anglo-Saxon”) dialects with texts from the 8th century on, Old Frisian (from the 12th century), Runic Norse (from 200 A. D.), Old Saxon, Old Low Franconian, and Old High German (from the 8th century), Gothic (4th century). Comparison with forms from languages like Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Church Slavonic, Old Persian has shown Germanic to be in turn derived from a more comprehensive protolanguage: Indo-European (German: *Indogermanisch*).

We assume a protolanguage to be a “reconstructed” language with sounds, forms, syntactical rules, a lexicon, spoken at a specific time in a specific location by a specific group of speakers. In the case of Proto-Germanic, we assume some sound-changes during its duration, e. g., *\*e* becoming *\*i* before *\*i*-sounds or in most unaccented positions, etc. (Penzl 1975: 62 ff.); thus we prefer to speak of a Proto-Germanic period beginning with the last centuries B. C. and ending in the first two centuries A. D. As to the *Urheimat*, the ancestral home of the speakers, we usually specify an area ranging from southernmost Scandinavia to the shores of the Baltic. This area is big enough to suggest dialectal variation even within the protolanguage, which, however, our available methods cannot adequately reconstruct. Archeology cannot tell us anything about the ethnic characteristics of the Germanic speakers (but see Lehmann 1968): we could not expect to find Germanic mummies anywhere. Linguistic methods can directly only yield internal linguistic data. “Linguistic paleontology” (Penzl 1972: 114 f., 147 f.) has not been

very productive in the case of Germanic. For nonlinguistic information as to, e.g., time, place, external history, migrations and separations affecting, even causing, linguistic history, we have to rely mostly on nonlinguistic, i.e., historical and archeological sources and methods.

With sufficient comparative data — we have those in Germanic —, we can reconstruct all the linguistic features of a protolanguage (even if usually only in a possibly deceptive uniformity), e.g., its vowel system, its consonant system, its morphology, syntax, lexicon. Still, we cannot reconstruct Proto-Germanic or any other textless protolanguage as a “natural” language, because we are unable with our methods to reconstruct the nonlinguistic setting and conditions of speech- and language-acts if artifacts, i.e., texts, are lacking. Without the nonlinguistic evidence for the pragmatic setting, we cannot reconstruct texts. Thus, the isolated attempts of August Schleicher and later of Hermann Hirt to write texts in the Indo-European protolanguage remain interesting exercises without scientific value. The “nonnatural” character of a textless protolanguage should encourage us not to hesitate to include “diaphonemic” and “diamorphemic” items and features: they point to a dialectal variation. The uniformity constraint on a protolanguage is only a relative one.

## **2. How we reconstruct Proto-Germanic**

### **2.1 The correspondences**

The German neogrammarians never described their procedure of reconstruction in explicit detail. We actually do not find such descriptions before American scholarly linguistic text-books in the thirties, starting with L. Bloomfield in 1933 (cf. e.g., Penzl 1972: 120 ff.). The comparative method used in reconstruction calls for establishing sets of correspondences of sounds (usually based on the graphemes of the texts), of lexical and grammatical morphemes in items of cognate (attested) languages that enable us to set up base-forms of a common protolanguage. These ancestral hypothetical base-forms in turn are taken to prove the genealogical (genetic) relationship of the items compared. It was particularly Ernst Pul-

gram who has warned that only the 'procedure but not the selection of the equations with which one operates, is rigorously scientific' (Pulgram 1961: 28). We must, and this is very important for our topic here, in order to assure an accurate comparison, include not only converging correspondences in cognate languages, which, to be sure, have proven the cognate relationship in the first place, but also diverging correspondences. A correspondence implies agreement in expression (form) as well as contents (meaning). We shall list below some types of correspondences that have repeatedly been considered for our Germanic protolanguage, and shall discuss them later. We list the forms usually in the order Old English (OE), Old Frisian (OFris.), Runic Norse (Run.), Old Norse (ON), Old Saxon (OS), Old High German (OHG), Gothic (Goth.). The correspondences represent a variety of types:

- <1> OE *giest*, OFris. *jest*, Run. *-gastiR*, ON *gestr*, OS OHG *gast*, Goth. *gasts* 'stranger, guest', Slav. *gosti*, Lat. *hostis* 'hostile stranger, enemy';  
 <2a> OE *triewe*, OFris. OS *triuwi*, OHG *gitriuwi*, ON *tryggr*, Goth. *triggws* 'true';  
 <2b> OE *twēg(e)a*, ON *tveggia*, OS *tweio*, OHG *zweio*, *zweio*, Goth. *twaddjē* 'of two' (Feist 1939: 485);  
 <3> OE *bāre*, OS OHG *bāri* (MHG *bære*), ON Goth. *bart* 'you bore';  
 <4> OE OFris. OS *fīf*, ON *fimm*, OHG *finf*, Low German, Alemannic *fīf* (Wrede 1924: 275) 'five', Greek *pénτε*;  
 <5> OE *berað* OFris. *-ath* OS- 'we, you,  
                   *berað* (*að*)  
                   *bered* *-ath* they bear'  
                   *bered* *-ath* *berað* (*að*)  
   *berað* (*að*)  
       ON *berom* OHG *berumēs* Goth. *bairam* 'we bear'  
                   *-ep* *-et* *-ip* 'you bear'  
                   *-a* *-ant* *-and* 'they bear'  
 <6> OE OFris. OS *hē*, *he* (*hi*), ON *hann*, OHG *er*, *her*, Goth. *is* 'he', Lat. *eis* > *is*;  
 <7> OE *dæges* (*-æs*), OFris. *-es*, *-is*, Run. *-as*, ON *dags*, OS *dagas*, *-es*, OHG *tages*, Goth. *dagis* 'day's';

- <8> OE *settan*, OFris. *setta*, ON *setia*, OS *settian*, OHG *sezzen*, *setzen*, Goth. *satjan* 'to make sit, set';  
 <9> OE (West Saxon) *Geweorpe þīn willa*, OFris. *Werthe thīn willa*, ON *Verpe þinn vile*, OS *Uertha thīn uuilleo*, OHG (South Rhenish Franconian) *Uuerdhe uuilleo thīn*, Goth. *Wairþai wilja þeins* 'Thy will be done'.<sup>2</sup>

We reconstruct on the basis of these correspondences the following Proto-Germanic forms, in which we indicate also Pre-Germanic stress:

- <1> \**gástiz*  
 <2a> \**tréww-*  
 <2b> \**twéjjōm*<sup>3</sup>  
 <3> \**þériz* / \**þárþa*  
 <4> \**fémf-*  
 <5> \**þéramiz*  
       \**þeríþi* / \**þerīði*  
       \**þeránþi* / \**þerandi*  
 <6> \**iz* / \**és* / \**h-*  
 <7> \**-és* / \**-ás*  
 <8> \**sátjan*  
 <9> \**wérþaið þīnaz wiljōn* (?)

## 2.2 Types of correspondence

Since correspondences involve agreement between expression (form) and contents (meaning), the emphasis can be put on either: we can practice semasiology ('von der Form zur Bedeutung') or onomasiology ('von der Inhaltsebene zur Form'; Penzl 1972: 66). Among the correspondences listed above (2.1), the following emphasize expression: <1> 'guest', <2a> 'true', <2b> 'two'; the following emphasize contents (grammatical meaning): <2> 2nd person singular pretense, <7> genitive singular. Almost equal emphasis on expression and contents can be seen in <5> 1st, 2nd, 3rd person plural 'we, you, they bear' and <6> nominative singular masculine personal pronoun 'he'. In <1> 'guest' we can reconstruct the lexeme (\**gast-*), the formative (\**-i-*, the stem-class vowel), the flexive (nom. sing. IE \**-s*). On the basis of the Latin and Slavic forms we can reconstruct an Indo-European proto-form \**ghóstis*. The voiced spi-

rant \*z in a pre-Germanic unaccented syllable shows Verner's Law (IE \*s). The umlaut in Old English, Old Frisian, Old Norse, and in the Old High German plural *gesti* would make us postulate umlaut-allophones already for Proto-Germanic, if it were not for Goth. *gasts*, pl. *gasteis* without graphic indication of any vowel-change. Phonological divergence becomes important, if our emphasis is on expression.

This applies to <2a>, <2b> as well. We notice divergent development of original PGmc. \*ww and \*jj in West Germanic and in Nordic, Gothic.<sup>3</sup> In <2b> we have also reconstructed the genitive plural case ending (IE \*-ōm), where Gothic shows an ablaut grade (\*ē) not attested elsewhere.

In <3> 'you bore' we have to reconstruct two forms for the Common Germanic 2nd person singular indicative preterite. \*-iz is the aorist ending from pre-Germanic thematic \*e + \*s, the secondary ending as in the plural forms and the subjunctive ("operative"). PGmc. \*-ba > -t is the ending of the Indo-European perfect (\*tha): perfect endings are also found in the 1st and 3rd person, in the 2nd person in West Germanic only in the preterite-present forms.

In <4> \*fémf-, \*e became \*i before the nasal in the Proto-Germanic period (see 1, above). In northwestern dialects of West Germanic the nasal was not only lost before the velar fricative \*χ but also before the other voiceless fricatives \*f \*s \*p.

In <5> 'we bear' the uniform verbal plural forms in the western West Germanic dialects (Old English, Old Frisian, Old Saxon) developed out of differentiated Proto-Germanic forms. Phonological variation reflects different positions of the main stress in Pre-Germanic, which resulted according to Verner's Law in voiceless and voiced fricatives: \*-ánpi in Old English, Old Norse, Old Saxon and \*-andī in later Old Saxon, Old High German, Gothic (Krahe—Meid 1969, § 69).<sup>4</sup> In the Northwest the nasal (cf. <4>) was lost before \*p.

In <6> 'he' the pronoun shows the variety of separate (\*i, \*e, \*h-) and combined stems (OHG *her*) typical for this part of speech. /e/ is present in the accented, /i/ in the unaccented form.

In <7> 'day's', IE \*dhoghéso, we do not wish here to emphasize the lexical part of the noun, the stem as expression, but rather the grammatical meaning genitive singular. There is apparently variation between IE \*e (in Old High German, Old Saxon, Gothic) and also \*o (Old English, Runic, Old Norse, Old Saxon) but -a- instead

of *-e-* may be due to the influence of other case-forms (cf. Rösel 1962: 20 ff.).

In <8> 'to set' the infinitive, originally a nominal case-form (IE *\*-onom*) derived from a causative verb, shows a formative element *\*j* after the lexical stem which causes consonant gemination in all West Germanic dialects. Expression correspondences clearly reveal shared phonological features.

In <9> 'Thy will be done', this part of the Lord's Prayer (see fn. 2) shows a rarely-used explicit textual comparison. As to sentence structure, agreement in number and case (nominative for the subject), for word-groups agreement in case, number, gender can be observed, syntactically the uniform use of the subjunctive of the verb (the "optative"). However, divergence in the word-order possessive adjective + noun becomes irrelevant for a proto-reconstruction because the sentences are translations from Latin and Greek.

### 3. Divergences and the protolanguage

#### 3.1 Stammbaum, Wellen, and Entfaltung

We have noticed in the correspondences <1> to <9> also divergences among the quoted forms, and have noted several types of them. The protolanguage as the traditional concept (see 1. above) has been linked to that of a genealogical Stammbaum with one ancestral language as a source or base from which, like branches of a tree, various daughter languages could sprout. This was A. Schleicher's hypothesis.<sup>5</sup> Subgrouping within a language family involved usually branching or subbranching of the assumed stammbaum (family tree) but could also simply mean classification and subclassification without necessarily implying any genetic aspect.

The divergent features of each branch of the stammbaum would appear to be separate, individual innovating developments or preservations (vs. loss) of features already assumed for the base-protolanguage. The *Wellentheorie* (wave theory) as devised by Johannes Schmidt, provided for the explanation of shared or converging features in separate branches through one-way or even mutual borrowing. This diachronic theory fitted the synchronic and areal methods of dialectal geography. Otto Höfler's<sup>6</sup> more recent *Entfal-*

*tungstheorie* (theory of unfolding, of development) actually called for refined proto-reconstruction within the stammbaum frame instead of gigantic areal spread, for the assumption of nondistinctive features in the protolanguage, which could develop differently and at different times in the various branches.

### 3.2 Syncretism and levelling

Morphological, thus contents-based, divergence in the branch languages, can often be satisfactorily resolved by assuming distinctive variation in the Germanic protolanguage and a system or inventory including all the basic variants: e. g., <3> OHG *bāri* / ON Goth. *bart*. A full paradigmatic Proto-Germanic or at least pre-Germanic set of aorist and perfect endings for the Proto-Germanic, preterite as supported by Indo-European reconstructions, makes the divergences in the daughter languages a matter of differing distributive selection of “diamorphemic” variants. Also a full inventory of pronominal forms in Proto-Germanic makes the variation *he* / *is* (<6>) one of different selection. Keller (1978: 45) comments on the onomasiological variation that ‘it is impossible to say what the Proto-Germanic form was unless we assert that the uniform parent language had more than one word for “he”’. Uniform languages do not usually have such a surfeit of forms’. But even a “uniform language” can have deictic variants like ‘he’, ‘this one’, ‘that one’. For Proto-Germanic we do not have to limit ourselves to an overall proto-inventory but can reconstruct proto-patterns.

Levelling of phonological distinctions within a paradigm as in <7> ‘day’s’ and selection from extant variation in Proto-Germanic as in <5> Goth. *bairand* can occur independently in any branch; this probably applies also to the divergence due to morphological variation in Proto-Germanic as in <3> OHG *bāri* / Goth. *bart* ‘you bore’ (cf. Rosenfeld 1955: 377 ff.). More examples of this type can be found among the case-endings of nouns: of the pre-Germanic case-categories nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative, ablative, vocative; only the first four appear in all the daughter languages, West Germanic languages have an instrumental, Gothic has vocative forms. Divergent syncretism may result in different case endings, e. g., the dative singular masculine of the *\*a*-stem nouns:



- <10> OE *dæge*, OFris. *-e*, Run. *-ai*, ON *dage*, OS *dage*, OHG *tage*, Goth. *daga*.

The handbooks usually explain the West Germanic endings as derived from PGmc. *\*-ai* (> *\*-ē* > *e*) with *\*a* + locative *\*i* or dative *\*ei*, and Gothic *-a* from the instrumental *\*-ē* with a lengthened thematic vowel and a zero ending. Shared diverging selection from a comprehensive proto-inventory can take place without mutual influence in the branches. Whether there is actually evidence in the Old Germanic languages for a Proto-Germanic locative and a vocative, is a question which we shall not take up here.

### 3.3 Entfaltung and sound-changes

One feature of the Germanic protolanguage accounts for many reductions, mergers and losses of vowels and of some consonants in final syllables outside of the accented stem ("Auslautgesetze"): the Proto-Germanic concentration of stress on the stem syllable as in *\*gástiz* (<1>), *\*tréww-* (<2a>), *\*twéjj-* (<2b>), *\*t̥ériz*, etc. In agreement with Otto Höfler's theory, Germanic nondistinctive variation of velar vowels before *i*-sounds accounts for the later distinctive *i*-umlaut in Old English, Old Frisian, Old Norse, Old Saxon, Old High German: e. g., ON *gestr* (<1>), OE *bære* (<3>), OHG *sezzen* (<8>). If we assume for <1> *\*gástiz* also a variation *\*[gæstiz]/\*[gastiz]* (2.1 above), the North West Germanic / Gothic divergence finds a fitting basis. Similarly, we can assume as basis for the High German consonant shift strongly aspirated variation of fortis consonants in Proto-Germanic, not in *\*st* (<1>) and not before *r* as in *\*tréww-* (<2a>) where */t/* is intact in OHG *-triuwi*, but initially in *\*twéjj-* (<2b>), OHG *z-*, and medially in <8> *\*satjan* with *\*[tʰ]/\*[t]*, OHG *-zz-*.

This phonological variation in the protolanguage accounts for an independent development in the branches without any "Wellen" (waves) of spreading features. It is not a likely assumption, of course, that most individual sound-changes in the branch languages had an embryonic base in the protolanguage or that our reconstruction can or should always reflect the possibility of later "Entfaltung" ("Höfler's Law") to explain similarities or identity of changes in diverging branches. Thus I hesitate to propose a Proto-Germanic variant with a consonantal glide between geminate semivowels to

provide a base for the *Verschärfung* (<2a>, <2b>) in Nordic and Gothic as in, e. g., ON *tryggv*- and Goth. *triggw*-, ON *tveggia* and Goth. *twaddjē*. I would find it difficult to propose a type of syllable sandhi in disyllabic forms for Proto-Germanic that could perhaps serve as a base for the later West Germanic gemination (<8> OE *setta*) as well as for the *Verschärfung* outside of West Germanic. I believe, however, a slight allophonic weakening of the nasal before voiceless fricatives in general (<4> ‘five’) could have preceded the “Ingvaemonic” loss (5. below).

#### 4. Subgrouping and shared divergences: Gotho-Nordic?

Scholars who accept a Germanic protolanguage for all Germanic languages on the basis of shared converging correspondences usually attempt their subgrouping on the basis of shared divergences from the protolanguage such as shared innovations, shared selections of variants, shared levelling and conflation, shared preservation (seldom shared losses) of “proto-features”. Since subgrouping, if it is not merely a subclassification, may lead to the setting up of sub-protolanguages (Penzl 1972: 141 ff.) within Germanic — the same way Proto-Germanic is considered a sub-protolanguage of Indo-European — it may become quite controversial, since, as we pointed out above (1.), the requirements for a protolanguage include specific time, specific place, a specific group of speakers. Divergences of the type discussed above (<1> to <10>) have been the basis for subgrouping definitely suggested by the entire *stammbaum* model. Borrowing (“*Wellen*”) of features by the branches can complicate the data for subgrouping. Therefore, grammatical content divergences (as in <3> ‘you bore’) have seemed more important than expression divergences, particularly because borrowing (*Wellen*) of lexical items, even of phonological features or of analogical levelling seems easier than that of inflectional endings or grammatical categories.

The similarities as found in <2a>, <2b>, <3>, i. e., the *Verschärfung* (\*-ww- > \*ggw-, \*-jj- > \*-ddj-) with its expression divergence, and in the representation of 2nd singular perfect or aorist endings (\*-iz / \*-pa) in the preterite, a content divergence, have been two

of the main arguments for a Nordic-Gothic grouping. Ernst Schwarz (1951)<sup>7</sup> actually provided in his book a grammar of "Gotonordisch" with complete sets of paradigms of reconstructed forms for this protolanguage. As his critics, e.g., Rosenfeld (1955), Adamus (1962), have pointed out, however, Schwarz failed to distinguish between only Gotho-Nordic forms and Common Germanic ones, i.e., forms that would be identical in West Germanic as well.

The connection Nordic-Gothic became linked to the question of the Scandinavian ancestral home (*Urheimat*) of the Goths who are known to have later on migrated from the mouth of the Vistula to southern Russia near the Black Sea. The evidence for the Scandinavian home in archeological finds, Scandinavian place and tribal names, Gothic tradition and legends as related particularly in Jordanes' 6th century *Getica*, is considered strong but not as definitive as not to make its supporters welcome any linguistic evidence for confirmation.<sup>8</sup> The question is whether such isoglosses as the mentioned *Verschärfung* and the 2nd person preterite<sup>9</sup> can also be explained by the close contact of a "Verkehrsgemeinschaft" (contact community) or, as Schwarz and others have assumed, through a common sub-protolanguage. This latter possibility must be considered disproven not only because of the many isoglosses of Gothic and West Germanic, e.g., <6>, Goth. *is* (< PGmc. \*éz), OHG *er* (< PGmc. \*éz), and the proven link between Nordic and West Germanic (6. below), but also because of the many features of Gothic not shared by any other Germanic language and not due just to the early date of the Gothic corpus.

In <1> Wulfila's Gothic has no umlaut: *gasts*. As a matter of fact, there is no evidence for any kind of Proto-Germanic umlaut in Gothic anywhere: Gmc. \**e* and \**i* simply coalesced, no *o* ever developed out of \**u* (Bennett 1952). Gothic preservation of -*s* from final PGmc. \*-*z* was used by W. Krause (1968) for sub-grouping or rather classifying the various Germanic dialects: \*-*iz* to zero (West Germanic), -*r* (North Germanic), -*s* (Gothic). But Gothic final -*s* for \*-*z*, i.e., terminal fortis ("Auslautverhärtung"), is a very frequent Germanic feature and differences in the loss of final vowels and consonants ("Auslautgesetze") are largely a matter of chronology. Wulfila's Gothic, often quoted simply as East Germanic, shows the preservation of many Proto-Germanic or pre-Germanic (Indo-European) features: e.g., accusative plural endings like -*ans*, -*ins*, -*uns*; possibly old vocative forms; dual forms of the verb (*hirjats*); simple passive present-tense forms (*haitada*); reduplicated preterites

(*haihait*); clearly compounded plural forms of the weak preterite (*nasidēdun*). Gothic also shows some innovations: *ē*-grade in the genitive plural (cf. *twaddjē* in <2b>); consonant levelling in the preterite of the strong verb (*-tauht*, pl. *tauhtun*) which eliminated the variation according to Verner's Law; formation of the numerals 'seventy' to 'ninety' perhaps under Greek influence (Rosenfeld 1955: 385 ff.).

Rösel's (1962: 39 ff.) rather ingenious explanation of the different factors leading to the *-t* in Old Norse and the *-t* in Gothic (cf. <3> *bart/bāri* above) may be essentially correct (cf. also Rosenfeld 1955: 377–379). But this is obviously a case of a West Germanic innovation (*-i*). I am not convinced that the shared *Verschärfung* in Old Norse and Gothic (<2a>, <2b>) can be explained as a separate and quite independent sound-change or as the result of a casual "*Welle*". It could only with great difficulty be derived as *Entfaltung* from a Proto-Germanic feature (3.1 above). To me it seems to lack any typologically more general characteristics although E. Polomé, our honored recipient, found a parallel in Proto-Bantu and H. M. Heinrichs (1961: 104) one in modern Riparian. Even the borrowing of some vocabulary items<sup>10</sup> can in my opinion only be explained by close contact between Nordic and Gothic speakers at some time at some place. This must be the explanation of the few striking Gotho-Nordic isoglosses which beyond this fact do not permit any additional linguistic or extralinguistic conclusions as to subgrouping or the Gothic *Urheimat*.<sup>11</sup> The *Verschärfung* is by no means general in Nordic;<sup>12</sup> it could, to be sure, also be reflected by the "Crimean Gothic" 16th century form *ada* (from *\*addja*?) 'egg' (cf. Stearns 1978).

## 5. Ingvaemonic and West Germanic

The "Ingvaemonic" divergences as found in <4> OE *fif* 'five' and <5> OE *berad* 'we, you, they bear', have resulted in the assumption of an Ingvaemonic or North Sea Germanic unity, at first even within a generally accepted (proto-)West Germanic. The loss of the nasal before the voiceless fricative could be derived as "*Entfaltung*" from a merely nasalized variant in later PGmc. *\*fimf* / *\*fif*. The syncretive

levelling of some verb endings in northwestern West Germanic (OE *berað*) is a type of development that may have spread by borrowing ("*Wellen*"), for which areal proximity is the simplest explanation (cf. Rösel 1962: 88 ff.).

The original success of the brief printed version of a lecture by F. Wrede (1924) is truly amazing. He suggested on the basis of modern Alemannic and Low German dialectal equivalents (cf. <4>, <5> = *fif* and *-et/en*) an old Ingvaëonic Northwest-Southwest areal unity interrupted by a Gothic dividing thrust from the Southeast for which only a handful of mostly religious and calendar terms (cf. fn. 10) could be quoted: Bavarian *pfinztag* 'fifth day', *ertag* 'Tuesday', *maut* 'toll', etc. Th. Frings (1957: 46) claimed that Wrede's ideas were basically correct,<sup>13</sup> then proceeded (Frings 1957: 50 ff.) in fact to prove them to be wrong by assuming not too precisely Gothic-Upper Germanic convergences ("*Übereinstimmungen*") to be due to some contact between 700 B. C. and 400 A. D. (p. 54). Frings, using the terms found in Tacitus' *Germania*, believed in a subgrouping of Germanic speakers into coastal *Ingwäonen* at the North Sea, central inland *Herminonen* on the middle and upper Elbe, *Istwäonen* between Weser and Rhine. He deliberately (p. 10) chose not to refer to Friedrich Maurer's work (e. g., Maurer 1943<sup>2</sup>), who was the first to question the status of West Germanic as a proto-unit although supported by many shared innovations, e. g., the mentioned consonant gemination (<8> OHG *setzen*). For an Ingvaëonic (North Sea Germanic) some striking innovations (as <4>, <5>) could be mentioned but for Weser-Rhine Germanic as a proto-Franconian and an Elbe Germanic as a proto-Upper German practically no distinguishing characteristics could be offered.<sup>14</sup> The Old High German dialects (Penzl 1971, 1986b) show very few distinctions between Franconian and Upper German that could reflect an original old grouping; one is perhaps the difference in the case endings of the masculine weak noun: *-en* and *-on* in Franconian versus *-in* and *-un* in Upper German (Bavarian, Alemannic) for genitive, dative, and accusative, respectively. Also Gothic shows here differing vowels (*i* and *a*) in the cases: the specific values are presumably determined by varying Proto-Germanic case-endings, again a matter of selective syncretism (Rösel 1962: 110).

It is surprising that the most striking West Germanic sound-change, the High German consonant shift as found in Old High German and in Langobardic (<2a> *zweio*, <8> *setzen* with affricates from *\*t*, <7> *tages* with fortis from Gmc. *\*d*) was never used for

sub-grouping (Penzl 1986a: 20). Part of the alleged Weser-Rhine Germanic and all of Elbe Germanic are assumed to have had the shift. An often postulated “*Urdeutsch*” always included also Low German without the shift. We must conclude that central and southern Germanic dialects show the results of a High German consonant shift as a probable Entfaltung (“Höfler’s Law”) of strongly aspirated fortis variants in the phonemic pattern of the Germanic protolanguage (3.3 above).

## 6. Nordic-West Germanic and the Horn of Gallehus

Largely extralinguistic factors of time and place have eliminated a serious consideration of West Germanic as a uniform sub-protolanguage. But conclusive evidence for the proposed threefold division of West Germanic is just as deficient as the evidence for a three-way division of Germanic itself (North Germanic, West Germanic, East Germanic = Gothic). The discussion concerning shared features of Nordic and Gothic (4. above) and Gothic and German (5. above) has brought out the fact that Wulfila’s Gothic has many features that are unique in Germanic. Supporters of the *stammbaum* theory in its original version could point to the early separation and migration of the Goths from the main body of speakers of Germanic. This leaves what came to be the West Germanic and the North Germanic languages. They share many isoglosses (Rösel 1962: 56). Scholarly attention mainly focused on the dialectal variety within West Germanic, particularly the role of the so-called North Sea Germanic or Ingvaenonic. Not many scholars in the field seem to have been aware that we have the best evidence possible for the closest connection between Nordic and West Germanic.

We can prove the existence of a Nordic-West Germanic natural protolanguage because we have texts written in it, most significantly the poetic one-sentence Runic text on one of the golden horns of Gallehus (Penzl 1975: 69 ff., 1972: 63 f.). The transliterated text is:

*ek hlewagastiz holtijaz                    horna            tawido*  
 ‘I Hleugast    Holte’s son (?) (the) horn made.’

The date is about 400 A. D., the place of discovery a location in northern Schleswig, an area where we assume North Germanic and



West Germanic dialects to have been adjacent and in contact even at a very early date. The alliterating verse line calls for a formal style by the runemaster who wrote the inscription. A frequent misleading transliteration with final <R> instead of <z> contributed to the wrong analysis of the text as North Germanic.<sup>15</sup>

Actually, the language of the horn is Proto-Nordic-West Germanic. Adamus (1962: 158) saw in it "North-West Germanic", the stage II after Common Germanic. Hans Kuhn (1955) called it "Spätgemeingermanisch". However, it cannot be labelled Common Germanic because it is not the ancestral language for Gothic. We would have to have \**hultijaz* and \**hurna* for a Proto-Gothic. Elmer Antonsen (1975) only included Ingvaemonic as derived from North-west Germanic, his term for the Gallehus language. But it can also be the basic language for High German: it is even theoretically possible that the runes written <k> in *ek*, <t> in *holtijaz* and *tawido* were to be pronounced as strongly aspirated. Later Nordic and West Germanic *i*-umlaut suggest a pronunciation [æ] in *gastiz*, [ö] in *holtijaz*. The comparatively late date of about 400 A.D. makes a division into separate Nordic and West Germanic dialects likely by that time. But classical Latin did not disappear in Romance times, neither, as Antonsen remarked (Antonsen 1975: 27), did Dutch when Afrikaans developed. We cannot prove whether we have in the Gallehus language, as W. Krause (1968<sup>3</sup>: 43) assumed, a kind of koiné of the runemasters. But even such a written Runic standard must be based on an actually spoken form of Germanic, just as Gothic as a written standard in Ostrogothic Italy was based on Wulfila's Gothic as probably spoken by a very small group of "Gothi minores" 200 years earlier in a Balkan location.

The Gallehus text shows the word-order subject—object (*horna*)—predicate (*tawidō*), which is usually labelled "SOV". Also SVO is attested, however (Penzl 1972: 62 f.): clear marking (inflexion) of case forms, that is nominative for the subject, accusative for the "direct" object, makes word-order more flexible in the sentence (Penzl 1985b: 620 f.). There is agreement in person and number between the *ek*-phrase and the finite verb *tawidō*, agreement in case, gender, number in the nominal phrase: *ek hlewagastiz holtijaz* (nom. masc. sing.).

The morphology has Proto-Germanic features except for the loss of the final nasal in *horna*, *tawidō*. -*gastiz*, with initial <X> indicating the fricative, fits perfectly our reconstruction as (1) in 2.1 above:

the class-vowel *i* is intact, so is the nominative case ending /z/ from IE \*-s through Verner's Law (cf. 2.2 above). \*az in *holtijaz* reflects IE \*-o/s. *tawidō* represents the preterite of a weak verb: -dō- from ProtoGmc. \*dō/m. The entire paradigm is quoted in Penzl (1986b): § 158 (*gast*), § 156 (*tag*), § 183 (OHG -ta(*da*) from IE \*dhōm).

The phonology of the Gallehus text has /o/ as a phoneme instead of the Proto-Germanic allophone of \*/u/. We assume umlaut allophones before /i/ in -*gastiz*, *holtijaz*, *tawidō*. The entire vowel pattern is listed in Penzl (1975: 74), the consonant pattern on page 75. The rune usually transcribed as <R> is still /z/. Initial *h-* (*horna*) is an allophone of the velar fricative as already in Common Germanic. For /b/ /d/ /g/ we have fricative and stop allophones (Penzl 1986a: § 142.2).

## 7. Conclusions

Converging correspondences particularly from all Old Germanic languages are the basic evidence for a Germanic protolanguage with its complete phonological, morphological, syntactical, lexical inventory. Its reconstruction may involve also some recursiveness, in fact a benign circularity (Rösel 1962: 116). Divergences within these sets of correspondences may reflect types of variation within the Germanic protolanguage and suggest a more complete original inventory as supported by the super-protolanguage Indo-European, from which different selections appear to have been made. We noticed, e. g., a possible morphophonemic variation of the reflexes of Indo-European ablaut (<7> 'day's') and of Verner's Law (<5> Goth. *bairand*), and diamorphemic differences due to varying syncretic development from a more elaborate pre-Germanic (partly Proto-Germanic) case-system (<10> dative singular 'day'), or a more complex verbal tense system (<3> ON Goth. *bart*).

Differences and similarities due to the pattern of the protolanguage conform essentially to the old stammbaum theory, particularly if refined by features of "Höfler's Law", which explains the later *Entfaltung* in the *i*-umlaut, the High German consonant shift, the Auslautgesetze, perhaps nasal loss but hardly the Verschärfung. Borrowing in contact as partly described by the *Wellentheorie*, must



be responsible for some individual convergences even within the larger frame of reflexes of a common protolanguage (<4> 'five', <5> 'we bear'). No linguistic subgrouping, or even a classification of attested languages can be merely based on recorded names of potential speakers of (unattested) languages. Among linguistic differences and similarities even features not in the protolanguage and not easily susceptible to borrowing, can usually only prove close contact at one time but not a genetic relationship.

On the basis of all available data we can only subdivide the Germanic languages of our era into two original groups: Nordic-West Germanic and Gothic. We have early texts for both of these, and they show the required isoglosses for this subgrouping. There is no early evidence for any additional original Germanic grouping whatsoever.

It is interesting but of no special importance (Penzl 1972: 101) that Arndt's glottochronical study appears to confirm a lack of division between Nordic and West Germanic before 400 A.D. (Arndt 1959). Sooner or later we can also expect the handbooks to recognize Nordic-West Germanic as the only viable subgroup apart from Gothic. This subgrouping is not intended as a mere classification but even as genetically valid within the traditional stammbaum theory. The evidence of a text like the one on the Horn of Gallehus is by no means contradicted by the discussed correspondences linking also Gothic and North Germanic, Gothic and West Germanic. These similarities are to be expected among descendants from a reconstructed, morphologically more complex ancestral language like Proto-Germanic.

### *Notes*

1. Keller (1978: 45) states that 'there is no proof that all [Germanic languages] passed through a uniform parent language'.
2. Prokosch (1939: 294 ff.), Keller (1978: 57 ff.). The Old Frisian text was written by Keller.
3. The symbols <w> <j> are used for nonsyllabic semivowels and do not imply any friction.
4. Rösel (1962: 35 ff., 88 ff.): "Auswahl aus Doppelformen".
5. Cf. the drawing in Kufner (1972: 78).
6. Höfler (1955 f.), Penzl (1972: 79). Already Maurer (1943<sup>2</sup>: 91) speculated that 'die Neuerungen können als gemeinsames Erbteil im Keim von den Einzelgruppen übernommen und dann gesondert noch nach der volklichen Spaltung entwickelt sein'.

7. The book was frequently reviewed and commented on: favorably by our honored recipient in Polomé (1953: 112–121), critically by Philippon (1954), even more so by Kuhn (1952, 1955). Lerchner (1965) sees the 'enge Zusammenstellung, wo nicht Einheit' as proven, and considers (p. 296) counterarguments by Kuhn 'und in seiner Gefolgschaft auch von L. Rösel' not quite fairly argued. Rosenfeld (1955: 388) mentions the 'gotonordische Gemeinsamkeit', which could not be compared to the threefold division of West Germanic (Elbe Germanic, etc.).
8. Wagner (1967) analyzes in detail the pertinent evidence in Jordanes' (died 552) *De origine actibusque Getarum* (= *Getica*). Hachmann (1970: 467) is still more skeptical: 'Sicher bleibt, daß es Goten im Norden und auf dem Kontinent gegeben hat'. He noticed (p. 453) in the Goths' traditional account of their travel to the continent in three ships the similarity with Bede's description of the journey to England by the Angles and Saxons.
9. Schwarz (1951: 114–115) lists altogether 25 Gothic/Nordic isoglosses; some additional ones are listed by Scardigli (1973: 41), who quotes M. M. Guchman. The isoglosses include the endings of the 1st person singular subjunctive (Goth. *-au*, ON *-a*, West Gmc. *-e*), also the 3rd person plural subjunctive (Goth. *bairaina*); the exclusively weak inflection of the present participle of the verb (Rösel 1962: 51–52); the more common formation of inchoative verbs in *-nan*; Goth. *hvarjis*; ON *hverr*; lexical similarities (Goth. *sauil*, ON *sól* 'sun', etc.).
10. The activity of Anglo-Saxon and Gothic missionaries explains the introduction of Old English and Gothic religious terms into Old High German (Braune 1918).
11. Contrastive vocabulary counts in bible translations have recently led Mańczak (1982) to suggest a Gothic ancestral home in the extreme South of the Germanic area. Even if the method used were not unsound and the material used were not unsuitable, we must insist that linguistic data alone cannot establish nonlinguistic facts such as a *Urheimat* (Penzl 1985a).
12. See Kuhn (1952: 47–48), quoted by Wagner (1967: 124–125). Höfler (1955: 39 ff.) rejects using the *Verschärfung* as the terminal point of the Proto-Germanic period, as the 'erste graphisch sichtbar werdende Lokalunterschied'.
13. He states: 'Aber die Grundgedanken sind bis heute nicht widerlegt.' But see Springer (1941). Maurer (1943<sup>2</sup>, preface) assumed a proven old connection between *Alemannen* and *Nordgermanen*.
14. It seems at times as if the transmitted tribal and ethnic names were the main basis for half-hearted assignment of linguistic features. Schwarz (1951: 190) suggested that the Rhein-Wesergermanen did not accept *\*ā* for Gmc. *\*ē*. He assumed that 'bei Elbgermanen' *p t k* were already aspirated ('schon behaucht'). Keller (1978: 65) opines that the High German Sound Shift arose on the basis of an ancient "Herminonic" consonantal correlation of intensity opposed to an "Ingvaeonic" correlation of voice. Lercher (1968: 297–298) considered a five-way division of Germanic between 100 B.C. or 200 A.D. as proven by vocabulary isoglosses.
15. Schwarz (1951: 257) discusses the value [R] vs. [z], p. 243 *ek* with /e/ vs. /i/. He is not sure whether the inscription should be labelled North Germanic or North Sea Germanic. Kuhn (1957: 49) comments that this is typical for the 'urnordischen Inschriften'.

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## ***Sacerdos 'qui sacrum dat'*** ***sacrum dare and sacre facere in ancient Italy***<sup>1</sup>

Aldo Prosdocimi

From the Latin standpoint, verbs such as *credo* and *condo* (reviewed in Leumann 1977: 527) belong to the morphological paradigm of *dare*: *condere* < \**condāre*, *condidi* < \**condēdi*; in this respect *creduim* with *-u-* of *dare* is decisive, as *-u-* belongs to the paradigm of *dare* (\**dō(u)* or \**deH<sub>3</sub>*; Prosdocimi 1984a, in press), while *credo* certainly originates in \**dhē* as can be seen in comparison with the Sanskrit *śrad-dhā* (whatever meaning \**kred-* may have and whatever the reasons for \**-ddh-* becoming *-d-*). A definite \**dhē* is therefore imported into the paradigm of a definite \**do(u)/deH<sub>3</sub>*.

In Latin, on the other hand, the semantic link is not apparent. This has already been explained by Bopp and Pott through a comparison, with the Indian forms in particular: the content is not that of the verb *dare*, but of the verb corresponding to Sanskrit *dadhāmi*, which still means 'to put': this explains the consequent etymology with \**dheH<sub>1</sub>*. However, *condo*, *-idi* from \**-dheH<sub>1</sub>* and *credo* with respect to the Skr. *śrad-dhā* pose methodological and theoretical questions. To what extent, for example, can we refer to the root \**dhē* (*dheH<sub>1</sub>*) with a morphology of \**dō* (*deH<sub>3</sub>*)? How can the etymology of the prehistoric phases be compared with a formal Latin etymology in which \**dheH<sub>1</sub>* is represented by *facio-*, which differs in both form and meaning and can therefore no longer be related to \**dhē* > *dō* in which the only referent is *dō*? In other words, what status does this etymology have? Moreover, we must establish the formal and semantic factors (phonetics + morphology) causing the \**dheH<sub>1</sub>* continuers other than *fac-* to assume the morphology of *dō* (\**deH<sub>3</sub>*).

The characteristics of \**dhē*/\**dō* in the *condo/credo* type may be summarized as follows: 1) the conditions for recognizing \**dhē* are essentially semantic; 2) as the morphology is that of \**dō*, there is therefore, at the most, the "content" of \**dhē*; 3) the morphology is attributed to \**dhē* only when it cannot have developed from the semantic of \**dō*; 4) \**dhē* does not mean 'to make' but 'to put'; and

5) only when *\*dō* is excluded and *\*dhē* demonstrated as semantic will a *\*dō* form be attributed to a *\*dhē* content.<sup>2</sup>

*Sacerdōt-* has various characteristics both in itself and in the way in which *\*dhē* has been identified rather than *\*dō* because here 1) the meaning of 'to give' is proper and justified, indeed, as we demonstrate, it has a pertinent value: 2) while for *condo/credo* the *\*dhē* content has only been recognized in the *\*dō* forms, an attempt has also been made to detect the morphology peculiar to *\*dhē*, *\*-dhō-* < *-dhoH<sub>1</sub>-* in *sacerdōt-*; and 3) there is no room for a 'sacrum ponere' between 'sacrum facere' and 'sacrum dare' (and 'sacrum ponere' does not have the same scope as 'sacrum ferre'; it must also be added — see note 2 — that 'to put' is not the Latin but the pre-Latin value of the root *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>-*).

The etymology of *\*dhē* in *sacerdōs* appears to have been identified only in 1887 by Schulze. It was then taken up again by Stolz in his *Lateinische Grammatik* (1894). This delay indicates that there is less evidence of *\*dhē* in *sacerdōs* than of *\*dhē* in *condo*. However, *\*dhē* in *sacerdōs* is now as widely accepted (with rare exceptions, such as Brugmann) as *\*dhē* in *condo*.<sup>3</sup> Birth and perpetuation are a case of ideology of etymology (or of a definite etymology) and by comparison the remote etymology has prevailed over the recent context. The formal difficulty has acted as a stimulus rather than a deterrent. Here it would not be opportune to remark on the seriousness of this attitude. The main point is, however, that proof must be furnished by him who wants to demonstrate that *sacerdōt-* originates in *\*dhēH<sub>1</sub>* and not the contrary, as is commonly thought.<sup>4</sup> We shall not therefore demonstrate that *sacerdōt-* originates in *\*deH<sub>3</sub>*, but we shall demonstrate that this morphological evidence has its counterpart in semantic and institutional evidence in Latin and, later on, in Italic: the connection between Latin and Italic builds up an organic picture, and this is further proof. Any objections to *\*dhē* are specified in the appendix, because they should not be the "pars destruens" of that which must first be established on sound evidence, which is not the case here. But they may serve to qualify this compound in relation to *sacrīfex/sacrīficus* and, by means of the *sacer-* ~ *sacri-* contrast, may shed further light on the pertinence of *sacerdōs* and *sacrīfex/-īcus*.

A final step must be taken to define the matter: the *-do-* segment has been paid particular attention (whether from *\*-dhē* or from *\*-dō-*), and the morphology, and therefore the value of *\*sakro-* in the compound, has been ignored; the value expressed by the form

\**sakro-*, that is the syntactic basis to which *sacer-dōt* corresponds as a compound, is the key point. That it has not been adequately considered is a fundamental flaw. As a substantive neuter, \**sakro-* is lexical in the singular *sacrum* and in the plural *sacra*; *sacrum* has two values: *sacrum* in the absolute sense is the ‘*sacrum* (to the gods)’; *sacrum* with a determinant (such as *sacrum Ceriale*) has a value that corresponds to ‘sacrifice, ceremony of ...’. The latter value is therefore completely different from the former. The pertinent values are thus *sacrum* in the absolute sense (with ‘to give’) and *sacra* (with ‘to make’): *sacrum facere* ‘to perform a specific ceremony’ is linguistically feasible, but it is not relevant here because the basic syntagm for *facere* is *sacra facere*, not *sacrum facere*, and *sacra* is the general value to be considered. *Sacrum facere* with *sacrum* in the sense ‘*sacrum* of ...’ is therefore excluded from the compound, while *sacrum* in the absolute sense of ‘*sacrum* (to the gods)’ is not excluded. The latter takes the verb *dare* (*reddere*), not the verb *facere*. Consequently for *sacerdōt-* the only pertinent opposition is between *sacrum dare* and *sacra facere*.<sup>5</sup>

### ‘*Dare*’ the *sacrum* in Rome

The (bloody) sacrifice should consist of a kill, an offering, and a destruction. Roman dogma has the following aspects:

1) In a passage in Varro (*l. l.* VI,31) it is stated that “*Intercisi dies sunt per quos mane et vesperi est nefas, medio tempore inter hostiam caesam et exta porrecta fas*”; a clear distinction is made between the kill, the rest of the ritual, and the strictly sacrificial part, for which no distinction is made between the offering and the destruction, and *exta porricere* and *exta dare/reddere* are equivalent: Varro (*r. r.* 1,29, 3) “*sic quoque exta deis cum dabant, porricere dicebant*” (cf. Virg. *Aen.* V,237; Macrobius 3,2,2; Plautus *Pseud.* 266); Serv. *ad Georg.* II,194 “*redati enim dicebantur exta, cum probata et elixa arae superponebantur*” (cf. also *ad Aen.* VIII,269; cf. Marquardt 1889, I: 220).

Many aspects of *porrectus* as a participle of *porricio*, not of *porrigo*, have not yet been adequately investigated. However, ‘putting forward’ is an evident synonym for ‘oblare’; destruction is not



contemplated. Yet, if we leave aside *proiecta* corrected to *porrecta* in Varro *l. l.* V,31 cit., the explanation '*porro iacere*' for *porricere* (Fest. 242 L and Paul. 243 L) might refer to destruction (this excludes the possibility that *porro iacere* may also be the etymology of *porricere*: cf. Walde—Hofmann 1966, II: 342 s. v.).

The dogma, however, is not at all clear on this point (in spite of Marquardt 1889, I: 220—221). For the destruction, Servius (*ad Aen.* VI, 253) uses *superimponere*, which is substantially no different from *superponere* with regard to the offering "per solida viscera holocaustum significat, quod detractis extis arae superimponeretur". Apart from the dogma concerning *magmentum* and *mactare* (dealt with elsewhere), it may be concluded that offering and destruction are unified and the result of this consists of the semantic features of 'giving' and 'putting forward'.

2) The 'offering-destruction' complex is signified by *exta dare/reddere*, in which *exta* is the victim, considered as 'parts of the victim object of the sacrifice', and therefore the *sacrum*, while *dare/reddere* used in the absolute sense (that is without the dative)<sup>6</sup> means 'to give (to the gods)': this is the offering-destruction seen from the viewpoint of destruction: 'that which is given (to the gods)' is *sacrum* and as such must be destroyed. Therefore a sacrificial giving — the *exta*, that is the *sacrum* — is fully justified. This operation is absolutely distinct in the ideological sense from *sacrificare* = 'facere the *sacra*' to which *sacrifex/sacrificus/sacrificulus* corresponds (and *rex sacrificulus* alternates with *rex sacrorum*, not with *\*rex sacri*): so there is a factual, ideological, institutional semantic possibility that justifies both a possibility for 'facere' and a possibility for 'dare', with a corresponding lexical distinction, therefore with *sacerdōt-* for 'dare' and *sacrifex/-icus* for 'facere'. The *sacra*, which are the sacrifice seen as a whole, are 'made'; the *exta*, which are the *sacrum*, are 'given': this explains and is proof of *-ri-* ~ *-er-* as an opposition between *sacrum dare* > *\*sacrō-do-* and *sacrā facere* > *\*sacrā-fac-* (cf. Prosdocimi 1986: 606).

In the semantic-institutional field of *dare* and *facere* there is a possibility that should be considered: *ferre*, which in various Indo-European languages expresses the name of the priest,<sup>7</sup> with respect to the centrality of *ferre*: these languages include Italic (Volscian, Umbrian *ferom*; Umbrian *ařfertur*; Aequicolan *ferter*); the corresponding name for the priest is missing in Latin, while *ferre* is used in derivatives (*offerre*; this should also be considered in its allotrope

*tuli*, cf. *atolere* = 'attulerunt' in the inscription of Caso Cantovio);<sup>8</sup> on account of the importance given in ideology to 'ferre' expressed with a specific lexeme, the sacral use of *\*bher-* derivatives neither supports nor denies 'dare' in *sacerdōt-* (see note 1).

### ***Sacer-dōt-* 'qui sacrum dat' as a form**

As the semantic and institutional 'ratio' is more than appropriate, assuming that *-dōt-* in Latin comes from *dare*, and assuming that the reasons linked with *condo-* cannot be used to recognize a *\*dhē* in *-dōt-*, it should not be necessary to deal with the aspect for which *\*dhē* is excluded. It is however useful to see how, in order to explain *\*dhē*, a way that is 'difficilior', if not impossible, has been chosen. Contrary to the 'lectio difficilior' of textual philology, this is fatal to etymology; it is equally useful to see how the correct and natural, formal perspective completes and broadens the picture. *-dō-* from the root *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>* imports a *\*-dhoH<sub>1</sub>*, which is theoretically feasible as a variety of the reduced degree of the compounds: but it is a 'difficilior' solution.

A metaplasm *\*dhē-t > \*dhōt* could be invoked through analogy; but in Latin *-ōt-* is not a final morpheme that could form a precedent and provide a paradigmatic pattern to which it might conform, while an analogy depends upon not only the existence of a paradigm in which it could be included, but also the vitality of the paradigm itself as a necessary condition for the analogy to occur.

On the other hand, *-dō-t-* from the root *\*dō* is normal and the non-reduced degree is justified, or rather there is no need for justification, not only because of the parallel *dōs*, *dōtis*, but because, as in the parallel root *\*dhē*, it has a series of forms (participles, nomina actionis in *-ti-* and *-tu-*) in which there are forms with the normal degree instead of the reduced degree (for verification see Prosdocimi, 1987; references in Prosdocimi 1984a); this is apparent in ancient Indian in particular, but cf. in Latin *fēti-* (lit. *dētis*, got. *ga-deps*) in *fēti-alis*. *fēti-* contributes to the exclusion of *\*dhē*, according to the proportion: *\*dōti- (dōs) : sacer-dōt- = \*dhēti- : \*sacerdhēt-*.

In Latin the root *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>* can be recognized in the second element of the compound, and this is *-fex*, *-fīcus* (although here it is not

pertinent to consider the relationships between the two); *sacriřex/sacrificus* would, however, exclude *sacerdōs*. The more deviating hypothesis may be considered valid, that is their lateness (this also takes into account that their old form may have been modified by metaplasms or structural renewals): *-fex* in *pontifex* is certainly old, old enough at least to precede the characteristics indicating that the particular Indo-European language is Latin. Apart from the Indian parallels such as *pathi-kṛt*, this antiquity is confirmed by the fact that, whatever its etymology, *pontifex* in Latin means only 'bridge-builder', an apparently meaningless interpretation if considered in the light of the relationship between *pontifex* and bridge, or even 'the *pontifex*' and 'the bridge' (even that on the Tiber, an obligatory route for trade between north and south).<sup>9</sup> This confirms what was seen in *sacriřex/-icus*: in Latin *-fēx*, *-fīcus*, not *-dōt-*, is the derivative of *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>* as the second element of a compound.

Morphology apart, there is no reason why, in the compound, *-dh-* should not undergo the *-f-* modification, as in *sacrificus*, *conficio*, etc.: *\*sakro-* was quite clear, and in *-ř-dh-* there were none of the compositional conditions of the *condo*, *credo* type.

The difference in the phonetical modification of *-rř-* in *sacriřex/-icus* and in *sacerdos* depends on formal and semantic factors: *sacer-* in *sacerdos* originates in *\*sagrō-* (or *\*sagrī/ō-*), *sagrī-* in *sacrīř-* is from a vowel other than *-ō-*, *-ē-*, *-ī-*, because *\*-rī-* and *\*-rō-* would have given rise to *-er-* as in *sacerdos* and as is the normal case for an internal *-ro-/lo-* (such as *sakro-*: *sacello-* < *\*sakro-lo-*: Leumann 1977: 142–143); *-ē-* and *-ū-* have no morphological foundation (*-ē-* would be from *-ī-* or from *-ē-* through iambic abbreviation); there remains *-ā-*: *sacriřex/-icus* is the nominal compound (parasyntheton) of *sacra facere*,<sup>10</sup> while *sacerdōs* is the nominal compound of *sacrum dare* (not as parasyntheton but as the true compound *\*sakro-do-*). This is semantically significant: the *sacrum*, the sacrificial portion, is 'given', not 'made'; the sacrifice, the *sacra* which is not the *sacrum*, is 'made', not 'given'. This finding is of fundamental importance, for it solves a formal contradiction that does not depend upon a formal discrepancy due to a fundamental semantic difference between *sacrum* (in the absolute sense) and *sacra*:

- a) it excludes a *sacerdōst-* 'qui sacra ponit' because *sacer-* *\*sakro-* is the *sacrum*, therefore it is 'given';
- b) it divides *sagri-fex* < *-facio* and *sacer-dot-* < *-dare* into the ideology of the *sacrum* and the *sacra*: the *sacrum* is the 'dis

*sacrum*’ and this ‘sacred to the gods’ is the ‘extra-human’, which is well-known in the Roman *sacertas*, but it applies to the Italic peoples, or at least to some Italic cultural traditions.<sup>11</sup>

## Italic peoples

The Italic sacrifice is well described in Iguvium ritual.<sup>12</sup> The structure of the sacrifice (**esono(m)**: neuter) is shown in a decree. It has three stages:

- 1) **ampenom**: the kill;
- 2) **purdoviom**: the consecration (meaning ‘to give *porrō*’, cf. Lat. *porricere, porrigere*);
- 3) **subra spahom**: the destruction, meaning ‘to libate over’ (this would also apply if **spahom** meant ‘to scatter’, which is unlikely, and hence ‘to scatter over’, cf. Lat. *pro-icere*).

If sufficient details are given in the literature, we can integrate individual sacrifices in this general outline, and link the ideological structures mentioned with concrete actions. This would enhance our understanding of the matter.

The Umbrian **purdoviom** ‘por(rō) dare’ denotes the crucial step in the sacrifice and may therefore apply to the entire sacrifice. This can be deduced from the various versions of the same passage:

VIIa 45	Ib 39
<i>enom purditom fust</i>	<i>enu esunu purtitu fust</i>
‘then Ø will be <b>purdito</b> ’	‘then the sacrifice will be <b>purdito</b> ’

and is confirmed by the parallel passages:

IIa 43	IV 31
<i>esunu purtitu futu</i>	<i>purtitu futu</i>

The above regard the end of the sacrifice, conceived as a combination of sacrifices, and mean that only at the end of the sacrifice itself can the sacrifice be considered accomplished and complete. That **esono purdito** can be replaced by **purdito** alone indicates that **purdoviom** can refer to the whole sacrifice; ‘por(rō) dare’ is central, so ‘giving’ is the central notion.

However, ‘giving’ is not only found here, nor does this ‘giving the *sacrum*’ correspond directly to the notion of ‘giving the *sacrum*’

that is fundamental to *sacerdos*. For 'giving the *sacrum*' in the sense of 'destroying (the *sacrum*)', the Umbrian of Iguvium has a terminology corresponding to the specific action: **erus doviom** (in the prescriptive form, in the imperative, *erus dirstu* < \**didēt-*) 'to give the **erus**' = 'to give the *sacrum*'. The **erus doviom** is an action of the third stage (**subra spahom**): as there are a number of editorial complications (see note 12) concerning the importance of 'giving the *sacrum*', the following must be ascertained: a) the meaning of 'giving'; b) the meaning of **erus**; c) the meaning of 'giving the **erus**' with relation to the previous **purdoviom** (second stage) and the **subra spahom** (third stage), of which **erus dirstu** should be part or a synonym.

I proceed in reverse order (reassuming the points stated more analytically in Prosdocimi 1984b and in TI II–III).

The **erus** is given after the **purdoviom**, which marks the **purdoviom** of a number of sacrificial objects (*prosciae*, *liba*, fats); the **erus** of each is given after the respective **purdoviom**: **erus doviom** therefore belongs to the third stage, the **subra spahom**. The *subra spahom* only appears when extra sacrifices are made (VIb 17 foll. = VIIa 39 foll. to Fiso(vius); VIb 41 to Tefro-), whereas elsewhere we find the prescription *erus doviom* (in the imperative), 'giving the *erus*' and *comolom* 'making pulp'. Consequently both forms must express the essential features of *subra spahom*, thereby replacing it: 'giving the *erus*' is therefore the actual destruction, as *comolom* is the elimination of the residue. 'Giving the *erus*' to the faithful to eat? Is this a ritual of involvement (Devoto's 'communio praechristiana')? This may be so, but the key point is still the absolute 'giving', that is the destruction. The idea of distribution is therefore superfluous, although it is possible. The prescription *erus dirstu* never takes the dative of the person to whom it is given; the only case in which this interpretation might be possible is IIa 42 *esuf pusme herter erus kuveitu tertu*, but even Devoto (1937, 1948), the upholder of 'giving to', translates as 'the one to whom it is due' and, in fact, *pusme herter* can only mean 'to whom it is due' or 'where it is owed' (see Prosdocimi 1978: 677, 754 foll.; to be revised according to Prosdocimi TI II–III).

As the prescriptions are precise, if the order were given to a person it is unlikely that the receiver of the order might be omitted, thereby precluding the possibility of identifying him (nor is it feasible to claim that the person is only specified once, as in IIa 41).<sup>13</sup> 'Giving the **erus**', that is 'giving (to the gods)', is therefore absolute

and it is synonymous with **subra spahom** 'libating over' (= 'destroying'). The latter denotes destruction for any sacrifice, as is foreseen in the terminology in TI Va, which must have a general value. This is confirmed by the observation that **subra spahom** is used both for destruction by fire (for the supernal gods: cf. VIb 17 = VIIa 38–39) and for destruction on the **peřom** (for the chthonic gods: cf. VIb 41).

**erus** has been identified (Devoto 1937) as '*sacrum*' etymologically. The interpretation is correct, but this observation must be identified internally if it is to be considered irrefutable (to the exclusion of any other etymological interpretations that are formally feasible, but unfeasible in this context).

**erus** is not a definite thing but a function. As the **purdoviom** of each sacrificial object is made (parts of animals, liba, fats, etc.), the corresponding **erus** is given (**erus** of parts of animals, liba, fats, etc.). This inexorably precludes any precise identification, such as 'puls', etc.

The **capir**, that is the vessels used, are called **sakref**. In the first sacrifice to Fiso(vio) (in the piaculum) mention is made of the **capir purditi** and the **capir sakre** as quite distinct **capir**. However, as they are given in a very precise sequence, 1) **purdito** 2) **sakre**, so they must refer to two distinct stages of the sacrifice. Therefore if **purdito** clearly refers to the **purdoviom**, **sakre-** refers to the next stage, the **erus doviom** (= **subra spahom**). **sakre-** is therefore an adjective corresponding to the **erus**, which is certainly the '*sacrum*', meaning 'sacred (to the gods)', the meaning of the Lat. *sacrum* (absolute) in *sacerdōs*.

**erus** is the '*sacrum*'. The single sacrifice in the Tables of Iguvium is the **esono**, the substantive neuter form of the corresponding adjective **esono**. The relationship with **erus** from a common root *ais-* immediately becomes apparent, as long as there is a justification of the formal relationships, which have rhotacism in one, but not in the other. Strictly speaking, once the values have been determined, etymology and formal facts are no longer important and it may be useful to exclude them here. **erus** has -s and this qualifies it as a neuter singular; the final -s is constant here, as against the absence/presence of rhotacism in other cases (-s/-r/-Ø): *the lack of rhotacism could reflect a dissimilation of a prevoius -r-* (which in turn was later than rhotacism and contrasts with rhotacism of the *orer* < *\*oses* type); the constant nature of -s might depend upon a ritual preference for an essential term. However, I believe it was probably included in the paradigm of neuters in -Ce/os > -Cs > -s (cf.



constant *-s* in the dative plural *\*-fs* vs. *-s/-r/-∅ < -Vs*).<sup>15</sup> There is a relationship with **esono** 'sacrifice' with a non-rhotacized *-s*. It is not useful to apply a ritual conservatism to one term and not the other. The solution is evident: *-s < -ss- < -sŷs-*, that is (replacing its resultant *e-* with *ai-*) *\*aisŷs-ono-* > *\*essono-* > **esono-**: the term for 'sacrifice' is a neuter form of the adjective 'sacred', deriving from the '*sacrum*' **erus**. Finally it is important to bear in mind that **esono** is also used in the plural.

Supposing *erus* '(dis) sacrum', *esono* (singular) 'sacrum = sacrificium' and (plural) *esono < \*esona* 'sacra' there is a considerable semantic isomorphy in the lexical variation together with the Lat. *sacrum* 'the *sacrum*' (in the absolute sense), *sacrum* 'a sacrifice', *sacra* 'sacrifices', as a combination of sacrifices, almost a collective form:

- *sacrum* (absolute): **erus**<sup>16</sup> '*sacrum*' (absolute)
- *sacrum* (specified): **esono** singular '*sacrum*' (specified)
- *sacra*: **esona** in the plural 'the combination of sacrifices' (but it seems to have been used also in the singular).

The sacrificial 'giving' as 'destruction' is an Italic process parallel to, or rather identical with, the concept of the '*sacrum*' in the Italic '*sacertas*' which is revealed in Roman evidence on Rome and the Italic world (cf. note 12) and which is now revealed in the connection between *sacerdōt-* 'who gives the *sacrum*' and **erus doviom** 'giving the **erus** = the *sacrum*'. This is the so-called bivalent sacred — '*sacer esto*' of the parricide vs. '*sacra via*' — incorrectly so, because it represents the bivalent application of a single concept: the alienation from the human community for being outside the human community, that is belonging to the gods, either through nature or through a gift, in other words being consecrated. Destruction is the consequence of the consecration-offering which is the equivalent of non-existence in the eyes of the community.

The terminology confirms that *\*sakro-* is an Italic term, remotely related to Hittite;<sup>17</sup> it is possible that Italic preserves a common heritage that has been lost elsewhere, terminology included. It is, however, more likely that (also because of the borrowing or semantic modification of a previous *\*aisu-* term)<sup>18</sup> the content depends upon an Italic innovation, in which what counts is the new ideological reality, not remote antecedent factors.

## Notes

1. This paper was first presented in July 1978 at a seminar held at the Institute of Linguistics of Berlin University, through the invitation of Bernfried Schlerath, to whom I offer my grateful thanks; a revised version was presented in December 1981 at a conference held at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes as part of the course given by Pierre Flobert, to whom I am equally grateful. Afterwards the etymology discussed in this paper was repropose in 1982–1983 by Eric P. Hamp, based on the semantic parallel of *\*bher-* in Sanskrit and Celtic, and on the Celtiberian (Botorrita) *TaTus* 'let them sacrifice' from *\*dō* and not from *\*dhē*. It is here opportune to repropose my version, as it has a different motivation and recovers a wider institutional picture of Latin-Italic. Annotations such as *\*-ē/-ō-* vs. *\*-eH<sub>1</sub>-/eH<sub>3</sub>-* are used according to the viewpoint of Indo-European vs. Italic, but — except for *\*dhoH-* > *fac-* vs. *\*-dheH<sub>1</sub>* > *-dV-* — it is not important to distinguish between them here, and they should be considered solely as reference points.  
The theme will be completed with a study on *magmentum*, *mactus* and *adolere* which links up with the theme of 'sacrum to the gods' in the sense 'food of the gods'.
2. This specific, semantic and formal problem was dealt with in 1984 by Rita Peca Conti (who also gives a history of the question, together with an exhaustive bibliography). The fundamental premise is that in Latin the *-do* of *condo* derives from both *\*deH<sub>3</sub>* and *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>*, and that it is the result of mixing forms and meanings in a "black box"; this process occurred during Latin pre-history. Peca Conti's aim is to identify the semantic and formal premises (morphology + phonetics) that favored or determined the status of Latin, giving rise to continuers of *\*deH<sub>3</sub>* with *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>* semantics and the form and semantics of *fac-* (which never was, or no longer is, the semantics of *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>*!). There is a fundamental flaw in the argument concerning the remote meanings (which are obtained by comparison) and the Latin meanings: *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>* 'to put' is not a pertinent meaning for Latin where its continuer, *fac-*, has the meaning 'to make'. Consequently, if *condo* (and similar types) arose when *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>* had not yet acquired the meaning 'to put' and the developing form-phonetics was dissociated so that Lat. *-do* < *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>* could not be justified even formally on the basis of *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>* > *fac-*, the compounds of the *condo* type became forms with an independent meaning because from the Latin point of view they were not based on any fundamental form, as *fac-* was not comparable with it in either meaning or phonetic form: if *\*dheH<sub>1</sub>* is included in these Latin forms with its previous meaning of 'to put', the comparison is altered. Besides, it is evident that forms like *condo*, in which the pre-verb *con-* was clearly identifiable, could (or should) have been formally repropose, the reproposal being based upon the *do/dare* paradigm which, from the Latin viewpoint, is the most evident feature.
3. Except in inventories, which are usually repetitive, even in scientific studies such as that by Fugier (1963). In this large volume, only one page is devoted to this question: Fugier uses the comparative argument in favor of *\*dhē*, adding that here it is justified to "structurer la réalité aux moyens d'actes religieux correctement posées ..."; the meaning *-dō-* 'to give' proposed by etymologists "déjà quelque peu anciens" who "obéissaient, selon toute apparence, à une raison



d'ordre phonétique" (which would vanish with *-dhoH<sub>1</sub>t-*) is dismissed as semantics and institutions in one line: "ce n'est pas que le sens y gagne (qu'est-ce que "donner les sacra"?)". As we shall see, the basic flaw is that Ms. Fugier makes no distinction between *sacrum* and *sacra*: likewise it will be shown that what is important for *sacerdōs* is not the *sacra* which are 'made' but the *sacrum* which is 'given'. Although I disagree with this and other factual and methodological points, I recommend this work for its references, sources, bibliography, and, in part, for the related themes.

4. The most difficult task is to fight a ghost, a non-existent "thing" which is made to exist, at least by those who believe in it: the etymology of *sacerdōs* from *\*sacro-dhō-t* 'he who puts the sacred' is indeed a thing that should never have existed. It has, however, been created and is now commonly accepted as a ghost.
5. This is one instance: further on we deal with the semantic position of *sacrum* with a specification ('*sacrum* of ...') in the wider Italic context; as is shown here, where Latin is concerned, the etymology of *sacerdot-* depends only upon the opposition between *sacrum dare* (with *sacrum* in the absolute sense, not with the meaning of a specific ceremony or ceremonial) and *sacra facere* (in the sense of accomplishing the *sacra*, not a *sacrum* meaning a single ceremony).
6. The verb 'to give' has three main elements — the subject, the direct object, and the indirect object; the absence of any of these — in this case the indirect object — can be due only to the lack of explanation in the particular text because it is clear from the context: its absolute absence is inconceivable, or is admissible only in a specific, ideological context, such as 'giving (scil. to the gods)': this 'giving' is the other aspect of the Italic '*sacertas*'.
7. Messap. *tabara* 'priestess', *tabaras* 'priest' (see De Simone, *Studi Etruschi* L 1982 [1984]: 175 ff.), Celt. *\*ati-berta*, etc.: it is well known (cf. Hamp 1982–1983) that this presupposes that a semantic and ideological constant underlies the formal variations: for this point, after the previous scholars see Campanile (1979).
8. Vetter (1953 nr. 228a); for a "material" value of 'taking to' see Peruzzi (1961); this is possible in a specific case (especially for the pre-verb).
9. After demonstrating that the *pontifex* has nothing to do with bridges, Fugier (1963: 161) explains the etymology by making a comparison with the Sanskrit *pathikṛt* 'maker of roads', so that the original *pontifex* = "qui institue les voies" becomes *pontifex* = "qui maintient les voies" under the republic. Perhaps the republican *pontifex* had more to do with roads than with sacred institutions, but from the Latin point of view *pons* is only a 'bridge' and hence *pontifex* could not be explained with a *\*ponti-* 'road', which is not Latin (historically): consequently either *pontifex* was not motivated or the only explanation was on the basis of *ponti-* 'bridge'.
10. On the *sacri-fex/-ficus/-ficare* relationship see Flobert (1978: 86–87), who attempts to see a non-denominative *-āre*; whether or not this theory is valid, our discussion of *sacri-fex/-ficus* is something apart. If, however, it is valid it would be positive evidence, since according to the type *capere: usurpari* it would presuppose a parasynthetic (not a primary compound), therefore *\*sacrā-facāre*.
11. Romanistic dogma on this subject is vast and controversial; see for example S. Tondo, "Il sacramentum militiae nell'ambiente culturale romano-italico", *SDHI* 39. 1963: 1–123; cf. also Fugier (1963). For the semantic extension of

this 'sacertus' to the 'sworn' conscripts (Oscan *eituns*) and money (templar: Oscan *eitua*) see Prosdocimi (1975, 1978b: 874–882).

12. I here omit a lengthy discussion concerning how much knowledge came from Rome and how much was construed in modern manuals. In Rome there is nothing comparable with the tables of Iguvium for organic unity and synchrony. Especially with regard to the archaic period, an idea may be given in an example: in his famous work, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern*, Norden dedicates 300 pages to ten lines of ritual: the tables of Iguvium are made up of over 4500 words, arranged organically and in a clear context. In the Roman ritual, however, words are out-of-context fragments. I wish only to stress the knowledge we have, in this field, of Roman ritual in general and of its archaic form in particular. Regarding the rite and the sacrifice, the tables of Iguvium are of fundamental importance and they are relatively clear. We must, however, pay attention to the editing and be aware of how the different editors describe things so that they can be recognized when they are described differently. For the methodological principle see Prosdocimi (1972), applications in Prosdocimi (1978a, 1984b) and especially Prosdocimi *TI* II–III (in press; here with results that are often different).
13. As already stated, the hapax mention of such an important element of the ritual ('to whom is given') would be inconceivable in meticulous prescriptions such as ours, while the prescription of 'where' is necessary because at this stage of the sacrifice, the place where the operation is carried out is of particular importance and, as in other cases in which the operation is more complex with respect to the place in which it is carried out, the 'where' is specified in minute detail.
14. This excludes the possibility that *subra* might refer to the 'dei supra-' as suggested by Vetter (1953: nr. 6). This is nonetheless a valid and pertinent parallel for the distinction between the 'sacra' (*aisusis*) *huntru is supru is*. For an elucidation see Prosdocimi *TI* II–III. This is confirmed by the second sacrifice to Fiso(vius) (in the purification ceremony); here mention is made only of the *capit sacra* because they are the specific ones of the *erus* (VIIa 39–40, 45 = Ib 37).
15. This *s* was obviously different from that rhotacized on account of chronology and nature, cf. *orer ose* 'illius opēris' < \**oses* < \**op(e)ses*; the Vestinian in the inscription Poccetti (1979, nr. 207) (reconsidered by La Regina 1968: 407, with photos and facsimile) which does not rhotacize, but uses a special sign -ś- < -ps- (*ósens* < \**opsens* 'operaverunt') to distinguish it from the normal -s-.
16. *aisus-* 'sacrum' is not only Umbrian: Ve 6 *nip huntru is nip supru is aisusis* (i. e., it is a case of *aisu-* where there is a contraposition between 'inferi' and 'superi'), it should not be corrected to *aisis*: Rix (1967); *aisusis* may be translated as 'sacrificus (?)' (Vetter 1953), but I think a more probable translation would be 'sacris' in the sense of the Umbrian *erus*; this 'sacrum' of two types – 'upper' = dei superi and 'lower' = dei inferi – corresponds precisely to the two types of *erus doviom*: destruction by fire vs. destruction in the *peřom*, which in turn corresponds to the divine destination of the sacrifice, celestial gods vs. chthonic/lower gods (as I have already said, the *subra* in *subra spahom* cannot refer to the 'sacrum' of the celestial gods alone).
17. On Hittite *sakla* cf. Friedrich (1952 s. v.).
18. For the Italic *aisu-* see Devoto (1967: 62 ff.); Prosdocimi in: Pellegrini–Prosdocimi (1967. II: 42–45); Rix (1967); Lejeune (1972).  
Much of the bibliography on *ais-* comes from Etruscology (omitted here with

other Italic bibliographies). It may reflect an Indo-European term, but this is not relevant: whatever its remote origin (Indo-European 'possibilities' in Pokorny 1959: 299–300), *aisu-*, which gives \**aisus* (> *erus*) is a neuter with -s and is Italic, and its antecedents are not pertinent to the content of the term and its derivatives.

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## On the source of Hittite *halzai-*

Jaan Puhvel

The closing of many a lustrum has failed to dim Edgar Polomé's luminous study 'On the source of Hittite *h*' (*Language* 28. 1952: 444–456). The good sense that it embodied still seems fresh, uncannily resistant to winds of fashion, and continues to fructify research, not excluding the small token of sincere homage which is appended below.

The profusely attested Hittite verb *halzai-*, *halziya-* roughly matches the various semantic layers of English 'call': (1) 'call out, cry, shout'; (2) 'cry for, crave' (e. g., pardon); (3) 'proclaim, recite, read aloud'; (4) 'call, summon, invoke, invite'; (5) 'call (by name)'. There is little doubt that (1) is basic, and that the other meanings are offshoots thereof.

In view of Luwian *halta-*, *halti(ya)-* of the same meaning, the Proto-Anatolian form is *\*halt-*. The Hittite stem *halz-* presupposes generalized affrication originating before a front vowel, thus pointing to the chronological anteriority of *\*haltiya-* < *\*Hłtyó-*, a primary formation with *\*-yo-* suffix like, e. g., *assiya-* < *\*Hŋsyó-* 'be favored' or *parkiya-* < *\*bhrghyó-* 'be high'. This stem survives in the third person singular medio-passive present form *halziya* (e. g., *KUB XXX 24 II 17 nu UD.KAM-as NAPTANU GAL halziya* 'the day's big meal is called').

Rejecting the many attempts since Hrozný to derive the *h-* of *halziya-* from an Indo-European guttural stop (with *Sirene des Gleichklanges* ranging from Czech *hlásati* to OHG *gelzōn* 'cry out'), Polomé (1952: 451) toyed in passing with the possibility of onomatopoeia (as had Walter Couvreur [1937: 59] before him and Bojan Čop would do still later [1970: 96–97]) but also stated that "otherwise Abel Juret's comparison with Goth. *lapon* 'Kaleîn', OHG *ladōn -ēn* 'invite, call' deserves due recognition, since the Hittite word means 'summon' as well and may reflect PIE *\*xol-t-y-*, alternating with *\*(x)l-ot-* > Gmc. *\*lap-*." Juret's blanket notoriety as a madman has made it difficult to secure even minimum credit for his occasional brilliant insights, such as the connection of Hitt. *eku-* 'drink' with Lat. *ēbrius* (cf. Puhvel 1984: 267–268, 1985: 693–

695). Polomé's attempt to do justice has found few takers apart from the present *gratulator* (Puhvel 1965: 88), and Johann Tischler (1977: 140) lumped Juret's suggestion with all the other "unglaubliche" approaches to *halzai-*.

The comparison Anat. *\*halt-* : Gmc. *lap-* makes excellent sense in terms of root structure (*Hél-t-* : *Hl-t-* : *Hl-ét-*), with Anatolian showing a typical predilection for the first full grade or zero grade (cf., e. g., Hitt. *arpa-* 'misfortune' : Ved. *rāpas-* 'affliction'; Hitt. *ard-* 'saw' : Ved. *rādāti* 'gnaw, cut through'; Hitt. *palhi-* 'wide' : Lat. *plānus* 'flat'; Hitt. *sanh-* 'flush': Ved. *snāti* 'bathe'). The Germanic verb is denominative from a noun *\*Hlotā* (type of Gk. *tomē*, Lat. *toga*) seen in Runic *lapu*, ON *lǫð*, OE *laðu* 'call, summons, invitation', and the semantic specificity of 'invite' is colored thereby (cf. Luw. *haltatt-* and Hitt. *halziyawar* 'calling, invocation'). The same precise meaning 'invite' has developed in Hittite in such usages as *nu wakanna halziyari* 'there is an invitation to (have a) bite' (*KUB XXV 24 II 13*) or *GAL-is-za* <sup>P</sup>*UTU-us EZEN-an iet nu-za* <sup>I</sup>*LIM DINGIR.MEŠ halzayis* 'the great sun-god gave a party and invited the thousand gods' (*KUB XVII 10 I 19–20*).

An Anatolian-Germanic isogloss of this quality can normally be self-sustaining, but we do in fact have the good fortune of an independent tertium in the Old Latin noun *lessus* 'wailing, lamentation' quoted from the Laws of the Twelve Tables by Cicero, *De legibus* 2.59: *mulieres genas ne radunto neve lessum funeris ergo habento* 'women shall not tear their cheeks nor have a keening on account of a funeral'. And Cicero continues: 'hoc veteres interpretes Sex. Aelius L. Acilius non satis se intellegere dixerunt, sed suspicari vestimenti aliquid genus funebris, L. Aelius (sc. L. Aelius Stilo) lessum quasi lugubrem eiulationem, ut vox ipsa significat. Quod eo magis indico verum esse quia lex Solonis id ipsum vetat.' Thus the word was obsolete before Cicero's time, but Stilo glossed it by *lugubris eiulatio* rather than some kind of mourning attire, and Cicero concurs. In *Tusculan Disputations* 2.55 he has more to say: 'ingemescere non numquam viro concessum est, idque raro, eiulatus ne mulieri quidem; et hic nimirum est *lessus*, quem Duodecim Tabulae in funeribus adhiberi vetuerunt.' Here *lessus* is a cogent emendation for the corrupt *fletus* or *pessus* of the manuscripts. *lessus* is thus the archaic word for the current onomatopoeic *ēiulatio* or *ēiulātus*. As a relic of *\*Hlet-tu-* (of the type *re-cessus*, *sensus*, *cultus*, with full-grade root vocalism) it meant basically '(out)cry'. A meaning 'howl' likewise inheres in Hittite *halziya-* and the iter-

ative-durative *halzissa-* (*KUB* IX 31 II 12 *nu UR.BAR.RA-ili hal-zissai* ‘he howls like a wolf’); human ululation in ritual context is well documented from Old Hittite onward, e. g., *hu-u-u halzissanzi* (*KBo* XVII 18 II 4), *i-i halzissāi* (*KBo* XVII 43 I 11), *a-ha-a halzissanzi* (*KBo* XXV 154, 2, 3, 6 and often), *wa-ú-ya 3-ŠU halzianzi* (*KUB* I 14 II 4).

It appears that by the three independent witnesses reconstructible as *\*Hl̥tyó-*, *\*Hlotā*, and *\*Hlet-tu-* from Anatolian, Germanic, and Latin respectively an Indo-European root for ‘cry’ is cogently inferrable. Our *Jubilar* did well in giving Juret’s brilliant lucid interval its rightful due.

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## Sul nome dei 'Veneti'

Paolo Ramat

La posizione del venetico fra le lingue indoeuropee è stata più volte e brillantemente illustrata dal Festeggiato (vd. Polomé 1966; vd. anche Polomé 1957). Ma chi sono i *Veneti/Fenetoí* di cui ci parlano abbondantemente le fonti classiche e il cui nome compare qua e là per l'Europa e l'Asia Minore con insistenza? Non starò qui a dare tutti i riferimenti e la bibliografia, assai vasta, in proposito (vd. da ultimo Prosdocimi 1979, con i rimandi alla precedente letteratura).

Lo scopo di questa nota è assai più modesto e si limita a suggerire una plausibile interpretazione etimologica del nome.

Fra le recenti discussioni intorno al complesso problema storico-archeologico-linguistico dei *Veneti* mi sembra che la soluzione proposta da Devoto (1965), nella revisione fattane da Prosdocimi (1979), sia la più convincente, nella misura in cui riesce a render conto di una situazione documentaria che non è affatto unitaria: *Veneti*, e forme simili, non sarebbe all'origine un etnico ma la designazione degli Indoeuropei 'conquistatori' nelle varie zone della loro espansione, dalla *Vandea* al Baltico, dal Lazio (dove compaiono i *Venetulani*: Plin. *n.h.* III 69) all'Asia Minore, così come *\*Aryo-* non designava originariamente una particolare tribù ma i conquistatori indoeuropei rispetto ai precedenti indigeni. E come *\*Aryo-* si trova dall'Irlanda al subcontinente indiano, così *\*Weneto-* ha anch'esso amplissima diffusione, senza che per questo sia necessario ipotizzare col Kretschmer (1953) un'espansione dei *Veneti*, intesi come etnico specifico, per la quale manca qualsiasi supporto che non sia quello, troppo generico, dell'onomastica.

Il quadro di riferimento storico-linguistico di questi *\*Wenetōs/-oi* è quello della indoeuropeizzazione dell'Europa nel cosiddetto "West-Indo-European" ad opera di piccole tribù (*\*teutās*, secondo il suggerimento di Krahe 1959) che daranno poi luogo alla formazione di etnici più ampi quali i Germani, i Celti, gli Slavi, i Balti e anche gli Illiri e i Veneti veri e propri.

In questo processo di cristallizzazione in veri e propri etnici *\*wenet-o-* si fissò come etnico soltanto in una zona ristretta — appunto nel Veneto — così come, ancora, avvenne per *\*aryo-* in Iran (cfr. Prosdocimi 1979: 280).

In tale quadro di riferimento quale etimo attribuire al nome *Veneti*? Polomé ammonisce giustamente contro 'le danger de poser arbitrairement des dérivations verbales pour rendre compte d'anthroponymes, surtout lorsqu'on connaît si peu le système verbale de la langue envisagée' — come è appunto il caso del Venetico (Polomé 1964: 790). Tuttavia è possibile osservare una certa sistematicità nei procedimenti derivazionali dell'onomastica venetica: *Lemeto-* si accompagna a *Lemeto-* e *Egeto-* a *Egesto-* così come la base *\*weneto-* si affianca a *\*wenesto-*, attestato da Plinio (*n. h.* IV 109: *insulae complures Venestorum et quae Veneticae appellantur et in Aquitanico sinus Uliaros*); non attestato invece il 'nomen agentis' *\*wenetor-*. E' stata pertanto suggerita una triade di partenza *\*weneto-*, *\*wenesto-*, *\*wenet-* (così Prosdocimi 1979: 279 n. 11 e 280 sulla scia di Devoto 1958) poiché questa terza variante (più precisamente *\*wenét-* secondo Devoto 1965: 451) sarebbe richiesta da alcune forme attestate.

La forma *\*wenét-* sembra esser suggerita principalmente per dar ragione dell'etnico nordico *Vindr*, *Vinðr* (plur.), tema in consonante (cfr. *fōtr*, *vetr*) che dovrebbe rimandare a un i. e. *\*wenet-es* (cfr. Prosdocimi, in Pellegrini—Prosdocimi 1967: II 243 sg.). Ma il richiamo all'etnico nordico sembra un argomento troppo debole in sé per giustificare la necessità di una base *\*wenét-*, quando si pensi agli spostamenti di flessione, sempre possibili e frequenti in germanico. Né la serie *\*nemos-*, *nemeto-*, *nemet-* e *\*klewos-*, *kleweto-*, *klewet-* addotte come parallelo da Devoto (1958) sembrano particolarmente probanti. Anche qui è infatti difficile individuare l'autonomia della terza variante come forma a sé: il greco *kleFetos* > *Kleîtos*, nome proprio, può benissimo nascere da un *\*klewe-to-* o anche *\*klew-eto-*. Difficile, se non impossibile, risulta poi attribuire una 'sfumatura attiva' (così Devoto 1958) a questo supposto *\*klewet-* (cfr. anche lo scetticismo di Prosdocimi [1979: 279 n. 11] di fronte a questa ipotesi). In ogni caso, la forma germanica, compreso *Vindr*, *Vinðr*, dovrebbe essere stata originariamente ossitona, a causa della sonorizzazione della dentale secondo la legge di Verner. E' quanto di fatto troviamo in *Enetoi* (vd. *Il.* II 852) e probabilmente nell'ags. *Winedas*, *Veonedas* < *\*wenetó-*, ma non *\*wenet-és*.

Dal punto di vista della morfologia indoeuropea fa difficoltà un termine ossitono che conservi, come *Enetoi*, il grado pieno di entrambe le sillabe radicali. In questo senso più regolari appaiono forme come il già citato nord. *Vindr*, *Vinðr*, ted. *Wenden* (aggett.: *wendisch* 'sorbisch'), ingl. *Wend*, per i quali si potrebbe ricostruire

una base *\*wen-tó-*; a meno che questa serie non sia piuttosto da connettersi con una forma celt. *\*vindo-* 'bianco' (cfr. Klein 1971, s. v. *Wend*).<sup>1</sup> La sonora compare inoltre in Ptol. III 5: *Ouenédas* (si noti qui la posizione dell'accento!) per un etnico della Sarmazia; in Plin. *n. h.* 4, 97 troviamo *Venedi*, sempre con riferimento alla Sarmazia, mentre anche la grafia *th*, che troviamo già in Tac. *Germ.* 46,<sup>2</sup> e poi in Giordane V 34,<sup>3</sup> sembra in qualche modo indicare una spirante dentale (sonora?). Si noti che per la tradizione occidentale del nome Plinio (IV 107) e Tacito (*Ann.* XI 23) preferiscono decisamente la forma con *t*: *Lugduniensis Gallia habet ... Caletos, Venetos ...; Veneti et Insubres* (cfr. l'insieme delle attestazioni del nome in Prosdocimi, in: Pellegrini — Prosdocimi 1967: II 221 sgg.).

Sulla base della distribuzione delle forme sembra giusto supporre (con Much — Jankuhn — Lange 1967: 525) che quelle contenenti traccia del 'grammatischer Wechsel' (legge di Verner) indichino il nome con cui i Germani designavano i loro vicini orientali (pre-slavi originariamente, poi anche slavi); cfr. il caso analogo di *\*Walhiskōz* > *Welsh, Welsch* in occidente.

Malgrado la 'irregolarità' di una forma quale *\*weneto-*, si possono citare alcuni paralleli (vd. Prosdocimi in: Pellegrini-Prosdocimi 1967: II 242): greco *Dérketos* vs. scr. *darśatá-* 'degnò di essere visto', greco *Échetos* < *\*segheto-*, il già cit. *kleFeto-*, gall. *nemeto-*, *kaletò-* dell'etnico *Caleti*, accanto a *Caletes* (cfr. *Nemetes*!). *\*Wenetó-* non è dunque isolato nel sistema onomastico di origine indoeuropea.

Ho detto 'di origine indoeuropea' e non semplicemente 'indoeuropeo' a ragion veduta. La molteplicità delle forme attestate sembra far pensare, infatti, non ad un nome etnico già tale fin da epoca indoeuropea bensì a diversi procedimenti di derivazione da una base indoeuropea nelle varie lingue della famiglia — anche con regole di derivazione che eventualmente contravvengono a quanto sappiamo sulla morfologia dell'indoeuropeo (come nella forma *\*wenetó-*).

Ciò mi pare un indizio a favore dell'ipotesi accettata più sopra che il nome non avesse all'origine un valore specifico di etnico. Ora, la radice cui verosimilmente si deve risalire è *\*wen(ə)-*, presente nel scr. *vānati* 'desidera', av. *vantar* 'vincitore' (perfettivo confrontabile con *Vindr* 'i vincitori?'), nell'irl. *fine* (< *\*wenjā*) 'famiglia, parentela', nell'isl. *vinr* 'amico', ecc. (cfr. Much — Jankuhn — Lange 1967: 524). Un neutro sigmatico è attestato da scr. *vanas-* 'desiderio' (cfr. lat. *venus -eris*): da questo possono derivare le forme con sibilante *Venesti* di Plinio (già cit.) e i *Venostes*, popolazione alpina dell'o-

monima vallata, così come da *honōs* si ha *honestus* e da *fūnus* *fūnestus*.

E' difficile stabilire con esattezza il significato originario della radice (vd. Pokorny 1959: 1146 sg.). Tra quelli che più si confanno alla denominazione di un gruppo etnico-sociale spicca comunque la famiglia germanica di *vinr*, as. aat. *wini*, ags. afrs. *wine* e del celtico: airt. *fine*. I *\*Wenetōs* /-oi sarebbero dunque 'coloro che sono legati da vincolo di parentela, gli amati' ('die Verwandten, Befreundeten': Much – Jankuhn – Lange 1967: 524). Prosdocimi (1979: 282 sg.) osserva giustamente che un'indicazione di probabilità etimologica è lungi dal costituire un risultato storico nel senso più pieno del termine.

Tuttavia non può essere privo di significato che si incontrino spesso nell'onomastica degli etnici indoeuropei (auto)definizioni del proprio gruppo o *ethnos* miranti ad una contrapposizione esclusiva nei confronti degli altri, dei non appartenenti: cfr. airt. *Svíthiōð* < *\*swē-piōð* 'Svedesi', cioè 'del proprio popolo'; poi ancora *Semnonēs* < *\*sebhnonēs*, *Sabīnī*, *Sabelli*, *Samnītes*, *\*Swēbōz* > aat. *Swābā* (lat. *Suēbī*), tutti da una base *\*s(w)e-bho-/s(w)o-bho-* (da cui anche il ted. *Sippel*!) contenente il riflessivo *\*s(e)we-* di *suus*, *svá-* ecc. che si incontra anche in airt. *Suíar*, ags. *Swēon*, lat. *Suiones*. Anche il nome dei *Frisii*, se derivato da *\*prai-/prī-* del scr. *priyá-* 'proprio' e solo successivamente 'caro, amato' accenna a una simile definizione esclusivista (cfr. Ramat 1976: 37). Possiamo citare ancora i *Toutoni* e i *Teutones*, in quanto derivazione da 'popolo, tribù', cioè: 'gli appartenenti alla (propria) gens' (*\*teutā*), oltre naturalmente al derivato *diot-isk* 'deutsch'.<sup>4</sup>

In questa prospettiva i *Veneti* vengono ad avere una perfetta analogia: essi non sono 'gli amati, gli amici' o simili (quante definizioni benevole dei vicini si troverebbero, stranamente, in indoeuropeo!) bensì 'i proprii, gli appartenenti alla propria gens' (*\*wenyā*, attestato nel cit. airt. *fine*). Lo sviluppo semantico verso il significato di 'amico, amato', infine, non è anch'esso un fatto isolato, ma ricorda da vicino quello del greco *phílos* (< *\*sphil-* < *\*sbhi-l-*; cfr. gr. *sphi(n)*), dal tema del riflessivo *\*s(w)e-bh-* 'suus': vd. Hamp (1982)).

Sembra dunque in conclusione possibile inserire la vicenda semantica del nome dei *Veneti* in uno schema sufficientemente diffuso, tanto da poter costituire un appoggio etimologico non semplicemente sul piano fonetico, ma anche su quello storico e culturale.

## Note

1. Ma in anglosassone abbiamo *Winedas*, *Veonedas* e in antico alto tedesco *Winida*, in gotico *Winīpa-* (con spirante dentale sorda!), primo membro del nome proprio *Winitharius*; onde sarà piuttosto da pensare ad una posteriore scomparsa della vocale intermedia atona — e questo esclude però l'accostamento al celtico!
2. *Hic Suebiae finis. Peucinatorum Venethorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito.*
3. ... *ab ortu Vistulae fluminis per immensa spatia Venetharum natio populosa consedit.*
4. Rientra in questa visione esclusivista rispetto agli altri l'etimologia che collega lat. *tōtus* 'tutto' a \**teutā* (cfr. Ramat 1965: 134 con la precedente bibliografia; Polomé 1966: 64).

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### *Addendum*

Alla serie degli etnici derivanti dal riflessivo Françoise Bader (*BSLP* 81. 1986: xvi sg.) aggiunge ora anche *Suessiōnēs*, *Suess*a, *Suisse*, *Satricum* e anche *Serbi*, sulla stessa linea di ragionamento qui tenuta.

Sul nome dei *Veneti* vd. anche A. Ancillotti, *Studi di indeuropeistica* (Perugia: Galeno, 1983), 57–70: egli propone di intenderlo come denominazione di un gruppo sociale, una specie di 'confraternità' (che avrebbe controllato e sfruttato la produzione dello stagno).

# **The impact of language (morphology) on Luther: Sapir-Whorf Redux**

Irmengard Rauch

## **1. Luther in view of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis**

‘Das ist der Luther.’ Thus does Luther speak of himself in quasi “me-generation” fashion, signaling not a small degree of self-satisfaction in how he speaks (Luther 1883–1966: 1.0.10.175). How, in fact, does he rate himself as speaker, i. e., as language user? On the one hand, in his “Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen” he details somewhat vauntingly of his opponents that ‘... sie aus meinem dolmetschen und teutsch, lernen teutsch reden und schreiben, ... es thut mir doch sanfft, das ich auch meine undankbare jünger, dazu meine feinde reden gelert habe’ (Luther 1.2.30.633); on the other hand, he laments ‘Ich meynet auch ich were geleret, ... nu sehe ich, das ich auch noch nicht meyn angeporne deutsche sprach kann ...’ (Luther 3.0.8.32). Needless to say, autobiographical words such as these fuel a long polemic tradition in Luther research which speaks to his position in the development of standard New High German. So, e. g., Schirokauer (1957: 910) concluded more recently: ‘Unter nahezu jedem Aspekt verbietet es sich, Luther zum Vater der nhd. Schriftsprache zu machen’ – a view bitterly refuted by Tschirch: ‘Schirokauer hat mit der Spitzhacke seiner scharfzüngigen, geradezu haßerfüllten Polemik vergebens das Gebäude niederzureißen versucht, das insbesondere die germanistische Forschung der beiden letzten Menschenalter fest und sicher gegründet und umsichtig und solide aufgemauert hat. Sein leidenschaftlich vorgetragener Angriff hat jedoch nicht den kleinsten Stein aus ihm herauszubrechen vermocht, unsere Kenntnis an keiner Stelle bereichert – um diese Feststellung kommt man trotz der Gelehrsamkeit und des Scharfsinns, die er aufgeboten hat, leider nicht herum’ (Tschirch 1966: 67).

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, it would seem, should put a rather abrupt end to any controversy centering in Erasmus Alberus’ characterization of Luther as *linguae Germanicae parens*



(Keller 1978: 380). Although the premises contained in the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (otherwise known as “Linguistic Relativism” or “Relativity”) are manifold, the basic or central proposition holds that ‘the structure of a human being’s language influences the manner in which he understands reality and behaves with respect to it’ (Whorf 1956: 23). Relativism itself actually holds that human languages are relative in their structure since it claims there is no absolute universal structure; reality, it claims further, attests to endless diversity among languages. Sapir-Whorfian relativity also incorporates the concept of “Linguistic Determinism”, which holds that language determines thought. This combination theory commonly admits of two degrees, a stronger version and a weaker version, the former maintaining that language determines cognition and action, the latter maintaining that language merely influences cognition and action. Statements of Sapir (1931) asserting, for example, that ‘Such categories as number, gender, case, tense, ... are not so much discovered in experience as imposed upon it because of the tyrannical hold that linguistic form has upon our orientation in the world’ and of Whorf (1964: 36) proclaiming that ‘linguistics is fundamental to the theory of thinking’ are most frequently construed as representative of the strong version of Linguistic Relativity. The prevailing attitude toward the Linguistic Relativity hypothesis is to admit, at least, the weaker version. In answer to the question title of his book, *Gibt es ein sprachliches Relativitätsprinzip?*, Helmut Gipper (1972: 248) concludes: ‘Das Denken jedes Menschen ist insofern “relativ” zu den Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten der verfügbaren Sprachsysteme und ihrer semantischen Strukturen, als es nur Gestalt gewinnen kann, indem es sich diesen gegebenen Bedingungen fügt ... Wenn menschliches Denken sich in Relation zu verfügbaren Sprachen objektiviert, so heißt dies aber nicht, daß es damit determiniert wäre.’ Still, the actual implications of the accommodation of thought to the morphology of language are the crux of the problem, rather than a final decision as to a weaker or a stronger version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. As Bertalanffy (1953: 246–247), who sees Linguistic Relativity as a part of “scientific relativism” resting on the cognition of our biological and cultural milieu, i.e., Jacob von Uexküll’s *Umwelt*, writes: ‘It is obvious that ... the problem far exceeds the borders of linguistics, and touches the question of the foundations of human knowledge.’

## **2. *Aufbruch* and method in morphology**

To be sure, Luther's strongest impact on the German language is frequently pinpointed as his 'rich and lively vocabulary' (Baeumer 1983). Yet, the vocabulary of Luther reflects, certainly in part at least, the impact of language on his thinking, from which his vocabulary derives. Thus, again Baeumer (1982: 571), in tracing the semantics of the word *Aufbruch* 'uproar, riot', observes: 'im Wandel und Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit leitet Luther sein neues und positives Konzept des "Aufbruchs" zwar aus der Tradition, aber dennoch in deutlicher Renaissanceauffassung als "mutaturus et innovaturus orbem" ab: als die Welt verändernd und erneuernd!'. Clearly Luther's vocabulary is reflective of the renewal tendencies sweeping German culture in the Renaissance ambience into which he was born — tendencies embodied by the already existing languages.

In view of Luther's productivity, it is not completely surprising that an exhaustive compilation of his morphology is still outstanding. Piecemeal studies do exist, e. g., the rather substantial *Wortlehre* by Franke (1914), the contribution of Berger (1943: 106–115), Erben's contrastive study (1974: 538–546), and Dietz's unfinished Luther dictionary (1870, 1872). Comprehensive Luther data would be of little avail, however, to the linguist, since from the theoretical linguistic point of view we still have no acknowledged paradigm to successfully treat morphology, despite the advances made in the present century by so-called Descriptivists, followed by Transformationalists, and then Neo-generativists.

The morpheme, avidly studied as a sister principle to the phoneme at the high point of American Classical Phonemics (Bloch 1947, Nida 1946, Hockett 1954), assumes a stepchild relationship in the immediately following period, i. e., in Classical Transformational theory, in which the morpheme is absorbed either into the syntactic or into the phonological component. So, e. g., Harms (1968: 13–14) describes the 'input representations of morphemes ... the systematic phonemic representation [as being] in some ways more like the morphophonemic level of taxonomic phonemics,' and Chomsky (1957) claims that syntax covers everything else, 'all of the grammatical sequences of morphemes of a language'. At this point then, morphology does not really enjoy a life of its own.

Curiously, Chomsky prompts its rebirth as a separate entity in his 'Remarks on nominalization', which serves as the base of the so-called Lexicalist Hypothesis of morphology throughout the seventies (Chomsky 1970: 184–221). At the same time we observe other approaches to morphology such as that of Matthews (1972), which represents a Word-and-Paradigm model, or the Axiomatic theory of Hervey and Mulder (1973). Although several paths are being broken, they are sparse; at times they intersect, at times they are indistinguishable. In brief, quoting Akmajian, Demers and Har-nish (1979: 127), 'while there are various promising ideas about how to formulate a theory of morphology ... as of yet we do not have many solid results'. Exactly how a theory of morphology should be stated precisely and more formally is still a matter open to considerable debate.

Bloomfield (1933: 161) defines a morpheme as 'a linguistic form which bears no partial phonetic-semantic resemblance to any other form'. He writes further: 'A morpheme can be described phonetically, since it consists of one or more phonemes, but its meaning cannot be analyzed within the scope of our science.' In Item-and-Arrangement theory (Block 1947) the morphemes of one word can, in fact, bear a partial phonetic and/or semantic resemblance to the morphemes of another word, so that there is a resemblance between, for example, the Engl. *-ed* past participle morph and the Engl. *-n* past participle morph. Accordingly, the morpheme can be considered an abstract unit defined by Hockett (1958: 123) as 'the smallest individually meaningful element(s) in the utterances of a language'. However, the Item-and-Arrangement model can only handle successfully nonphonetic semantic alternates which are discrete or agglutinating, so to speak, so that ablaut alternates as in Engl. *sink*: *sank* require explanation, or inflections in synthetic languages such as the Latin fem. acc. pl. *-ās* in *puellās* 'girls', where *-s* represents plural and *-a* represents feminine, so to speak, the second degree of length on *a* requires explanation. The Item-and-Process model (Nida 1946) undertakes to provide an explanation by singling out a base form *sink* and writing a morphological process rule by which the present ablaut is replaced by the past, or by writing morphophonemic rules by which the feminine *a* becomes *ā* in sandhi with the plural *s*. The Word-and-Paradigm model (Matthews 1972) is a process-oriented model as well, and requires the paradigm to help disambiguate a morpheme. Matthews cites as an example Italian noun singular endings in *-a*, *-e*, *-o* and *-o* which have plural endings

in *-e*, *-i*, *-i* and *-a*, respectively, thus *donna* 'woman' : *donne* 'women', but *monte* 'mountain' and *monti* 'mountains' in which the *e*-plural of 'woman' can only be disambiguated from the *e*-singular of 'mountain' each within their respective paradigms (Matthews 1970). Matthews' (1972: 41 fn. 6) definition of the morpheme remains that of *Item-and-Arrangement* or *Item-and-Process*: 'an abstract of unstructured unit in its usual, i. e., post-Bloomfieldian sense'.

The process-type model, *Item-and-Process*, is exploited by Generative Transformational method since it offers a base form on which processes are then performed. It leads, on the one hand, to what Chomsky – Halle (1968: 382) call 'morpheme structure rules ... that seem to be exactly like ordinary phonological rules, in form and function'. These rules relate to phonetic actualization of the morpheme. On the other hand, the syntactic and morphological characteristics of the lexicon, Chomsky – Halle (1968: 381) write, 'can be provided by the syntactic and diacritic features'. But then Chomsky (1970: 188) frees derivational morphology from the syntax saying, 'We might extend the base rules to accommodate the derived nominal directly (I will refer to this as the "lexicalist position").' This statement henceforth dominates Stateside morphological studies. The definition of the morpheme, however, remains unaltered. So, e. g., Aronoff (1976: xi) writes: 'I use the term *morpheme* in the American structuralist sense, which means that a morpheme must have phonological substance and cannot be simply a unit of meaning.'

Interestingly, although a stronger version of the Lexicalist Hypothesis such as that of Jackendoff (1972) holds that all morphological phenomena be removed from the syntax, the maintenance of the inflectional morphology in the syntax by Extended Standard Theory and Revised Extended Standard Theory results in part in Lexicalist advances in derivational morphology by American researchers, while Europeans, notably Wurzel, more recently choose to concentrate on inflectional morphology. Although Wurzel (1977: 131) establishes a morphological component distinct from a syntactic component, he nevertheless agonizes over the fact that the 'syntaktische Komponente erfüllt u. a. die Funktion der Kennzeichnung grammatischer Kategorien' and over the problem of disambiguating syntax and morphology. He ultimately delimits morphology from syntax writing 'Flektionsmorphologie besteht in der formalen Kennzeichnung der morphologischen Kategorien der jeweiligen Sprache durch Veränderungen in der Form der Wörter,

d. h. ihrer Representation in den Lautketten der Wörter. Was innerhalb der Grenzen des Wortes vor sich geht, ist Morphologie, was darüber hinausgeht, ist Syntax' (Wurzel 1977: 148). As an example, Wurzel claims that in German verb conjugation, only the present and past are morphological categories, while the other tenses are all paraphrases of these already morphologically established two, and, accordingly, belong to syntax. This attitude is reminiscent of, although not the same as, that of Hervey and Mulder's (1973: 43) distinction, in the case of derivation and compounding, between a morphological complex as 'a self-contained simultaneous bundle of two or more minimal, i.e., of monemes in a morphological relation', and a syntactic complex as 'a complex sign containing at least two constituent signs in a syntactic relation to one another', so that Engl. *blackbird*, e.g., is a morphological complex, whereas *doorkey* is a syntactic complex. Witness the impossible semantic use of *black* in *black and chipper bird* where *black* does not mean a subspecies of thrush, which the *black* of *blackbird* means, but the semantic equivalence of *door* in *doorkey* to *door* in the syntagm *door and ignition key*.

Aside from the inflection : derivation, syntax : morphology, and phonology : morphology controversies, the definition of the morpheme is plagued by doubts about meaning : non-meaning, form : non-form — the very heart of the Bloomfieldian legacy. Regard that the *black* of *blackbird* in Hervey and Mulder's understanding at least has a denotation of *thrush*, while the *black* of *blackberry* has no denotation. Recall that the *cran* of *cranberry* prior to the recent neologisms *cranapple*, *cranprune*, *cranicot* does not mean 'red' (as Bloomfield says one might suspect). This lack of meaning in derivational morphology is exploited by Aronoff (1976: 15) so that he revises the definition of morpheme to state that morphemes are not necessarily meaningful. Conversely, Chomsky (1965: 171) notes for inflectional morphology that in giving the feature matrix for Germ. *der Brüder*, the gen. pl. of *Bruder* 'brother', the gender, number, and case are not represented by one morpheme each, so that the semantic portion of the morpheme is not necessarily reflected phonologically on a one-to-one basis.

The one-to-one correlation, isomorphism or biuniqueness within a language is, however, one of the basic assumptions of semiotic method. Fascinatingly, throughout the recent history of the morpheme, linguists of several persuasions take as a point of departure the Saussurean sign, which is composed of a concept and a sound

image (signified and signifier). So, e. g., Anderson (1977: 16) writes, 'Each morpheme is presumed to be a sort of minimal Saussurean sign'; Aronoff (1976: 1) says, 'Morphology treats words as signs'; and Hervey and Mulder (1973: 41) point out 'All elements of the "first articulation" of language are signs'. This hearkens back to Martinet (1960: 24–25), who writes of the double articulation of language, saying 'units produced by the first articulation, with their significatum and their significans, are signs, and minimal signs since none of them can be further analysed into a succession of signs'.

What is noteworthy in all this linguistic talk of the morpheme *qua* sign is the lack of recourse to actual sign theory, semiotics. Aronoff himself comes close when he explains that, although the morpheme Engl. *mit* in *permit* or *permissive* has no constant meaning, we link the *mit* with *mis* through a phonological rule to grant a very broad meaning or grouping linkage. He writes (Aronoff (1976: 15), 'What is essential about a morpheme [is] not that it mean, but merely that we be able to recognize it ... What is important is not its meaning, but its arbitrariness'.

Semiotics can explain the linkage between Engl. *mit* and *mis* as being iconic, i. e., factually similar, while our recognition of the morpheme is symbolic, i. e., arbitrary – in semiotic terms, imputed contiguity. Similarly, the former *cran* of *cranberry* as well as, according to Hervey and Mulder, the *black* of *blackberry* both of which 'denote only membership in a subspecies of berry' (Hervey – Mulder 1973: 53) are symbolic, as such, and indexical, i. e., in factual contiguity, if they are relegated to but one compound each. Inflectional morphology as Chomsky's (1965: 171) cited genitive plural of Germ. *Bruder*, i. e., *Brüder*, is indexical, while the use of the word *Bruder* to signify the kinship term is again symbolic. Semiotic theory, then, is able to eradicate the separate treatment of derivational and inflectional morphology by integrating them under one phenomenological method. More importantly, however, semiotics, composed of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, does not agonize over the question of what properly belongs to grammar, particularly in terms of meaning. It clearly stands on the side of so-called Interactionist theory of linguistic behavior, which is based on the interaction of formal linguistic grammar with the principles of perception and production outside the grammatical system. Interestingly, Chomsky (1977: 56–57), while maintaining that 'the structures of grammar are generated independently', admits that 'these structures are associated with semantic interpretations by principles and rules of a



broader semiotic theory'. Yet Chomsky will not transverse the borders of his formal sentence grammar and thus he excludes the broader semiotic theory. This is actually a stronger statement than his *Aspects* observation that 'reasons having to do not with grammar, but rather with memory limitations, intonational stylistic factors, iconic elements of discourse, and so on' exist in sentence performance (Chomsky 1965: II). Further, semiotics does not agnize over the domain of the sign, i.e., whether it belongs to the word, the sentence, or a group of coherent, interrelated sentences. The minimal sign is triadic (for Saussure, dyadic, as said above, sound and meaning), viz., sound, meaning, use. Accordingly, pragmatics plays a role in each sign, whether directly or degenerately, and consequently discourse can be imputed for each sign.

Let us revert to the word *Aufruhr* in Luther's setting, with which we began this section, to consider how it measures up against the several linguistic morphological paradigms which we have been discussing. In the case of linguistic structuralism, Luther's *Aufruhr* would be viewed either as an arrangement of the items *auf* plus *ruhr*, or as a process of the combining of the two items without regard for the etymology or history of the word and its constituents. In the classical transformational period such a word as *Aufruhr* would be studied for its phonology, or it would be assimilated into the syntax. Bloomfield, a father of linguistic structuralism, would deny that one can arrive at a meaning for *Aufruhr* with the tools of his linguistics. While *auf* does convey a concept, the constituent *ruhr*, outside of its meaning as a terminus technicus, 'dysentery', is simply non-existent and has, as such, no meaning. The morpheme *ruhr* is then a cranberry morph as originally understood in the word *cranberry* (discussed above), i.e., before it was converted into a productive prefix as in *cranapple*, *cranprune*. Similar to an impressionistic meaning for *cran*, the Bloomfieldian 'red', we may claim some instinctive meaning for *ruhr*, perhaps 'rumble' or 'stir'.

What would happen if *ruhr* were to become a productive suffix as, for example, in a non-existent word such as *\*Niederruhr*? We immediately get a sense for this compound, something like 'deescalation'. The compound is a symbol, while the constituent *ruhr*, not specific to that compound alone (cf. *Aufruhr*), would be viewed as an icon since it is suggestive of, i.e., factually similar to the meaning of the verb *rühren* 'to stir, rumble'. Thus the semiotic model can handle all morphology within its framework of icon, index, and symbol.

### 3. Luther's function words: Greek $\delta\epsilon$

Returning to our major consideration of the impact of language on Luther in consonance with the Hypothesis of Sapir and Whorf, we gain from our excursus into morphology two major insights, both from sign theory. First, we realize that discussion concerning Luther's productivity on the lexical level will to a large extent center on the sign as a symbol, for example, *Aufbruch*. Many of his neologisms which are content words, such as *plappern*, *jr Kleingleubigen*, *Blutgeld*, are to an extent dispensable and in this sense arbitrary. Beheim's *Evangelienbuch* of almost two centuries earlier (1343) offers instead *vile reden*, *ir cleines gloubin*, *lōn des blūtes*, respectively. This is not to deny that Luther's three words present a new focus, dimension, or flavor, in particular *plappern*, which is the most iconic of the three. Yet, they enter into the language and become conventionalized as symbols that are by and large substitutable. The second principal insight which we derive from our morphology excursus is that, integral to every morpheme, of whatever nature, as a sign, are not just form or sound and meaning, but also use. Even in paradigm alone we discern the more provocative meaning of *plappern* as compared with *vile reden*, yet we could possibly substitute *schwätzen* or *viel Unsinn reden* or *ständig reden*, depending on the required use in the syntagm. We find it in Matthew 6.7 of Luther 'Vnd wenn jr betet/solt jr nicht viel plappern/wie die Heiden/Denn sie meinen/sie werden erhöret/wenn sie viel wort machen.'

This is hardly the case with function words, if we stay with morphology. When we read Sapir (1931) closely, we realize that the 'tyrannical hold' of linguistic form of which he speaks refers, in fact, to 'such categories as number, gender, case, tense'. Following Jakobson, we can observe this in the effects of an English translation of the well-known lines of Heinrich Heine, *Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam ... Er träumt von einer Palme, Die fern im Morgenland ... trauert ....* 'A fir tree stands lonely .... It is dreaming of a palm tree, which far away in the Orient is pining away ...'. To be sure, a sensitive reader can extrapolate a gender distinction from the complete love poem, of which we have only a fragment here, in the English language, due to redundancies such as 'lonely' and 'pining away'. Still, the overtly marked gender morphemes in German, *Ein Fichtenbaum*, *Er* and *einer Palme*,



*Die*, signaling unambiguously masculine and accordingly signifying male in the former, and, *ceteris paribus*, feminine, i. e., female in the latter, defy translation. (A study in itself is the semantic fine tuning of the English progressive aspect translation for the German present tense *träumt*, *trauert*.) Walton (1973: 5) states the Linguistic Relativity dilemma as follows: 'If a language can be translated into English it cannot embody a conceptual scheme different from ours. And if it cannot be translated, we cannot reasonably believe that it embodies such a scheme, even if it does in fact. A language embodying a different scheme must be an untranslatable one, but because of its untranslatability we could not be aware of the difference of conceptual scheme'.

We will forego arguing whether the Heine lines are actually isomorphic, i. e., translatable or not. We prefer instead to turn to Luther the translator, and observe cases in point in the function words of his morphology. The function morphology is the inner machinery, while the lexical morphology is rather analogous to the outer trappings. Accordingly, we should expect that the functional morphology makes a significant difference, perhaps even an essential difference, in contrast to the arbitrary difference of much of the lexical morphology. This is the nature of the index, where factual contiguity, essence, is at stake, versus the icon and symbol of semiotics, which reflect factual similarity and imputed contiguity, respectively. Especially intimate structures of a language morphology are particles, nicely displayed in the Kafka sequence *Aber denn doch wohl nicht gar so sehr*, which is composed totally of function words. As linguistic pragmatics developed in the last decade, the role of particles for modality was ever more avidly studied (cf., e. g., Bublitz 1978; for the extension of modality to the substantive see Rauch 1983). These "flavor words" are now understood as integral to the modality of a sentence. They appear to be so language-specific that Weydt et al. (1983: 9) ask 'Sind Abtönungspartikeln im Klassenzimmer überhaupt lernbar?'

It is to be expected, then, that Luther exploited the intimate structures of his native language when he translated freely for the average German speaker. A decisive case in point is his translation into German of his own Latin letter to Pope Leo X, requested of him by the papal nuncio on October 12, 1520. We read here, for example, as collated by Birgit Stolt (1969: 22), Lat. *Haec est* beside Germ. *Und ist nemlich*, Lat. *nequit* beside Germ. *und vormag doch nit*, Lat. *qui ... dignus eras* beside Germ. *der du wol würdig werist*.

There is no denying that the German particles convey meaning of some sort not conveyed in the Latin text.

Let us isolate a particle for closer scrutiny. Modern German *aber* is both an adversative conjunction and modal particle with semantic similarities. Luther himself speaks to the word *aber*: 'es ist ein wörtlin, das heisst aber, das hat den bauch vol mancher seltzamen glosen, solchs aber macht das du vnd ich müssen zu weilen nicht glawben noch wissen, das wir doch glewben vnd wissen' (Dietz 1870: 1). We cannot fail to notice with regard to the Sapir-Whorf Relativity Hypothesis the felicitous wording of Luther *aber macht das du vnd ich müssen*. However, of equal interest to the Hypothesis is Luther's observation of the varying glosses of *aber*. One of these is Gk. *δὲ*, simply glossed, in turn, by Juret (1942: 4) as Fr. *mais*. The very frequent Gk. *δὲ* of the New Testament is translated regularly by Luther as Germ. *aber*, for example, Luke 15. 22 *εἶπεν δὲ ὁ πατήρ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ*: Luther *Aber der vatter sprach zu seynen knechten*; the pre-Luther 1343 Beheim *Evangelienbuch* also has *Abir der vatir sprach zû den knechten*, as does the post-Luther 1926 Menge translation *Der Vater aber sagte seinen Knechten* (Tschirch 1969: 48–49).

Variations in the German rendition of Gk. *δὲ* exist, notably the zero morpheme and the adverb *da*, for example, in Beheim's *Her sprach zû en*, and Luther's *da sprach er* and Menge's *Da sagte er zu ihnen*, respectively for Matthew 13. 52 *ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς* (Tschirch 1969: 56–57). Even more notable is the use of *und* for Gk. *δὲ*, for example, Luke 1. 62 *ἐνένευον δὲ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ*: Beheim writes *Und si winketen sîme vatere*; Luther writes *Vnd sie wincketen seynem vatter*, while Menge has again *da*: *Da winkten sie dem Vater die Frage zu* (Tschirch 1969: 38–39). The rendition of Gk. *δὲ* by *und* instead of *aber* bears witness to a non-adversative, concatenating use of the latter, as Dal (1966: 185) says 'beinahe wie eine rein weiterführende Bindepartikel'. To be sure, Liddell–Scott (1968: 371–372) characterize Gk. *δὲ* as an 'adversative and copulative Particle' among whose uses is the one 'to resume after an interruption or parenthesis'. Astutely, Dal (1966: 185) notes further of Germ. *aber* as a non- or extremely weak adversative binder in discourse: 'dies ist kein echt deutscher Gebrauch' (cf. the use of tense as a discourse binder strategy in Rauch 1982). The concatenating *da* for Gk. *δὲ* also underscores this usage. What is most significant, however, is that Luther, keenly sensitive to the pragmatics of the German language, shows signs of rejection of a transplant, so to speak, by

the target language, German, from the source language, Greek. Just as Beheim before him and Menge after him, Luther at times translates Gk. *δὲ* by a zero morph, but more frequently he translates it by *und*, if he does not use *aber*. In addition, Luther does not hesitate to add the conjunction *und* in his freer translation (i. e., compared to his biblical translation). Recall, for example, the *und ist nemlich* for Lat. *Haec est* of his papal letter discussed above. While Luther is liberal with the addition of *und* to his German letter, Stolt (1969: 22) lists no single addition of *aber* in the letter. Compare Beheim's willingness to use *abir* to represent something other than Gk. *δὲ* in John 4. 6: *ὥρα ἦν ὥς ἑκτη*, which Beheim translates *Abir di stunde was also sexte*, but Luther says *vnd es war vmb die sechste stund*. Clearly, language, in this instance Germ. *aber*, has an impact on or directs Luther's choice in translating; as far as Luther is concerned, *aber* does not appear to tolerate well the foreign usage imposed upon it. Certainly, the weaker version of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is hereby corroborated.

We close with what is undeniably the most spectacular instance in the Lutheran tradition of the interplay of language and thought. It is actually in regard to a conjunctive-adverb paradigmatically similar to Germ. *aber*, viz., Germ. *allein*. Obviously, Luther's doctrinal thinking required his insertion of adverbial *allein* into the key passage Romans 3. 28: "So halten wir es nu/Das der Mensch gerecht werde/on des Gesetzes werck/alleine durch den Glauben." In turn, of course, the language of this passage, specifically *alleine*, has had an irrevocable impact through almost five centuries of Lutheran thought.

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# **Damned in-laws and other problems**

William J. Samarin

0. Damned in-laws are not the only problems the Gbeya have. They are, like human beings in every corner of the world and throughout all time, burdened by death and disease, beset by misunderstanding and strife, anxious because of a shortage of food and the means to acquire enough of it. Existentially, man's capacity to conceive problems is infinite; culturally, he is selective. There is a limit to what is thought about and talked about. A leaky roof in a grass-thatched Gbeya house is nothing by comparison with a cantankerous father-in-law.

## **1. Names as discourse**

Personal names, collectively, constitute a discourse about Gbeya problems. Through names the Gbeya talk about their problems. It is a sad story of illness, death, jealousy, animosity, loss of wealth in the payment of brideprice (or the promise of future wealth in the birth of daughters). The names provide the themes for a pessimistic drama that would express the sentiments of Jean-Paul Sartre; they would, in fact, provide some of the dialogue.

Most Gbeya names deal with human relations. 'Damned in-laws' really is a personal name. (The canons of the art of translation permit, if they do not here require, that *d'ǎng* be rendered by 'damned' or 'good-for nothing' instead of the neutral dictionary referent 'bad'.) The girl or woman who bears this name, as long as she bears it, bears the message of what her father or paternal uncle thinks of her mother's family. The statement will be on the lips of the maternal kin as often as they call out to her, for unlike the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1948) Gbeya maternal grandparents do not use another name, one of their own choosing.

The human relations that demand attention to the exclusion of virtually all others are consanguineal and marital. A pair of names mirrors exactly these sets of relations: *d'ǎng nām* 'Damned relatives'



(6) and *dǎng kɔfɛ* 'Damned in-laws'. For the sake of simplicity we will here examine onomastic discourse by selecting only those names that contain the word *nām* 'family'. In my corpus this represents eleven percent of the total: 107 out of 932 names. *Nām* always refers to the male line and to males in that line. In fact, practically every name with *nām* is a man's name, whereas *kɔfɛ* occurs exclusively in women's names. Grammatically, it can be used as a mass noun — in the sense of 'family' — or as a count noun — in the sense of 'relative'. When translating into Sango, Gbeya will say *itā* 'sibling' (also 'cousin') more often than the French borrowing *famille*. An aggregate of *nām* is a *nū-vey* 'clan', whose Sango translation would be *mará*; in Sango this word means 'kind' or 'tribe'.

## 2. The syntax of Gbeya names

Most names consist of at least two morphemes, even in abbreviated forms. Monomorphemic names seem to be nicknames: *foro* 'Elephant', *galon* 'Officer's stripes', *travaux* 'Work' (from *travaux publics*). The grammatical units that are manifested are either noun phrases or verb phrases: *foyo* — *kɔfɛ* 'In-laws' shame', *íng nǎ* 'Don't know'. These verb phrases, as in the latter example, can be independent sentences. And sentences can consist of a predicate with a subject and/or complement: *sére sǎn nǎ* 'Spears are not finished off' (that is, they are still useful) or, metaphorically, 'Wars go on'; *é-m tɛ* — *oro* 'Leave me at the deserted-village site'. The verbs are either in the imperfective or perfective forms (54,51). Both, however, suggest general truths. A smallish number of names contain verbs in non-predicative form, that is, with a low tone (4,104). I have no satisfactory explanation for these phrases other than that they may be shortened versions of longer names. In Gbeya a low-toned verb is usually dependent on a preceding noun or verb.

Although it is common for Gbeya names to be sentential, they are syntactically quite simple. This is partly a reflection of the fact that even in ordinary discourse Gbeya clauses are simple. On the other hand, we would not expect frequently used names to be syntactically complex. What is perhaps surprising about Gbeya names, in fact, is that the longish sentential ones are so numerous.

The explanation may lie in the fact that they tend to be gnomic – referring to fundamental truths about life, like *séré yú nām nã* ‘Spears don’t run away from relatives’ (95), that is, violence leads to violence.

The proverbial nature of names is found in their content. As far as I know they are never derived from traditional proverbs. In form they resemble proverbs only in the use of the second person plural pronoun that is used in both proverbs and names with a general reference, similar to *you* in English and *on* in French. See (32, 33, 35, 48, 49, 50, 55, 60, 74, 78). For use of the first person pronoun see below.

Ellipsis produces what in normal discourse would be unusual if not ungrammatical constructions. For example, the concept of forgetting always involves the noun *tã* (whose primary meaning is not clear). The name *nām bió* (24) is an abbreviation of *tã – nām bió* ‘Family forgot’. Likewise, verbs generally take some kind of complement in the perfective form, even if it is only the word *mõ* ‘thing’. In ordinary discourse *nām gbéá* ‘Family killed’ (47) is not likely to occur except as *nām á gbéá* ‘it was (my) relative who killed (it or him)’.

Lexically similar names, one of which is shorter than the other, produce ambiguity. Thus, (39) can mean ‘Family of death’, that is, relatives come to help only at the time of death. But it might be the shortened form of (40), which means ‘At death there are no relatives’, that is, even at death one does not have the help of relatives. (When there is death in a family, relatives are supposed to come to give moral support, or, as the Gbeya say, to remove shame. They do this by bringing food and gifts; that is, they *goy* the bereaved. See below for *goy*.)

The corpus of names was collected when I was living among the Gbeya from 1954 to 1960 in what is now the République Centrafricaine (formerly the territory of Oubangui-Chari of Afrique Equatoriale Française). Most of them are taken from the baptismal registry of the Protestant mission (first Mission Evangélique de l’Oubangui-Chari and then Mission Evangélique Frères) in the Ouahm district, whose administrative center is Bossangoa. The mission was established here in 1926. The names were explained in writing, in Gbeya, by either one of two adult assistants, answering my question: ‘Why was this name given?’

### 3. The Gbeya family

Gbeya names issue from the paternal line. It is either the father or one of his male kin, usually a brother, who suggests the name. The discourse of names is therefore male-oriented. There appears to be no specifically female point of view on any of the names, in spite of the fact that names can be replaced for personal reasons at any time in life. (My principal assistant wanted to be called *wiré bó zum nã* 'I have no human support' because he was an orphan with only one blood-kin; but because he was a well-known community personage he continued to be called either by his Gbeya name *gũn* — *te*, his Christian name Gédéon, or his nick-name Juge — pronounced *žúži* — since Gedeon was one of the Old Testament judges.) The only time a name was replaced formally was at the puberty rites. (This was for boys. Excision seems to be a rather recent borrowing from other Gbaya, and I do not think that name-changing took place with girls. Excision, with or without dancing, was taking place in the period 1954–1960, but male puberty rites had disappeared quite some time ago; circumcision was practiced on all boys but clinically at either a government or mission medical center.)

Life's drama is presented in the negative mood. This is explicit in the use of the negative marker *nã* and in predicates with a negative connotation. The explanations provided by the assistants certainly take a gloomy point of view. This occurs even when the words of a name would seem to permit another interpretation. For example, *nãm zu* — *wa* 'Kind toward them' (83, cf. 107) is an ellipsis of the predicate *de nãm zu* — *wa* 'treat them as relatives' or 'be generous to them'. The assistant does not take this in the gnomic sense but as if the predicate were *de nãm zu* — *wa zãã* 'one treats them generously in vain'. His explanation was that the name-giver had behaved as a relative should but that his generosity was not even accepted or that it was not accepted gratefully.

In the names one complains because there are no relatives: *nãm bó zu-m nã* 'I have no relatives' (27; also 31, 32); or because death has wiped the family out, leaving just the father and his new son: *nãm dāngá* 'The family is ruined' (38; also 63, 72, 85, 86, 96); but with the new child one proclaims that the family does persist (28, 62). If you had relatives, things would be a lot better: *nãm kó-í sé*

'If you have relatives' (53; also 5, 29, 49, 70, 78, 87). But then things aren't like they used to be. In the old days relatives acted like relatives. They fulfilled their obligations: *nām bó kīnē nā* 'No relatives nowadays' (30; also 1, 25, 35). Because my relatives don't come to my help, because they ignore me and aren't kind to me, I have to go to outsiders — people who are not related to me by blood. It's as if I had to go about begging for relatives, a brother here, a brother there: *koy nām* 'Borrow relatives' (19; also 14, 16, 44). Ah, but if you have relatives, they are either argumentative and disputatious (100), crafty (45), disunited (36, 100), divisive (103, 104), disagreeable and disharmonious (54–57); fickle — because they come only when they want help from my fetish (41), when there's gambling (46), when I have meat (69), and in fact only when someone dies — maybe only at my death! (39, 40); forgetful — not remembering that I exist, not writing letters to me (24, 97), jealous (64, 88), separated and scattered from one another (18, 51, 67, 79, 80, 99), troublesome (72, 73, 74, 95), inhospitable and stingy (58, 84, 92, 98), and violent — fighting and bickering amongst themselves (47, 48, 65, 71, 90, 91, 93).

The behavior and characteristics of the family are revealed in predicates: *bē* 'reject, disclaim' (23); *ba* 'disown, renounce' (4, 33, 34, 92); *de zāng* 'do things independently, go one's own way' (36); *e rá* 'drop (one) flat, disown' (9); *īng nā* 'not recognize, disown' (50); *kō nā* 'dislike, not agree to' (20, 21, 54–57); *kpe* 'close, lock' (58, 98); *sēn* 'dislike' (opposite of *kō*) (72, 73, 74, 95); *yay* 'pull or take apart' (103); *yengi* 'shake, agitate' (104).

The list of indictments against one's relatives is long: they are like this or that; they do this and that. Specific reference to oneself is the less common thing, either explicitly in the first person pronoun (23, 27) or by implication. In the latter case: 'I'm just a servant of the family' (3); 'I'm considered no kin at all' (2); 'I went and followed my relatives' (8); 'I'm working myself to death for my relatives' (11, 13); 'I miss my relatives' (101, 102); 'I don't eat relatives' food' (106).

With relatives like those just described, who needs relatives! That's the consternation expressed in *nām — ge ndé* 'What kind of a family!' (43). And it seems to be resignation in *nām bó gōy nā* 'This is not being a relative' (26). It certainly is disgust in *đāng nām* 'Damned relatives!' (6).

Only a few names express a positive mood; they are at least interpreted positively by the assistants. Yet they reflect the same

concerns as the other names: one is happy that the relatives are numerous (37), helpful (60, 61, 82), generous or hospitable (81), and re-united after separation (66, 75, 76). (Some of the names in the final group might have to do with size of family: 'the family has returned' can have a metaphorical meaning, viz., rise up again after being nearly wiped out by death.) Only one name expresses genuine satisfaction with one's family: 'Family happiness' (15) which is based on the predicate *dε gē wen* — *nām* 'be happy because of family'. Incidentally, praise figures hardly at all in names. The one example in the corpus now under examination is *yoo ti—nām* 'Standing before the family' (105), a woman's name, whose explanation is that a female relative was always available for help; she was there when needed.

In this generally dismal soliloquy on Gbeya family life the picture of the ideal family emerges. It is large; the members live in proximity to one another — in the same village and in fact adjacent to one another; they visit each other, treat each other with hospitality (sharing especially meat and other kinds of food), live peaceably with one another (not arguing or holding grudges), and remain faithful to one another. In times of distress and when threatened by outsiders, they come to one another's support. The picture is one of an ally, not a friend. But the Gbeya word that epitomizes the relative's obligations is not 'help' (*tuli gale* 'lift up the left hand') but *goy*. This is a verb for which we have no simple equivalent. We might translate it 'love', except that it implies giving things. An individual establishes during his lifetime several relationships in which there is reciprocal giving (but not formal gift exchanging); family relations, on the other hand, require him to *goy* his relatives. The verb *goy*, to my knowledge, never occurs in Gbeya personal names. The reason is perhaps that this kind of behavior is taken for granted or implied in the discourse generally.

#### 4. A comparative survey of Africa

Ideal behavior on the part of Gbeya relatives is perhaps not different from what it is in most if not all societies. What is different, of course, is that familial obligations are talked about in this way —

in personal names. This does not happen everywhere, not even everywhere in Africa. Africans talk about different things in the names they give each other. From a small sample of the literature on this subject, the following topics are identified. The classification is purely ad hoc.

A. *Human*

a. Personal

- (i) Circumstances at birth
  - Day (Ake Assi, Clamens, Da Cruz, Holas)
  - Season (Hulstaert)
  - Place (Hulstaert, Jackson, Lebeuf, Pirovono, Valker)
  - Co-incidental events (Ittmann)
  - Order or sequence (Cornevin, Whitehead)
- (ii) Qualities, traits, characteristics (Clamens, Da Cruz, Delmond, Ennis, Hulstaert, Lebeuf)
- (iii) Experiences: marital (Lebeuf, Vanneste), quarrels (Jackson, Vanneste)

b. Social characteristics: rank (Da Cruz, Pirovono); clan membership (Cornevin, Delmond)

c. Historical, biographical events (Clamens, Delmond, Ennis)

d. Skills, occupations, activities (Hulstaert, Pirovono)

B. *Non-human forces, benign and inimical*

Fetishes (Ake Assi, Clamens, Cornevin, Holas)

Witchcraft (Jackson)

Totem animals (Pirovono)

C. *Ecological* (Hulstaert, Lebeuf)

D. *Existential, psychological*: death, fear, hatred, poverty, solitude, sorrow, sickness, suffering (Beattie, Jackson, Lebeuf, Vanneste)

Whereas a certain number of specific Gbeya names have parallels in other African societies, in other specific ways and in a general way Gbeya names are quite different. This is to be expected, of course; but we need to get beyond the obvious. A careful examination of naming practices and naming discourse ought to reveal patterns for sub-Saharan Africa. In this study we shall have to consider both the content of the names and their use. In the first names are indexical; they are a key to cultural foci. In the second they are a key to social relations.

When names are studied for their indexical function, one must give attention to both the topics and their frequency of occurrence.

It is surely significant typologically that among the Shona about eighty percent of the names refer to family quarrels, one of whose themes is hatred and death, manifested in topics of witchcraft and infant mortality (Jackson), whereas among the Tagwana, in West Africa, most of the names refer to circumstances surrounding the birth (Clamens). The category of 'circumstances' is, of course, too broad for some purposes. Societies will differ in the circumstances they choose to name. It is, for example, only in West Africa that the specific day of the week figures in naming.

With respect to 'use' a variety of topics must be examined. Names easily and quickly become 'frozen', are treated as units, and are passed on as such. Names can be selected from among those of the ancestors, as in the Cameroun and Gabon (Ittmann, Valke), or ancestral names can be obligatory, as among the Southern Bantu (Munday, Stefaniszyn, Whitehead). Apparently much less frequent than using or having to use names from the ancestral repertoire is the practice of quoting proverbs (Ennis). Here, then, we are concerned with the material out of which names are constructed — their source — and the creativity manifested in the naming process, if there is any at all. It is to be understood that constraints always have their influence on creativity. A Kaba whom I knew used to tease the Gbeya in a discreet way about their morbid names. Being himself a Christian and fluent in the Gbeya language, he thought that someone might have named a child *Nzapá ã sēné* 'God exists' or 'There's God'! This is a comment on the fact that the Gbeya do not do all that they can do with their names. (Although Christianity, in both Catholic and Protestant varieties, is well established among Gbeya-speaking peoples, naming practices have not changed except for adding what is known as either a white man's name or a God-name, that is, *yín-Nzapá*. It is a matter of personal history, part of which is social evolution in the direction of European or modern culture, whether one is known primarily by his indigenous or his foreign name.)

The use of names includes a consideration of the events that occasion a name, or a new — replacive or additional — name. After birth, names are given in connection with initiation rites, among the Gbeya replacive ones and among the Nuer additive ones (Evans-Pritchard). Gbeya males formally shed their birth-names at *gaza* and will become angry enough to fight if the birth-name is used after circumcision. These new names are therefore of different types. The Gbeya differentiate, for example, between a real name and a



nickname. An example of the latter is *gedē* — *dǝǝ* 'Shitty ass', which the man must have borne from childhood. Among the Fon a 'pseudonym' is given to oneself at puberty, but a man gives his wife another one after marriage (Da Cruz).

The naming of a name — 'use' in the strictest sense — is limited by various kinds of constraints. One might consider the Gbeya avoidance of precircumcision names a taboo. Respect can also lead to the loss of given names, as among the Gbeya, where teknonymics ('father of so-and-so' and 'mother of so-and-so') can be used for so long that people forget an elder's given or circumcision name. Among the Fon given names are used only in connection with sacrifices (Da Cruz).

Wherever there is a plurality of names there is the possibility of social manipulation: different groups of individuals use different names from the individual's repertoire or the different names, at least some of them, are used by the same persons at different times. Such patterns of behavior are those that sociolinguists look at nowadays when examining the use of pronouns, such as *tu* and *vous* and their equivalents, and other lexical items figuring in address systems. But it was a social anthropologist, Evans-Pritchard, who, quite some time ago, wrote about Nuer 'modes of address' instead of personal names as such.

The study of names has not attracted the interest it used to. Although the disregard of any human phenomenon is to be regretted, in this instance we have reason for concern. As African societies change, it will be more and more difficult to reconstruct the past that is alluded to in personal names. Modern urbanized Africans will certainly be out of touch with the kind of life that gave rise to certain names. Moreover, as names are deformed by being subjected to the constraints of European spelling conventions, they become difficult if not impossible to interpret correctly. (Many young Gbeya, for example, have adopted as their proper names those forms which had been transcribed by Europeans, leading in some instances to names that sound like Gbeya ones but are ridiculous or anomalous in meaning.) It is therefore gratifying to find that others are returning to this topic, especially Africans themselves (e. g., Akinnaso 1980, Bean 1980, Èkundayo 1977, Kimenyi 1978).



## 5. Summary

By writing about Gbeya personal names I have added to the already considerable body of information on naming practices in Africa, but in doing so, I hope to have made a contribution to our knowledge of an area that is not as well known as some others. I have also suggested ways for conducting comparative onomastic studies, a field that holds much promise. For example, in Gbeya names we find the suggestion for studying male and female relations. Societies where women can give themselves names would be more instructive.

### Appendix

Gbeya personal names relating to *nām* 'family, relatives' (with masculine and feminine names distinguished wherever possible).

1. *ā nām* 'Old-style family' (old family)
2. *bó nām nā* 'There's no family' or 'I'm just not a relative' (there-is family not)
3. *bóy-nām* 'Family servant' (servant [English *boy*, via Sango from French] [of family])
4. *ba nām* 'Disown family'
5. *dē nām sé* 'Behave like family' (do family then)
6. *dāṅ nām* 'Bad family'
7. *dāṅá nām* 'Ruined family'
8. *doṅ ÷ nām* 'Behind the family' or 'Followed relatives'
9. *é nām rá* 'Leave family in the lurch' or 'Drop relatives flat' (leave family right-off)
10. *fara ÷ nām* (m.) 'Family's place' (place [of] family)
11. *fe fīyo ÷ nām* (m.) 'Die family's fetish' or 'Die for family' (die fetish/death [of] family)
12. *fīyo ÷ nām* (f.) 'Family's fetish'
13. *fīyo zu ÷ nām* (f.) 'Fetish on the family' or 'Died for family' (fetish head [of] family')
14. *gēne ÷ nām* (f.) 'Stranger to the family' or 'Family of strangers' (stranger [of] family)
15. *gē ÷ nām* (m.) 'Family's joy' (joy [of] family)
16. *gēdī ÷ nām* (f.) 'Strange family' or 'Family of strangers'
17. *gūn ÷ nām* (f.) 'Family source' (?) (trunk [of] family)
18. *kēá nām* (m.) 'Divided family'
19. *koy nām* (m.) 'Beg from family' or 'Borrow relatives'
20. *kō nām nā* (m.) 'Don't like family' (agree-with family not)
21. *kōá nām* (m.) 'Recognized family'
22. *mó kō nām* (m.) 'Family's thing' (thing of family)

23. *nām bēá-m* (m.) 'Family rejected me' (family rejected-me)
24. *nām bió* (f.) 'Family forgot' (see 97)
25. *nām bó bō nā* (m.) 'No more family' (family there-is again not)
26. *nām bó gǎy nā* (m.) 'Not this kind of family' (family is thus not)
27. *nām bó zu-m nā* (m.) 'Have no family' (family there head-my not)
28. *nām bóy* (m., f.) 'Family exists'
29. *nām boy sé* (m.) 'When there's a family' (family exists then)
30. *nām bo kīnē nā* (m.) 'No relatives nowadays' (family there-is now not)
31. *nām bó nā* (f.) 'No family' (family there-is not)
32. *nām bó zu-ì nā* (m.) 'You have no family' (family there-is head [of] you (pl.) not)
33. *nām ÷ 6a-í* (m.) 'Family to reject you' (family [of] reject you)
34. *nām ÷ 6a ngmāā* (m.) 'Disunited family' (family [of] reject each-other)
35. *nām 6ōnā zu-í* (m.) 'You still have a family' (family remained head [of] you)
36. *nām ÷ de zāṅ* (m.) 'Strange family' or 'Independent relatives' (family [of] do differently)
37. *nām dōká* (m.) 'Large family' (family has-multiplied)
38. *nām dāṅá* (m.) 'Ruined family' (family is-ruined)
39. *nām ÷ fey* (m.) 'Family of death' or 'Relatives just at death'
40. *nām ÷ fey bo nā* (m.) 'No family even at death' (family [of] death there-is not)
41. *nām ÷ fiyo* (m.) 'Fetish family' or 'Family for death' (family [of] fetish)
42. *nām gāná* (m.) 'Family has surpassed' (possibly informant's analysis of incorrectly spelled name of 64)
43. *nām ÷ ge ndé* (m.) 'What kind of family?' (family [of] what interrogative)
44. *nām géré wí* (m.) 'Foreign family' (?) (family [of] any/whatever person)
45. *nām ÷ gērā* (m.) 'Crafty relatives'
46. *nām ÷ gidi* (f.) 'Gambling family' (family [of] gambling)
47. *nām gbéá* (m.) 'Family killed'
48. *nām ÷ gbé-í* (m.) 'Family that kills you' (family [of] kills-you)
49. *nām ÷ hō dōngó-í sé* (m.) 'Family behind you' or 'Oh for more relatives' (family [of] pass back [of] you)
50. *nām ǐṅ-íí nā* (m.) 'Family doesn't recognize you' (family know-you not)
51. *nām kēá* (m.) 'Family divided'
52. *nām kīnē* (m.) 'Family now'
53. *nām kó-í sé* (m.) 'When you have your own family' or 'When you have relatives' (family of-you then)
54. *nām kǒ dērā nā* (m.) 'Family doesn't like large families' (family likes growth [in numbers] not)
55. *nām kǒ mō kó-í nā* (m.) 'Family doesn't like your things' (family like thing of-you not)
56. *nām kǒ nā* (m.) 'Family doesn't like'
57. *nām kǒ-í nā* (m.) 'Family doesn't like you'
58. *nām kpeá* (f.) 'Family is shut up' (see 98)
59. *nām mǎy* (m.) 'Family put me out' (?)
60. *nām nēá zu-í* (m.) 'Family went to your help' (family went head [of] you)
61. *nām ndikó* (f.) 'Relatives were good'
62. *nām ndiró* (m.) 'Family has survived'
63. *nām ndutó* (f.) 'Relatives are finished off'

64. *nām* 𐤎 *nganda* (m.) 'Jealous family' (family [of] jealousy)
65. *nām* 𐤎 *ngay* (m.) 'Strong family' or 'Family with many sons' (family [of] strength)
66. *nām* *perá* (f.) 'Family returned' (see 75)
67. *nām* *pesá* (m.) 'Family has separated' (family has-widened)
68. *nām* *rengá* (m.) 'Family thought about it' (?)
69. *nām* 𐤎 *sade* (f., m.) 'Family of meat'
70. *nām* *sé* (m.) 'Family first'
71. *nām-sére* (m.) 'Warlike family' (family [of] spear)
72. *nām-séen* (m.) 'Hateful family' (family [of] spitefulness)
73. *nām* 𐤎 *sēn mō* (m.) 'Hateful family' (family [of] hate thing)
74. *nām* 𐤎 *sēn-éi* (m.) 'Family to hate you' (family [of] hate you)
75. *nām* *sió* (m., f.) 'Family returned'
76. *nām* *sió doḡ* (m.) 'Family returned' (family returned back)
77. *nām* *sōná* (f.) 'Family's finished off' (family is-finished)
78. *nām* 𐤎 *te-i sé* (f.) 'If you had relatives' (family [of] body-your then)
79. *nām* *yará* (f.) 'Family's gone away' or 'Family has divided' (family has-travelled)
80. *nām* *yērá* (m.) 'Family's far away' (family is-far)
81. *nām-yōná* (f.) 'Food family' or 'Generous family' ([of] food)
82. *nām* *zoká* (m.) 'Family has seen' or 'Relatives have taken it into account'
83. *nām* *zu* 𐤎 *wa* (m.) 'Kind toward them' (family head-their) (ellipsis, see 5)
84. *nāḡá nām* 'Not enough for the family' (lacked family)
85. *ndongo* 𐤎 *nām* (f.) 'Last bit of family' (remaining-portion [of] family)
86. *ndúti-nām* (f., m.) 'End of family'
87. *ngá nām* (m.) 'Real family'
88. *nganda* 𐤎 *nām* (m.) 'Family's jealousy' (jealousy [of] family)
89. *ngay* 𐤎 *nām* (m.) 'Strength with family' or 'Sons with family' (?)
90. *ngay* 𐤎 *nām* (m.) 'Strength knows the family' or 'Sons know the family' (?)
91. *ngay* *zoká nām* (m.) 'Strife has looked on the family' (strength saw family)
92. *sére* 𐤎 *ba nām* (m.) 'Strife rejects family' or 'Spear with which to disown relatives' (spear [of] reject family)
93. *sére* 𐤎 *gbe nām* (m.) 'Strife kills family' (spear kill family)
94. *sére* *yú nām ná* (m.) 'Strife doesn't flee the family' (spear flees family not)
95. *sēn nām* (f.) 'Dislike your family' (dislike family)
96. *sōn koy* 𐤎 *nām* (m.) 'Last of the family' (all remainder [of] family)
97. *tā* 𐤎 *nām bió* (m.) 'Family forgot' (memory [of] family forgot)
98. *tí-nām kpeá* (m.) 'Relatives have enclosed themselves' (front [of] family shut)
99. *tuwa* 𐤎 *nām* (m.) 'Family's home (is far away)' (house [of] family)
100. *wen* 𐤎 *nām* (f.) 'Family's arguments' (word [of] family)
101. *wō* 𐤎 *nām* (f.) 'Homesick for family' (hunger [of] family)
102. *wō zu* 𐤎 *nām* (m.) 'Family's hunger' (hunger head [of] family)
103. *yay nām* (f.) 'Pull apart the family'
104. *yengi nām* (f.) 'Shake up the family'
105. *yoo tí-nām* (f.) 'Stand before the family' or 'Family's helper' (stand front [of] family)
106. *yōḡ mō* 𐤎 *nām ná* (f.) 'Don't share the family's food' (eat thing [of] family not)
107. *zu* 𐤎 *nām* (m.) 'For the family' (head [of] family)

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# **Tense vs. aspect in Sango and Swahili of Lubumbashi**

Walter Schicho

## **1. Introduction**

Reviewing a first description of the Tense-Aspect-Modal (TAM) system of the creolized variety of Swahili as spoken in Lubumbashi/Zaire (SL) (cf. Schicho 1982) with regard to some data from Sango and the descriptions of Bickerton (1981) and Givon (1982) of the Tense-Aspect-Modal (TAM) system in Creole, I found the presentation of the categories Tense and Aspect to some extent inconsistent or even contradictory. The data show two different systems – one, similar to Standard Swahili (STS) though influenced by other Bantu languages, is characterized by the category Tense (T) dominating the other categories in TAM (which also includes Negation) another, corresponding to the Creole TAM system, shows a dominating category Aspect (A) with no surface representation of T.

The following discussion is based upon Lubumbashi Swahili data given in Schicho (1980, 1981b) and refers to examples from Sango. Creolized Sango, spoken as a lingua franca in the Central African Republic, shows a clear Aspect-dominance (Ad) in its TAM system. The data used are from Bouquiaux (1978), Feidangei (1979) and Samarin (1967). I shall finally try to propose a more coherent description for the TAM system of Swahili of Lubumbashi.

## **2. Td domination in TAM**

The Tense-dominated (Td) system in the Swahili of Lubumbashi TAM is analyzed as a predicate on a sentence nucleus. The surface form of the complex constituent TAM consists of between one and four different types of elements: Initial Morphemes, Auxiliary Verbs (including full verbs and infixed morphemes), Postverb Morphemes, and Auxiliary Particles.

Within the description of TAM, Tense is the uppermost constituent. It contains only one element T which is realized by only one element in the surface form. Negation too is represented only once, but it may have more than one corresponding element at the surface. Modal and Aspect can be represented by more than one element.

Elements of the category T are:

[Present] or [time of reference], [Past Tense] or [time before time of reference], [Future Tense] or [time after time of reference].

These three elements are represented as [+Past], [+Fut] and [–Past, –Fut]. At the surface T is realized by infixes morphemes. In some (rare) examples full verbs may also be understood as realizations of T.

- (1) *Tu -na -ona ya kama kweli u -na -m -penda bibi yako.*  
 We-NA-see ..... you-NA-her-love .....  
 ‘We see that you really love your wife.’

{na} in Lubumbashi Swahili does not — as usually in Swahili — realize [(Present) Progressive], but functions, as I shall try to demonstrate below, as an empty element, not related to any special meaning, just representing TAM on the surface when for syntactic reasons it needs to be filled with a dummy element. [Present] has a zero morpheme as its surface realization.

- (2) *Namna gani u -li -ingia mugroupe? – Njo kusema,*  
 ..... you-LI-enter .....  
*mi-si -ku -anzia*  
 I -NEG-KU-begin  
 ‘How did you enter the group? – Well, I did not start  
*mugroupe. Ni-li -ingia kuradio zamani sana ...*  
 .... I -LI-enter ....  
 within the group. I came to the radio long ago ...’

{li} stands for [+Past] ({ku} in connection with Negation).

- (3) *U -ta -kuya saa gani? – Mi-ta -kuya saa ya midi.*  
 You-TA-come .... I -TA-come ...  
 ‘When will you come? – I shall come at noon.’

{ta} is the surface realization of [+Fut].

Elements of the constituent Aspect are always dominated by an element T, situated within the same TAM constituent or within a higher graded sentence.

[Subsequent] and [Situative] / [Simultaneous]:

Surface form {-ka-} and {-ki-}.

- (4) *Ni-li -kuwa mwanafunzi wa école ya menuiserie, mais*  
 I -LI-be .....  
*ni-ka -fanya*  
 I -KA-do  
 'I was pupil of a school for joinery, but after I had done  
*miaka tatu, ni-ka -fukuz-iw -a.*  
 ..... I -KA-chase-PASS-VERBFINAL  
 three years, I was chased away.'
- (5) *A -ki -fika kwabo, a -ta -elezea bazazi yake ya*  
 He-KI-arrive ... he-TA-explain to ....  
*kama ...*  
 'When he comes to their place, he will explain to her  
 parents that ...'

[Progressive] and [Resultative]:

Surface forms: *ku-anza* 'begin', *iko/kuwa mu-* 'be at', *iko/kuwa na* 'be with', and *ku-isha* 'end, finish'.

- (6) *Ba -li -anza ku -tafuta muntu wa ku -fanya*  
 They-LI-ANZA INF-look for ... INF-do ...  
*mathéâtre.*  
 'They were looking for somebody to perform plays.'
- (7) *M-iko (mi-iko) mu -kuya!*  
 I -IKO MU-come  
 'I am coming!'
- (8) *Sasa bibi njo eko-na-lisha (a -iko -na -lisha) sasa*  
 ..... SHE-IKO-NA-feed sasa ..  
*nyumba.*  
 'Now it's (my) wife who maintains /actually/ the family.'
- (9) *Nami ni-li -kuwa na -penda sana ku -onana naye.*  
 .. I I -LI-KUWA NA-love sana INF-meet with  
 'I also wanted /intensively/ to meet him.'  
 him.



- (10) *Sasa ni-li -isha ku -pika byakula byote na mamboka*  
 ... I -LI-ISHA INF-cook .....  
*yote*  
 'Now I have already cooked a full meal and all the  
 dishes  
*i -na -isha ku -wa tayari ...!*  
 they-NA-ISHA INF-be ready  
 are ready ...!'

In my first analysis I tried to describe an underlying constituent structure of Lubumbashi Swahili as being entirely part of a common structure of Swahili. Therefore examples like (1) to (10) easily convinced me to see that Lubumbashi TAM system as Tense-dominated.

Later on it became evident that the surface elements {-li-} and {-ta-} were not always realizations of T (but empty elements like {-na-}) and above all, that the information about time reference was not expressed by elements related to TAM, but through complements as time-adverbs, NPs or sentences, or known from the context or out of the context of a given speech event.

### 3. An Aspect-dominated (Ad) model of TAM

In this simplified model a combination of two constituents replace Aspect. The first is represented either by [+Ant(erior)], [+Post(erior)] and [-Ant, -Post]. The second, [ $\pm$ Progressive] also includes elements such as [Habitual], [Iterative], [Intensive], or [Durative]. [+Anterior] includes [Resultative].

The elements [+Future] and [+Past], realized by {-ta-} and {-li-}/{-ku-} are elements of the Standard Variety, but there is a tendency towards expanding Anterior and Posterior to Past and Future, as we find examples in Lubumbashi Swahili showing full verbs as auxiliaries expressing Tense.

[+Anterior] has as surface realizations: *ku-toka (mu-)* 'come out, cease from', and *ku-isha* 'end, finish'.

- (11) *Batoto ba -na -toka mu -ku -fanya mambo mbaya.*  
 .... they-NA-TOKA MU-INF-do ....  
 'The children have (just) done bad things.'

- (12) *Mi-na -isha ku -pakala vernis.*  
 I -NA-ISHA INF-apply ....  
 'I have (already) varnished (it).'

In both examples the auxiliary verbs are preceded by an (empty) auxiliary morpheme ({-na-}) – following syntactic rules of Standard Swahili. [+Posterior] is realized by *ku-tafuta* 'search, seek for', *ku-taka* 'want, be going to' and *ku-enda* 'go to, begin to'.

The infixed morpheme {-ka-} (and to some extent also {-ki-}) realizing [+Post] too, are not as consistently used as in Standard Swahili.

- (13) *Na-tafuta (ni-na -tafuta) ku -chelewa mukazi.*  
 I -NA-TAFUTA INF-be late ...  
 'I shall be late at my working place.'
- (14) *Mi-na -tafuta ku -préparer bintu bingine bya*  
 I -NA-TAFUTA INF-cook .....  
 'I intend to cook food to sell it at the market.  
*kw -enda ku -bi-uzisha kumasoko.*  
 INF-ENDA INF-it-sell ...
- (15) *Njo kule tu-li -taka kw -enda mangaribi.*  
 ... we-LI-TAKA INF-go ....  
 'There, where we intended to go in the evening.'
- (16) *Tu-ta -enda ku -la paka ile nyama ya ku -choma.*  
 We-TA-ENDA INF-eat ... INF-roast  
 'We shall eat plenty of roasted meat.'
- (17) *Ni-ka -angalia kwanza mavazi, parce que*  
 I -KA-look for kwanza .....  
*ye manguo yake yote*  
 she .....  
 'First I am to look for the dresses, because she usually  
*ya baclients a -na -wekaka mutumalle tumoya hivi.*  
 .... she-NA-put (HABITUAL) ...  
 puts all her customers' dresses in one trunk.'
- (18) *Na pale pale ni-li -toka kumasomo*  
 ..... I -LI-leave ...  
*paka na ile kazi yangu.*  
 ....  
*ni-ka -endelea*  
 I-KA-continue

'And from the very moment I left school I went on to do this my business.'

[–Ant, –Post] has no surface marker. When no other element representing TAM appears, {-na-} is again used as a dummy.

- (19) *We u-ko-na-lisha (u -iko -na -lisha) bibi yako*  
 You you-IKO-NA-feed .....  
 'You maintain your wife and your children.'  
*na batoto yake.*  
*Nami naye bwana yangu eko-na-lisha*  
 ...  
*(a -iko -na lisha).*  
 he-IKO-NA-feed  
 'As for me, it is my husband who supports me.'

[Progressiv] is realized at the surface by *-iko na-* 'be with', *-iko mu-* 'be at', *ku-anza* 'begin', *ku-ya* (Standard Swahili *kuja*) 'come, happen', *ku-zoelea/ku-zoea/kuwa na zowezo*, [Habitual], and for [Intensive] by reduplication of the main verb.

- (20) *Kunako fasi beko-na-tafuta (ba -iko -na -tafuta)*  
 ..... they-IKO-NA-look for  
*muntu wa kazi?*  
 ...  
 'Is there a place where they are looking for an employee?'
- (21) *Beko (ba -iko) mu -ku -rudia hapa.*  
 they-IKO MU-INF-come back ...  
 'They are coming back to this place.'
- (22) *Ile société ni-li -kuwa na -tumika i -li -isha*  
 .... I -LI-KUWA NA-work it-LI-ISHA  
 'The company I have been working for went bankrupt.'  
*ku -fa.*  
 INF-die
- (23) *Bengine ba -li -anza ku -bakia ku -cheza mpeta.*  
 ..... they-LI-ANZA INF-remain INF-play ...  
 'Some remained to play mpeta.'
- (24) *Kutoka pale na-kuya-ka (ni-na -kuya -ka) jouer rôle*  
 Kutoka pale I -NA-KUYA-(HABITUAL)  
 'From this time I was playing the next part ...'  
*ingine ..*  
 play ...

Higher predicates in sentence-initial position (most of them of verbal origin) like *kisha*, *toka*, *halafu*, meaning ‘after’, *tena* ‘again’, *kwanza* and *mbele*, ‘before’, or *tangu* and *depuis*, ‘since’, may cause redundancy and make surface markers for Aspect optional. In a same way co-text and context information causes deletion of surface elements.

[Situative] marker {-ki-}, of Standard Swahili origin, shows itself as an ambiguous element. It does not represent [Anterior], but it often appears together with *ku-isha*:

- (25) *A -ki-isha ku -la a -na -ikala pakilako.*  
 He-KI-ISHA INF-eat he-NA-sit ....  
 ‘When he had finished eating, he sat down on the mat.’

Sentence initial *kisha* is a particle derived from *i-ki-isha*. {-ki-} does not realize [Posterior], but it shows some affinity to [Conditional] and is sometimes (erroneously?) replaced by {-ka-}:

- (26) *Lakini leo kama a -ka -ni -longofya tu, njo kusema*  
 .... kama he-KA-me-lie ...  
*tuko (tu-iko) na -ya kirikiri ..*  
 we-COPULA NA-him ...  
 ‘But today, if/when he tells me lies (again), then we shall have a row with him.’

In contrast with Standard Swahili, {ki} in Lubumbashi Swahili means neither [Iterative] nor [Conditional] (which in Lubumbashi Swahili is marked only by sentence initial *kama*).

#### 4. The case of Sango — an Ad-TAM system

The surface representation of TAM in Sango consists of verbal elements and particles in sentence initial, pre-verbal and post-verbal (sentence-final) position. As in Lubumbashi Swahili, sentence-initial elements are understood as predicates on the whole sentence, while preverbal and postverbal elements are predicates on a sentence nucleus.

Tense is unmarked. The relevant information is introduced by co-text and context, and through time specific elements (particles, nominals, sentences).

[+Anterior] is realized by *awɛ* (*wɛ* 'be completed') in post-verbal or sentence final position. Particles as *si* 'before' (*si* 'arrive'), *ando* 'before' (post-verbal) or *dipi* (or *depuis*) 'since' (in sentence initial position) are also markers of [+Anterior].

- (26) *Mbi ye ti fa doli, andaa lo gue awɛ na ngonda.*  
 I want CONN kill ..... he go Wɛ .....  
 'I wanted to kill an elephant, but he had already left for the bush.'
- (27) *Mɔ ma awɛ Albert?*  
 You understand Wɛ ...  
 'Have you understood Albert?'
- (28) *Mbi ye ti gue na mɔ. Za mbi sukula le ti mbi*  
 I want C go ... allow I wash .....  
*si.*  
 SI.  
 'I want to leave with you. Let me first wash my face.'
- (29) *Mbi tɛnɛ ando na mɔ mbi yɛkɛ na kinini pɛpɛ.*  
 I tell ANDO .... I be with .... NEG  
 'I told you before that I had no quinine.'

[+Posterior] has as surface markers three auxiliary verbs, *ga* 'come', *ye* 'want', and *gue* 'go'. Other elements are sentence initial particles as *fade*, *abɛ* (or *eh bien*), *angɔrɔ* (or *encore*), *pɛkɔ ni*, *ale* (or *allez*), *fadeso*, meaning 'after it/that, afterwards'. In postverbal position one finds *andɛ*, *gbanda*, etc., 'later on'.

- (30) *Baba ti mbi a ga ti gue.*  
 ..... he GA CONN go.  
 'My father wanted to go just now.'
- (31) *Mɔ vɔ fini susu. Mɔ ga yɔrɔ ni.*  
 You buy ..... I GA roast ..  
 'Buy fresh fish. (Than) roast it.'
- (32) *Ndo a kumase ti vukɔ awɛ. Mbi ye ti gue.*  
 ... it begin C be dark Wɛ. I YE C go.  
 'Its going to be dark. I want to leave.'

- (33) Il faut mama *ague na pɛkɔ ti mbi, ague amu mbi*,  
 ..... she go .... she GUE  
*aga na ni.*  
 she take me, she come ..  
 ‘My mother must come after me. (Then) she will take  
 me and leave with me.’
- (34) *Tongana* madame a *kiri*, *fade mɔ bara*  
 When .... she come back, FADE you greet  
 ‘When your wife comes back, then you will give her my  
 greetings.’  
*lo na mbi.*  
 ....
- (35) ... *na fadeso mbi kpɛ.*  
 .. and FADESO I run away  
 ‘(She took me and beat me very badly) and then I ran  
 away.’
- (36) *Nzapa a fa ngbanga ti e ngbanda.*  
 he hit judgement ... GBANDA.  
 ‘God will judge us later on.’

More than one element realizing the same constituent of Aspect may appear — as can be seen in the following example:

- (37) Eh bien *fadeso, mɔ ga fadeso, mɔ mu*  
 EH BIEN FADESO you GA FADESO you take  
 l’huile *so.*  
 ...  
 ‘Now you will take this oil.’

[Situative], ([–Ant, –Post]), is marked by sentence initial *tongana* ‘when’, which also realizes [Conditional] (as Lubumbashi Swahili *kama*).

- (38) *Tongana aɛkɛ ndapelele wen so aga ahunzi*  
 TONGANA it be ..... it come it be ready  
*awɛ.*  
*Wɛ.*  
 ‘When it was morning the iron came to be ready.’

[Progressive], ([Non-Punctual]) is realized by the following auxiliary verbs: *dɛ* ‘be’, *ngba*, *ndo*, ‘continue’, *yɛkɛ/ɛkɛ* ‘be’, *kumase* (French

*commencer*) 'begin' and also by *gue* 'go'. Main Verbs with inherent semantic feature [Progressive] may be used without surface element for Aspect.

- (39) .. *adε akaraze (aécraser) ya ni nzoni.*  
 she Dε she crush ...  
 '(She mixes them with onions and) crushes them well.'
- (40) *Ala ba mεnε so angba ti yuru na hon ti molεngε ni.*  
 They see .. it NGBA C run ....  
 'They saw blood which steadily ran from the nose of the child.'
- (41) *Azo a yεkε ba defile.*  
 .. they YΕKΕ see ....  
 'People are watching the defile.'
- (42) *Mbi kumase ti sara ngο ti mbi.*  
 I KUMASE C build ...  
 'I was building my canoe.'
- (43) *E gue sara ka lango mingi apε.*  
 We GUE do .... NEG.  
 'We had not spent many days there.'

## 5. The TAM system and the process of creolization

Historically Sango and Lubumbashi Swahili went through a very similar process of development closely linked to the colonization by Francophone European powers, although in the case of Sango the most influential institutions were the administration and Christian missions, and in the case of Lubumbashi Swahili the colonial economy, represented by mining companies, European businessmen and farmers. The main source languages differ with regard to the linguistic domain under analysis here: Vernacular Sango, or Sango-Ngbandi (as opposed to vehicular or creolized Sango introduced in section 4) shows, similar to its creolized variety, an Ad system of TAM. Results of the creolization process are on the one hand the reduction of the number of surface markers of Aspect, as for instance tone elements (some of the Sango speakers still use high tone on the subject pronoun for [Post/Cond], cf. Diki-Kidiri 1977:

54), and the progressive replacing of elements by French loans (as *kumase* 'commencer', for *to/bonga* 'begin'). On the other hand sentence initial elements, such as conjunctions, situative particles or matrix sentences, and adverbs, become related to TAM, thus creating redundancy, which resulted in the deletion of auxiliary verbs. In Lubumbashi Swahili the situation is obviously more complicated because of the dominant constituent Tense in Coastal (Standard) Swahili.

In the surface representation of Standard Swahili verb-phrases an infixed (prefixed) morpheme obligatorily precedes the main verb. Nominal predicates are realized as 'Copula + NP', but in some cases the copula can be deleted. When two constituents are realized by infixed morphemes, the Tense representation always precedes elements realizing Aspect/Mood. Lubumbashi Swahili has taken over this syntactic rule without building up the same Td-TAM system. Therefore some of the Standard Swahili elements are not used in Lubumbashi-Swahili sentences (as {-me-} [Anterior], or {-nge-} [Conditional]), {-ki-} and {-na-} are used with different meaning and function and {-li-/ku-}, {-ta-} and {-ka-} are Standard Swahili loans which have been introduced into Lubumbashi Swahili without change, but they are not employed throughout as in Standard Swahili.

In example (44) the description of a continuous event, prior to the time of speaking, shows Lubumbashi Swahili Anterior-marker *-isha*, together with the dummy {-na-} in the first sentence, then {-ku-} ([Past, Negative]) and continues by using dummy {-na-} in the following sentences. [Anterior] within the continuous description (... *toka balikala hapa*) is marked by {-li-}.

- (44) *Baba na mama ba -na -isha ku -ya.*  
 .... they-NA-ISHA INF-come.  
 '(Your) father and mother have come.'  
*Ha -u -ku -ba -ona. Ba -na -enda*  
 NEG-you-KU-them-see. They-NA-go  
 You did not see them.  
*na ku -nyoloka mokitanda.*  
 and INF-lay down ...  
 They went and lay down on the bed.  
*Ba -na -ikala. Ba -na -choka toka*  
 They-NA-stay. They-NA-be tired ...  
 They waited. They got tired since



- ba -li -kala hapa. Ni-na -ba -pikia bukari.*  
 they-LI-stay ... I -NA-them-cook ...  
*Ba -na -kula ...*  
 They-NA-eat  
 they were waiting. I cooked ugali for them. They ate. ...'  
 (45) *Sasa pa-li -kuwa mama moya wa mimba,*  
*. (place)-LI-be .....*  
*na ule wa mimba a -na -sema ..*  
*she-NA-say ..*  
 'There was a pregnant woman, and that pregnant  
 (woman) said ...'

As we see in (44) and (45), [Past], once marked, may not be realized by a surface element during a continuous description. If Tense is already marked through sentence initial elements or by the context, dummy {-na-} can be used right from the beginning.

- (46) *Bibi Kawa: 'Kumbe bwana yangu hapa a -li -kuwa*  
*..... he-LI-be*  
*na fungulo. ...'*  
 with ...  
 'Bibi Kawa: "Well, my husband had the key. ..."  
*Kachelewa: 'A -na -enda na fungula ya kuchapu yake?'*  
*..... He-NA-go .....*  
 Kachelewa: "Did he go away with the key to his work-  
 shop?"

{-ta-} ([Future]) may be used for [Progressiv/Habitual] as in (47).

- (47) *Mbele ya kuanza ibada mukubwa wa jamaa au bibi*  
*.....*  
 'Before they start the ceremonies, the eldest of the family or  
*yake a-ta -vuala*  
 he/she -TA-put on  
*nguo mweupe .. a -ta -beba kibuyu*  
*... he-TA-take .....*  
 his wife puts on white clothes ..  
*ya pombe .. a -ta -beba nkuku tatu*  
*he-TA-take ...*  
 he takes a calabash of beer .. he

*mweupe* .. *A -ta -beba kisu ... a -ta -kata kichwa ya*  
 ..... He-TA-take ..... he-TA-cut .....  
*nkuku na ...*  
 takes three white chicken .. he takes a knife and cuts  
 off the head of the chicken ....'

(48) *Sasa, kama Bwana Mufwankolo*

.....  
*hapana ku -tumika, mu -ta -ishi lamna gani?*  
 NEG (COP) INF-work you-TA-live ....  
 'Now, as your husband Mufwankolo does not work,  
 what are you going to live on?'

Lubumbashi Swahili texts produced in different contexts of communication (formal vs. informal) clearly show a difference in the structuring of TAM. In formal situations, as for instance in interviews (Schicho 1981b: 21 – 115), when speakers are supposed to use *Kiswahili bora* (one alleged kind of coastal Swahili), the use and the distribution of tense related elements are similar to Standard Swahili. Texts produced in informal contexts show close correspondence to the creole TAM system. Tense is then not marked by infixed morphemes, except at the beginning of the text. TAM markers proper to Lubumbashi Swahili are full verbs preceded by dummy elements and copulas; the following main verb is realised as infinitive (*niliisha kufanya* 'I have done'), as local (class prefix) plus infinitive (*miko mu-kujibu* 'I am answering') or as stem, when preceded by the copula 'to be with', *-iko na* (*tukona-ikala* 'we sit/are sitting'). *Hapana* and *bado*, usually particles in post-verb position, are used as copulas preceding the main verb by speakers with limited competence in Lubumbashi Swahili or in strongly emotional speech events.

(49) *Makuta yangu hapana, mi hapana kwenda!*  
 '(If) I don't (get) my money, I (shall) not leave!'

## 6. Conclusion

The use of auxiliary morphemes in Lubumbashi Swahili is due to a close-to-surface rule which does not allow verbal phrases to appear without infixed auxiliary morphemes or copulas.

The number of infixed morphemes, as compared to Standard Swahili, is reduced and consists of two groups: Tense-related elements ({-ta-}, {-li-/-ku-}, and to some extent {-ka-}) and dummy (i.e., semantically empty) elements ({-na-}, {-ki-}). Tense can be represented at the surface by infixed morphemes as in Standard Swahili, especially in varieties of Lubumbashi Swahili used in formal situations, but also by auxiliary verbs as *tafuta* or *isha* which progressively extend their meaning from [Posterior] and [Anterior] to [Future] and [Past]. Sentence initial particles, time related phrases and context produce redundancy and cause the deletion of auxiliaries.

In Lubumbashi Swahili Aspect is represented by a far greater number of surface elements than in Standard Swahili, which probably corresponds to a different structure of the underlying constituent. Aspect markers are mainly full verbs, of Bantu or French origin, but also particles, mainly of verbal origin.

Code-switching to socially higher-esteemed varieties may cause the reintroduction of the Standard Swahili Tense system and create a more complicated TAM system. As a paradox code-switching may also have the opposite effect if a speaker overestimates the possibilities offered by the second source language, French, and replaces Swahili auxiliaries by French conjunctions and adverbs that are placed outside the verbal complex.

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## The role of the Tamil film in language change and political change<sup>1</sup>

Harold F. Schiffman

The role of the Tamil film industry in the rise of the DK (Ḍrāviḍa Kazhakam) and DMK (Ḍrāviḍa Munneetra Kazhakam) parties in Tamilnadu has been chronicled by Hardgrave in a series of articles (Hardgrave 1970, 1971, 1973, 1975). Since 1967, when the DMK first came to power, politics in Tamilnadu has been dominated by party members whose rise to eminence occurred within the film industry, using film as a vehicle for politics, as Hardgrave has clearly demonstrated: first there were the travelling acting companies that put on plays with reformist, anti-Brahmin themes, then these same companies began to make films popularizing the same themes, with increasing emphasis on DMK symbols, programs, and goals. The first DMK Chief Minister, C. N. Annadurai, was a film writer for many years, as was his successor, M. Karunanidhi; the current (as of this writing) Chief Minister, M. G. Ramachandran, or MGR, is a film actor whose film career and great popularity are inextricably linked with the rise of the DMK, although he split with Karunanidhi to form the “Aṇṇā” DMK from 1972 onwards.

The other greatly popular male star on the Tamil movie scene, V. C. Ganeshan (“Shivaji”) also owes much of his celebrity to the DMK. As Hardgrave points out, ‘Shivaji had been politically weaned in the DK and was one of the founding members of the DMK. It was through the party that he got his start in film’ (Hardgrave 1973: 296). He got the role in the film *Parasakthi* that launched his career at the suggestion of Annadurai, and the screenplay was written by none other than Karunanidhi. But unlike MGR and many others, Shivaji was involved in the DMK only in a financial role — he never appeared at rallies or made political allusions in his films, and eventually left the DMK and finally joined up with Congress party.

These two great box-office successes, therefore, the Clint Eastwood and Robert Redford of the Tamil film (or perhaps one should use the parallel with Ronald Reagan in the case of MGR), both owe their start to the support and encouragement they found in the

DMK party, although as both became stars, and independent powers in their own right, began to be sources of support for their respective parties rather than vice versa. Language and politics and the film industry are inextricably linked in Tamilnadu, as it is fashionable to say.

My purpose in this paper is not to add anything new to the analysis of film and politics, however, but to focus some attention on the issue of "language" in the whole mixture. It is easy to say that "language" is mixed up in the whole business of film and politics and becomes a political issue, etc., but from a number of points of view it is simplistic to treat "language" as a single issue, or as no more than a monolithic issue.

Let us begin by delineating a number of separate issues that are important in the Tamil speaking area of South India and northern Sri Lanka.

## **1. Language loyalty**

First, it is quite clear that unlike in north India, where politics and language get involved with religion (Brass 1974), loyalty to "language", or more particularly to Tamil, exists in Tamilnadu without any particular religious overtones — one can be a Hindu, a Muslim, a Christian, or even an atheist, and still be fiercely loyal to Tamil and to its illustrious past. Literary Tamil is essentially a uniform literary dialect that betrays no caste or religious origins, so that Brahmins and non-Brahmins or members of any other religious community can identify with it with no loss of identity or self-esteem. This "superordinate" linguistic variety is thus also religiously and politically superordinate, and can serve as a symbol of Tamil nationalism that can unite various disparate elements.

In the purification movement that has gone on in Tamil-speaking areas since the late 19th century, what has happened essentially is that Tamil has been "purified" of elements that were felt to be of foreign and especially North-Indian origin, so the net result is that while Literary Tamil before this period betrayed the influence and dominance of Brahmins (because of Sanskrit loans), it now displays no communal markers that would link it to one or another group. There never was a Muslim or Christian literary dialect of Tamil

(although Muslim and Christian writings display some borrowed lexical items that indicate their origin) but grammatically the Literary Dialect has never been related to any particular community, and now with all “foreign” elements purged, the net result is a kind of Tamil that can be identified with by anyone who cares to pay it allegiance.

While it is true that there is a DMK “oratorical style” (involving extremely long sentences, complex syntax, and a heavy reliance on alliteration, sometimes to the complete exclusion of any kind of comprehensibility), and identifiable as such even to a poorly trained observer, this style has little or no effect on the grammar of the language. The Tamil purification movement typically has concentrated on lexical items and only marginally on grammar except perhaps to resurrect archaic grammatical forms (such as the archaic present tense marker /-kkinr-/ instead of the more modern /-kkir-/) so again no politicization of the grammar of the language has taken place. DMK oratorical style does pervade portions of a typical MGR film, of course, as for example when he takes time to deliver a moral message of some sort, but otherwise the language is Standard Spoken Tamil.

## **2. Language standardization**

Secondly, the film has had a serious impact on the development of a Standard Spoken Tamil as distinct from Literary Tamil. Since Tamil is a diglossic language (Ferguson 1959), the spoken style until recently has had very little public use, as the literary dialect was traditionally used for all formal and public purposes. In the early period of Tamil sound films, and even today in the making of “mythological” films, which depict events taking place in the hoary past, the language was and is the literary dialect. But with the development of the “social” film<sup>2</sup> depicting the problems of life in a modern social setting, the spoken dialect is typically used.

This spoken dialect is of course something that has been until recently difficult to define and even today is probably not fully standardized. In a diglossic language the formal Literary language is reserved for purposes such as schooling, lectures, political



speeches, and perhaps formal announcements in the mass media, such as news broadcasting. But various spoken dialects, both local and social, are used by people in their everyday life — in the home, in the bazaar, in jokes, in all aspects of casual speech. In the past when people from one region or social group wanted to communicate with people from elsewhere, they needed to do so by means of a linguistic code that would be comprehensible over a large area, and so during the time when Brahmins were politically and socially dominant in South India, their dialect was that used for inter-caste and inter-region communication. With the rise of the non-Brahmin movement this has of course changed, and by a process that is not well-understood, because little attention has been paid to it, another dialect, usually referred to as the non-Brahmin dialect, has emerged to fill this need. This dialect and its social parameters have been described by a number of scholars (Shanmugam Piallai 1960, 1965; Zvelebil 1964; Annamalai 1976; Vasanthakumari 1976; Schiffman 1979; Gnanasundaram 1980), but agreement has yet to be reached on just what the forms of this dialect are (although it is now becoming clearer what they are not) and what their origins are. Zvelebil originally proposed that this “standard” spoken Tamil was based on the speech of educated urban non-Brahman speakers from an area centering around Trichy, Tanjore and Madurai; more recently scholars have contended that the “standard” dialect is based on the speech of no particular region but has had regionalisms consciously purged from it (or that speakers consciously avoid regionalisms when speaking it), with forms that are closer to Literary Tamil substituted when no non-regional form exists (Gnanasundaram 1980).

That is, it is a kind of hybrid language that has undergone some “engineering”, not by an academy or small group of people, but by a process of trial and error that is still going on. Various scholars (e. g., Ramanujan 1970: 72) describe this as taking place when, for example, college students from all over Tamilnadu meet in college dormitories and are confronted for the first time as adults with the need to communicate with a wider-based code. Conscious elimination of regionalisms and social dialect forms takes place, under the pressure of stigmatization, and since college students are educated, they all have recourse to the Literary dialect for substitute forms (or even English, if no unstigmatized form exists, as for example /oyfu/ or /missas/ for ‘wife’, since all available Tamil terms are caste-linked).

For example, there is little agreement in spoken dialects as to what kind of a time adverb to use in relative clauses. Some dialects use /-ppa/ as in /irukkra-ppa/ 'when X was...', other dialects use /-cce/, /maDi/, /-ppo/, /-ppam/, etc. Since the Literary dialect has /-pootu/, as in /naan maturaiyil irunta-pootu/ 'when I was in Madurai', many speakers will resort to this form in spoken Tamil as well, although it may not be found in the speech of very many, or perhaps any, spoken (regional or social) dialects.

Since the Literary language has the greatest prestige, it can always be the court of last resort, even if use of literary forms may sound bookish under certain circumstances. This raises another issue that has not really been dealt with in studies of "standard" spoken Tamil, namely, that there is inherent variation in language (Labov 1972) and in languages that are in contact with a higher prestige language, such as the Literary dialect, there will be even more variability in the spoken dialect, such that standardization as we know it in Literary Tamil or any standardized western language will not be as rigid as we would like to expect.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, the issue at hand is the evolution and development of a (partially) standardized spoken dialect, for Tamil, and what choices the film industry had available to them when the use of spoken Tamil was first adopted in the film. As already stated, we do not know for sure how a non-Brahman "standard" spoken language first began to evolve, and probably never will, since little documentation of this process is preserved in any written or recorded form. I have attempted to study this process in a number of studies but have been faced with resistance, indifference, and outright neglect of the subject by the film industry itself. In South India at least when a film has run its course and earned all the money it is going to, all remaining copies of the prints are destroyed. Studios keep no archives and certainly no sound tracks. At the moment I can offer little if any documentation for the process of development of a standard spoken Tamil except to model it on what we know has happened in other linguistic situations, or through anecdotal evidence.<sup>4</sup>

I have also attempted to study the filmscripts of various successful (box-office) films that are published in little chapbook-like pamphlets. Unfortunately the language is not faithfully represented in these scripts, since there is no standard way of depicting various phonetic changes in spoken Tamil, and in fact a kind of variability

between the poles of spoken and written is typical even in the dialogues of short stories and novels, since there is often the problem of recognizability of the written form that must be maintained. Even in comic strips in English, for example, the most outrageous "dialect" forms are found alongside perfectly good English spellings, since to spell everything in phonetic form would render the whole speech unintelligible. Thus the study of film script chapbooks has proven of little value in attempting to delineate the role of the film in the development of Standard Spoken Tamil.

It does seem clear, however, that even if we cannot document the development of Standard Spoken Tamil, we can see that the social film has played a tremendous role in the dissemination of this variety of Tamil. As Hardgrave has shown, Tamil film production and attendance is among the highest per capita in all of India, and it is primarily the social film that is being viewed by the Tamil movie-goer. Hardgrave gives percentages of 67% preference for non-mythological films among urban film-goers, whereas 55% of rural respondents preferred films other than mythologicals, where Literary Tamil is primarily used (Hardgrave 1970: 21).

Hardgrave gives the number of film theaters in Tamilnadu as approximately 1500, e. g., 25% of India's cinemas were located in Tamilnadu in 1965. In the period from 1970 to 1976, 3096 feature films were made in India; of those 522 or almost 17 percent were in Tamil. Of the 81 films made in Tamil in 1976, for example, 75 or 86.5 percent were "social" films, the rest being "mythological" (Dharap 1976). This means that among Tamil filmgoers a significant number of people, not only in large cities and towns but also in the backwoods where travelling cinema shows reach large audiences, are or have been exposed to the language used in social films. Unwittingly, therefore, the social film has played perhaps the chief role as the disseminator of a standardized spoken Tamil, and if doubt remains as to the impact of the social message that the Tamil film is propagating, there should be none regarding the medium that this message is being disseminated in. Standard Spoken Tamil is also used in a limited way in broadcasting, but in 1965 broadcasting in Standard Spoken as opposed to Literary Tamil was limited to about 45 minutes per week. We have no idea how many people listen to these 45 minutes a week, but in Hardgrave's sample, 27 percent of rural and 30 percent of urban respondents attended a film at least three times a month (Hardgrave 1970: 13–14). It is clear to me that a large number of people are being constantly exposed to this dialect.

A word is in order here as to how film and radio scripts are actually written, and in what form actors use them. Most scripts that I have seen or have had described to me have been written in Literary Tamil, and the actors are expected to “translate” into spoken Tamil when it is time to deliver the lines. Many actors and actresses, however, are not literate in Tamil, since often Telugu and Malayalam speakers “cross the line” and act in Tamil films, too. (MGR is himself by background a Malayalam speaker.) In any event, actors either learn to “convert” Literary Tamil into Standard Spoken Tamil on the spot, or have this done for them by a director or script girl or whoever gives them their lines. If they do it themselves, there is often a certain amount of fluctuation, i. e., a sentence may begin in a somewhat more literary style, and eventually finish in more spoken style when the final verb is reached. If the line is converted for the actor, by someone else, he or she receives it in the spoken form. Important actors like Shivaji and MGR have “script approval” rights, in fact, they often change lines to suit their own fancy, and because of their star status are allowed to get away with this. This means that deviation from the script as “written” is the case in more ways than one, but however the spoken style is arrived at, there is still a great deal of uniformity in it, with certain exceptions that are also socially significant (Schiffman – Arokianathan 1978).

The ability to switch from spoken Tamil to Literary Tamil and back is part of the linguistic repertoire of every literate Tamilian. Speakers also generally agree on what is a spoken form and what is written, and also what kind of spoken language is even “substandard”, i. e., not acceptable spoken language even if many people actually use it. What seems also to be the case is that Tamil speakers can manipulate a number of different levels of the language, i. e., they can make their spoken language seem more literary by injecting certain “marked” literary forms that give a literary flavor and make the language a bit more “formal” without going all the way up the scale to completely grammatical Literary Tamil. For example, in the film *tankappatakkam* in which Shivaji played the male lead, he often denasalizes certain final nasalized vowels (a spoken feature) to give a more formal flavor. This is often the case with heroes and heroines, or happens at a time when an important emotional impact is desired – the language shifts, sometimes to more formal Literary-Tamil like forms, or even to English.

Many actors also have an ability to imitate other (non-standard) dialects, and this is usually done to poke fun at members of certain

social groups, particularly Brahmins. The “Jerry Lewis” character actor Nagesh usually plays such comic roles, and typically manipulates various dialects to hilarious effect. Thus in addition to a model of “acceptable” language the film audience is also provided with a set of stigmatized dialects that they ought not to emulate. A clear dichotomy between “good” and “bad” language is thus always present. The effect of these models, especially on impressionable young people, whose linguistic habits are not yet “set”, cannot be underestimated (Labov 1972: 138–140). Ramanujan (1968) notes the tendency for greater change among the non-Brahmin castes, and we know that in American speech the “linguistic insecurity of the lower-middle class speaker” is important in on-going historical change in the speech of various urban centers (Labov 1972: 133); since many film-goers, particularly MGR fans, seem to belong to social strata that are not the highest in Tamil society (Hardgrave 1970: 5), we should expect to find the same kind of linguistic insecurity that is extremely sensitive to pressure for change from outside, even if we do not have a clear profile of sociolinguistic dynamics in Tamil society.

In summary, then, “language” is involved in political and social change in Tamilnadu at a number of different levels, and in this paper I have tried to show how language loyalty and language standardization have been influenced by the changing role of the film. As Tamil has rejected foreign influences and become more “pure”, fewer communal or regional features remain to make it the vehicle of a small elite, and larger segments of society can identify with it as a superordinate system. On the spoken level, the film has been a vehicle for the dissemination of a standardized norm, and may very well be the primary vehicle for this standardization as more and more viewers who are susceptible to linguistic influence are exposed to linguistic role models that they identify strongly with (Shivaji and MGR), who, despite their political differences, use essentially the same standardized spoken form of Tamil.

### *Notes*

1. The research for this paper was supported by a Senior Fellowship of the American Institute of Indian Studies (1976). An earlier version of this paper was presented at a panel on language and socio-political change at the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, D. C., in March, 1980.
2. In 1936 (Hardgrave 1973: 289).

3. 'Whenever a subordinate dialect is in contact with a superordinate one, linguistic forms produced by a speaker of the subordinate dialect in a formal context will shift in an unsystematic manner towards the superordinate.' (Labov in: Hymes 1971: 450.)
4. Further study of the process will have to await an opportunity to examine materials in the Indian Film Institute Archives in Poona, where copies of older Tamil films may be available.

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## Comments on some of the Indo-European medio-passive endings

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The ergative syntax of a Lithuanian collocation such as *senū* (gen. pl.) *miškaĩ* (nom. pl.) *mylēta* (neut sg. past passive participle) 'the ancients loved the forests' has long been known (Matthews 1955: 354). I have proposed elsewhere that within Indo-European the genitive case had an additional ergative function and thereby expressed the agent, whereas the nominative case expressed the patient in such constructions. Similar syntactic relationships are encountered in other Indo-European languages, e. g., Old Indic *pátyuh* (gen. sg. [not instrumental!]) *krūtá* (nom. sg. fem. participle) *satf* 'the wife bought by the spouse', Latin *attonitus* (nom. sg. masc.) *serpentis* (gen. sg. [not ablative!]) 'astonished by the serpent', Russian *bat'ka* (nom. sg. masc.) *ubito* (neut. sg. participle) 'father is killed', etc. (Schmalstieg 1980: 176–178). Schwyzler (1942: 14) points out the use of the *genitivus auctoris* with verbal adjectives and past passive participles in Greek, Lithuanian, Armenian and Tocharian and identifies this with the *genitivus possessivus*.

Now Hirt (1928: 102), has identified the medio-passive preterite ending Old Indic *-ta*, Greek *-to* with the participial ending *\*-to*:

"Die 3. Sg. Med. des sogenannten Wurzelaoristes geht auf *-to* aus. Wir können die Formen des sog. starken Aorists im Griech., des Wurzelaorists im Indischen dem Kasus indefinitus des Verbaladjektivs auf *-to* gleichsetzen: ai. *ákṛta*: *kṛtás* 'gemacht'; ai. *avṛta*: *vṛtás* 'gewählt'; ai. *ārta*: *ṛtás* 'geschickt'; ai. *amṛta*: *mṛtás* 'gestorben'; ai. *asṛta*: *sṛtás* 'gewinnen'; ai. *ajukta*: *juktás* 'anschirren'; ai. *amata* 'denken': *matás*; ai. *apṛkta* 'mischen': *pṛktás*; ai. *abhakta* 'zuteilen': *bhaktás*; ai. *vikta* 'zittern': *viktás*; ai. *áspašta*: *spaštás*; ai. *asṛšta* 'loslassen': *sṛštás*; gr. *étheto*; ai. *adhita*: gr. *thetós*; ai. *hitás*; ai. *ásthita*: *stihitás* von *sthā* 'stehen'; ai. *astrta*: *astrtás* 'unüberwindlich'; ai. *agūrta*: *gūrtás* 'begrüßt', l. *grātus*; ai. *agata*: *gatás*: gr. *batós* 'gegangen'; ai. *ávṛkta* 'zusammendrehen': *vṛktás*; ai. *asakta* 'hängen, haften': *saktás*; ai. *amatta* 'fröhlich sein': *mattas*. Dazu kommen aus dem Griech.: *éphato*: *phatós*; *ksúneto*: *hetós*; gr. *éssuto*: ai. *čjutás*; (gr.) *lékto*: *lektós*; ferner venetisch *zoto*: gr. *dotós*, l. *datús*; got. *stōp*,



ahd. *stuot*: gr. *statós*, l. *status*, ai. *sthitás*; gr. *egéneto*: l. *genitus*; abg. *pītŭ*; ai. *pītás* usw.; gr. *plêto*: l. *com-plētus*; ai. *pūrtás*; gr. *éphthito*: ai. *kšitás*; gr. *ékhuto*: ai. *hutás*; gr. *blêto*: *blētós* u. a.”

I propose then that in the earliest stages of Indo-European the present tense had only the antipassive voice and the preterite had only the ergative voice.

A.	Thus:	Antipassive (> Active)	Ergative (> Medio-Passive)
Present:	1st sg.	*pek <sup>w</sup> -om	—
	2nd sg.	*pek <sup>w</sup> -es, -et	—
	3rd sg.	*pek <sup>w</sup> -et, -es	—
Preterite:	1st sg.	—	*pek <sup>w</sup> -(t) é/ó (i) (r)
	2nd sg.	—	*pek <sup>w</sup> -(t) é/ó (i) (r)
	3rd sg.	—	*pek <sup>w</sup> -(t) é/ó (i) (r)

The three hyphens denote verbal categories which did not exist at this early stage. The identity of the 2nd and 3rd singular present denotes that at first *\*-es* denoted animate and *\*-et* inanimate subjects. The complete identity of the ergative preterite forms merely means that there was no agreement for person with the subject. Originally there was no agreement for gender or number, but later agreement was for the most part adopted in those forms which became adjectives or *\*-tó* participles.

In the present tense the function of agent was expressed by the absolute case (which eventually became the nominative case) and the function of patient was expressed by the dative-locative case (which eventually became the accusative case). In the preterite, on the other hand, the function of agent was expressed by the ergative (= genitive case [> nominative in the *\*o*-stems]) and the function of patient was expressed by the absolute case (which, as stated above, became the nominative case). (I omit here a discussion of the perfect, but the perfect may have had even other possibilities for the expression of agent and patient [e. g., dative agent and absolute case patient].)

A present tense antipassive sentence would be such as the following:

A (1)	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 10px;"> <i>*māter</i> mother (absolute case) </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; padding-left: 10px;"> <i>pek<sup>w</sup>-et</i> cooks away (intransitive verb) </div> </div>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 0 10px;"> <i>ovi-m</i> at the sheep (dat.-loc. case) </div> </div>
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Preterite ergative sentences might be of the following type:

A (2)	$\left[ \begin{array}{ll} *ovi & pek^w-tó \\ \text{sheep} & \text{cooked} \\ \text{(absolute case)} & \text{(intransitive verb)} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} mātros \\ \text{by mother} \\ \text{(erg. case)} \end{array} \right]$
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In the present tense the performer of the action and the action itself were the most important elements of the sentence. In the preterite tense the action and the goal of the action were the most important elements. Therefore in the present the performer of the action was morphologically unmarked and in the preterite the goal of the action was morphologically unmarked.

The first step in the creation of an active preterite came when the new imperfective aspect *\*pek<sup>w</sup>-et-i* began to take over the function of the present tense, pushing the old present tense *\*pek<sup>w</sup>-et* into the function of a preterite. The Old Indic injunctive uses of this form (future, imperative, wish) are a relic from the time prior to its taking over the preterite function (Burrow 1965: 298).

Schematically then:

B.	Active	(< Antipassive)	Medio-Passive (< Ergative)
Present:	1st sg. or	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-ō</i> (< <i>*-om</i> ) <i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-om-i</i>	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-(t) é/ó (r) (i)</i>
	2nd sg.	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-es-i, -et-i</i>	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-(t) é/ó (r) (i)</i>
	3rd sg.	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-et-i, -es-i</i>	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-(t) é/ó (r) (i)</i>
Preterite:	1st sg.	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-om</i>	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-(t) é/ó (r) (i)</i>
	2nd sg.	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-es, -et</i>	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-(t) é/ó (r) (i)</i>
	3rd sg.	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-et, -es</i>	<i>*pek<sup>w</sup>-(t) é/ó (r) (i)</i>

As a counter-balance to the existence of a present and a preterite in the active voice, the old medio-passive split into a present and a preterite also. But in addition to splitting into two separate tenses, the medio-passive fell under the influence of the active voice and began to agree with the subject in person, whereas formerly if it agreed with the subject at all, it was only according to gender and number.

At this period sentence A (1) comes to be interpreted as sentence B (1) below:

$\left[ \begin{array}{l} *māter \\ \text{mother} \\ \text{(nom. sg.)} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[ \begin{array}{ll} pek^w-et & ovi-m \\ \text{cooked} & \text{the sheep} \\ \text{(transitive verb)} & \text{(acc. sg.)} \end{array} \right]$
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In other words the shift of antipassive to active voice has created a transitive verb. Thus (1) the absolute case has passed to the nominative case, (2) the intransitive verb has become transitive and (3) the dative-locative case has become the accusative case.

When the antipassive sentence becomes active the old ergative sentence becomes passive. Thus:

B (2)	$\left[ \begin{array}{ll} *ovi & pek^w-tó \\ \text{sheep} & \text{cooked} \\ (\text{nom. sg.}) & (\text{passive}) \end{array} \right]$	$\left[ \begin{array}{l} mātros \\ \text{by mother} \\ (\text{gen. of agent}) \end{array} \right]$
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As Shaumyan (1985: 319) has remarked: “the *basic voice* in ergative languages corresponds to the *derived voice* in accusative languages, and the *derived voice* in ergative languages corresponds to the *basic voice* in accusative languages.” Thus in Indo-European the derived antipassive has become the basic active voice and the basic ergative has become the derived passive.

There is then a clear etymological relationship between the medio-passive present and the preterite, since they both derive ultimately from the same form. Thus formally the Hittite 2nd and 3rd singular present ending *-ta* corresponds to the 3rd singular middle aorist endings Old Indic *-ta*, Gk. *-to*. In Hittite in order to sharpen the distinction between the medio-passive present and preterite we find the addition of *-ri* to the 2nd and 3rd singular present giving the ending *-ta-ri*, whereas the ending *-t* is added to the 2nd and 3rd singular preterite giving the ending *-ta-at*. Similarly the Old Indic 3rd singular middle imperfect ending *-a* attested in *áduha* ‘milked’ (Burrow 1965: 314–317) corresponds with the Hittite 3rd singular present ending *-a* attested in *e-ša* ‘he sits’ (Sturtevant 1951: 164–165). Both the Old Indic and Hittite endings *-a* ultimately reflect Indo-European *\*-o*. Kronasser (1956: 206) suggests that the 1st sg. present medio-passive ending *-ha* derives from an *\*-ō* where the *-h-* developed in hiatus following a vowel. He compares the Umbrian 1st singular present *stahu* = Lat. *stō* (< *\*stā-ō*) where apparently a root *stah-* developed from the intervocalic hiatus position, cf. Umbrian *stahmei* ‘stationi’, *stahmito* ‘statutum’ (Kronasser 1956: 85). I suggest a similar phonological development, but I assume that the undifferentiated mediopassive ending *-a* (as attested in the 3rd singular present) in hiatus position developed into *-ha*, thus *za-aḥ-ḥi-ya-aḥ-ḥa* ‘I fight’ < *\*zahya-a* just like *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* ‘when, as’ may derive from *ma-a-an* ‘as; when, if’ (Kronasser 1956: 84). As the difference between the various endings developed according to

person (following the model of the active voice) the form *-ḥa* was assigned to the 1st singular whereas the older *-a* remained in the 3rd singular. The ending *-ḥa* was generalized to the consonantal stems and, as with the 2nd and 3rd persons singular the optional *-ri* was added to give the 1st singular present tense ending *-ḥa-ri*, whereas *-t* was added to the preterite giving *-ḥa-at*. In the vocalic stems the 3rd singular ending *-ta* replaced any earlier *\*-a* to distinguish clearly between the 1st and 3rd singular, thus the 3rd singular middle present *za-aḥ-ḥi-ya-at-ta*.

In essence, then, the various medio-passive endings were originally nominal or adjectival in nature and the various forms gradually came to be associated with the 1st, 2nd or 3rd person under the influence of the active voice. The same ending may then gain concord with different persons of the subject in different verbal paradigms. Thus in Old Indic the ending *-i* appears both in the 1st singular middle aorist (*á-kr-*)*i* and in the 3rd singular passive aorist (*á-kār-*)*i* (Macdonell 1916: 180). Originally, of course, the ending probably merely denoted intransitivity of the verb or some semi-nominal notion and only later was specialized to have concord with the person of the subject.

In all probability the Gothic present passive derives from the Indo-European mediopassive (Braune – Ebbinghaus 1973: 98; Brugmann 1921: 47). According to Meillet (1922: 68):

En gotique, le type passif *bairaza*, *bairada*, *bairanda* ne saurait reposer sur des formes en *\*-ai*, ni sur des formes en *\*-ō*. L'*-a* final suppose une ancienne voyelle longue. Et rien n'empêche de partir de *\*-sō*, *\*-tō*, *\*-ntō*.

Meillet notes the frequent alternation of long and short vowel in word-final position, e. g., Vedic 1st pl. *-ma* vs. *-mā*, etc., but I would rather connect the attested long vowel with my theory of monophthongizations in Indo-European. Thus I have proposed that the Indo-European final sequence *\*-or* may have remained as such in sandhi position preceding a vowel or may have passed to *\*-ō* in sandhi position preceding a consonant (Schmalstieg 1973: 104, 1980: 32). Therefore one may expect a mediopassive ending *\*-ō* in addition to *\*-or*. Consequently the Gothic 1st and 3rd sg. passive ending *-da* may derive from *\*-tō* < *\*-tor*.

The 2nd sg. *-za* shows the influence of the active *\*-s-* and derives from *\*-sō* < *\*-sor*.

The mediopassive ending *\*-o* is only weakly attested in Old Indic *áduha*, and not attested at all in the Greek preterite endings. I propose, however, that the old undifferentiated ending *\*-o* could be extended by *\*-i* to produce a present *\*-oi*. That is, of course, parallel to the active voice where we note a secondary ending *\*-m* vs. primary *\*-mi*, etc. In Old Indic the ending *\*-oi* is still attested in the 1st singular middle present (*bhar-*)*e*, but in the 2nd singular we find a contamination with the active voice, viz., 2nd singular middle present (*bhar-*)*ase* (< *\*-es-oi*; cf. the 2nd singular middle imperfect [*á-bhar-*] *as* [< *\*-es*]). Likewise in the 3rd singular we find a contamination with the active voice, viz., 3rd singular middle present (*bhar-*)*ate* (< *\*-et-oi*; cf. the 3rd sg. middle imperfect [*á-bhar-*] *at* [< *\*-et*]).

The older form of the Greek 2nd singular middle present ending was *-soi*, 3rd sg. *-toi* (Szemerényi 1970: 221). I would reconstruct a 1st singular middle present ending *\*-oi* which passed to *\*-ai* under the influence of the 1st singular forms which derive from *\*-m̐* > *-a*, e. g., *ēa* 'I was' (< *\*ēsm̐* [Hirt 1928: 144]). Differently from Old Indic where the old *\*-oi* is represented by its expected natural phonological result *-e*, in Greek the middle ending *\*-ai* was contaminated with the active voice to produce (*phér-*)*om-ai* 'I bear' (cf. the 1st singular active imperfect [*é-pher-*] *on* < *\*-om*; this ending is also reconstructed for the 1st singular active present [*phér-*] *ō* [Szemerényi 1970: 308]). The Greek 2nd singular middle present (*phér-*) *e-ai* (< *\*-es-ai*) results from exactly the same kind of contamination encountered in Old Indic, viz., *\*-es* (cf. the Greek 2nd singular active imperfect [*é-pher-*] *es*) plus *-ai* (replacing *-oi* on the model of the 1st singular ending). The Greek 3rd singular middle present (*phér-*) *et-ai* also parallels the Old Indic development. I reconstruct a 3rd person singular active ending *\*-et* on the basis of the 3rd singular imperfect active (*é-pher-*) *e* (< *\*-et*) and the athematic 3rd singular present (*es-*) *tí* 'is'.

For the Latin passive present I propose an earlier undifferentiated ending *\*-e/-or* which functioned for all three persons of the singular. The Latin 1st sg. *-ōr* may have developed the long vowel under the influence of the active present ending *-ō*. An alternative explanation is to derive the *-ōr* from a contamination of *\*-ō* (< *\*-or* in etymological pre-consonantal sandhi position) plus the older *\*-or* (in etymological pre-vocalic sandhi position). The 2nd sg. ending *-eris* reflects *-er* plus the active ending *-is* (< *\*-es*). The Latin 3rd singular ending *-itur* reflects the 3rd singular ending *-it* (< *\*-et*)

plus *\*-or*. Although originally the *\*-r* seems to have supplied a present meaning to the mediopassive endings, in Latin it soon became interpreted as part of the passive and came to be used in other tenses as well.

There seems to be absolutely no doubt that the Tocharian 3rd singular middle preterite ending B *-te*, A *-t* reflects Indo-European *\*-to* (Van Windekens 1982: 291). The 2nd singular middle preterite ending B *-tai*, A *-te* is said to derive from Indo-European *\*-tai* rather than *\*-toi*, because presumably an ending *\*-toi* would have developed into *\*-ti* (following the pattern of final *\*-oi* > *-i* apparently attested in the nominal paradigms).<sup>1</sup> Since the development of the diphthongs *\*oi* and *\*ai* is perfectly parallel, viz. B *ai*, A *e*, except in the case of the nominal paradigms, it would seem reasonable to derive B *-tai*, A *-te* from *\*-toi*, particularly since the Greek ending *-tai* seems to be secondary for *-toi* also.

Van Windekens (1982: 290) writes that it is best to follow Couvreur (1947: 58) in seeing in the 1st singular middle preterite ending *-mai* a contamination of *\*-ai* with the active ending *-m*. Essentially I concur with this view, only pre-supposing perhaps an original *\*-oi* rather than *\*-ai*. The Tocharian A 1st singular middle preterite ending *-e* is not contaminated with the active ending *-m* and corresponds formally with the Old Indic 1st singular middle present ending *-e*. The interesting, and perhaps unexpected feature of the Tocharian 1st and 2nd singular preterite endings is the presence of the final element *-i*, an element which marks the present tense in other Indo-European languages.

Van Windekens (1982: 275) objects to the common proposal that the Tocharian 3rd singular middle present ending derives from *\*-tor*, since in his view such an ending would give Tocharian A *\*-tar*, B *\*-ter*, whereas we actually find attested AB *-tär*, *-trä* which can be more easily derived from *\*-tr̥*. In any case one encounters here the element *-t-* from the 3rd singular middle ending plus the element *-r* which thereby characterizes the ending as present as opposed to the preterite B *-te*, A *-t*.

Van Windekens (1982: 273) derives the 1st singular middle present ending Tocharian A *-mār*, B *-mar* from *\*-ōr* (as attested in Italo-Celtic) with influence from the 1st sg. active present ending *-m*. Essentially I agree with this explanation, but I would see in the *\*-ōr* a contamination of the (original pre-consonantal) sandhi variant *\*-ō* and the (original prevocalic) sandhi variant *\*-or*. Another possibility is that at one stage there existed a 1st singular present active

\*-mō derived from a contamination of the athematic ending \*-m (< \*-mī) plus the thematic ending \*-ō. (The results of just such a contamination are encountered in the Latvian 1st sg. pres. (eš-)mu 'I am'.) An \*-r was added to this ending to give the mediopassive \*-mōr. I find the first explanation preferable, particularly since, as far as I know, there is no evidence for an active ending \*-mō in Tocharian.

The undifferentiated middle present ending \*-ōr (from a contamination of \*-or and \*-ō [see above]) fell under the influence of the 2nd singular active present ending -t to produce \*-tōr which passed to the attested 2nd singular middle present Tocharian A -tār, B -tar.

It is the late origin of the mediopassive personal endings as opposed to the active personal endings which makes the former so difficult to reconstruct. The active personal endings seem to have existed in Indo-European before the split into the various dialects whereas the mediopassive (and passive) personal endings are an innovation based on the material of a verbal (or perhaps nominal) form undifferentiated as to person. This undifferentiated mediopassive form gained grammatical agreement for person with the subject under the influence of the active voice.

### Note

1. Van Windekens (1976: 30, 126) writes that Indo-European \*oi gives Tocharian B ai, A e except in word-final position where we encounter AB -i, all of the examples for which come from the nominal declension, e.g., B nom. pl. kem-i 'teeth'. Mažiulis (1970: 174) has proposed that in addition to the \*o-stem noun nominative plural ending \*-oi, there may have been for the adjective and pronoun a nominative plural ending \*-ei. If Mažiulis is right, then one might derive the Tocharian nominative plural ending \*-i from \*-ei (with a transfer from the adjective-pronoun to the noun). Indeed some Tocharian nouns do evidence the expected palatalization of the stem-final consonant with the nominative plural ending \*-i, although such forms are commonly thought to have had the \*i-stem nominative plural ending \*-ejes (Krause—Thomas 1960: 128). (Those nominative plurals without stem-final consonant palatalization may be ascribed to the action of paradigmatic levelling.) A possible disadvantage to this explanation is the apparent phonological reflex of the \*-oi- morpheme in the pronominal adjective Tocharian B nom. pl. aly-ai-k (A aly-e-k) 'others' (Krause—Thomas 1960: 168). It is possible, however, to see in the Tocharian B final -i an original \*-ei and in the final -ai an original \*-ai or \*-oi.

It may be, however, that a final \*-oi developed to -i in the nominal paradigm and to -ai in the verbal paradigm either as a result of morphological conditioning or unretrievable phonological conditioning. I draw a parallel with the still inadequately explained double treatment of final \*-oi in Slavic, viz., either -i or -ě (Schmalstieg 1983: 76).



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# On Armenian phonology and Indo-European reconstruction\*

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The important methodological maxim established by Leskien (1876: VII) — ‘Die Kriterien einer engeren Gemeinschaft können nur in positiven Übereinstimmungen der betreffenden Sprachen, die zugleich Abweichungen von den übrigen sind, gefunden werden’ — has been explicitly specified by Leumann (1955, 1959: 390), who defined the criteria implicitly existent in Leskien’s statement as ‘gleiche Neuerungen’, zumal solche der Morphologie, und zwar nicht einfache und banale, die aus gleichen ererbten Voraussetzungen an mehreren Stellen gleichmäßig entwickelt sein können, sondern nur eigenartige, vom vermutbaren oder normalen Entwicklungsgang abweichende irgendwie ausgefallene Neuerungen, die man sich nicht gut an mehreren Stellen getrennt denken kann’. On the basis of these principles, the lexical isoglosses of Old Armenian (OArm.) and Greek (Gk.) confirm Pedersen’s opinion ‘daß das Armenische keiner anderen idg. Sprache so nahe steht wie dem Griechischen’.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Gk. / OArm. *\*wes-nu-* ‘to dress oneself’ : *hénnyimi* / *z-genum* vs. Indo-European (IE) *\*wes-* (athematic); reduplicated aorist *arareĩn* (perfect *árāra*) / *árari*;<sup>2</sup> *gélōs* / *calr* ‘laughter’ vs. IE *\*smei-* (also in Gk. *meĩdos* · *gélōs* Hes., *philommeidēs*); *aléō* / *alam* ‘I grind’, *áleuron*, pl. *áleura* / *aliwr* ‘meal, flour’ vs. IE *\*mel-* (cf. Gk. *mūlē* ‘mill’, OArm. *malem* ‘to bruise’)

Among the isoglosses on other levels, vowel prothesis and augment are of particular importance: the prothetic vowels which are generally derived from laryngeals<sup>3</sup> occur in Greek, Old Armenian, and Phrygian:

- (2) Phrygian *anar* ‘man’ : OArm. *ayr*, Gk. *anēr* vs. Vedic *nar*, Albanian *njer* etc.;<sup>4</sup>

the augment is a feature which Greek and Old Armenian share with Old Phrygian and Indo-Iranian:

- (3) Old Phrygian *edaes* 'he erected' vs. Hittite *dāiš*;  
 IE *\*e-bher-e-t* : OArm. *eber*, Gk. *éphere*, Sanskrit *abharat*

On the level of phonology, prothesis is surely the most important and oldest isogloss between Old Armenian and Greek.<sup>5</sup> Based on the hypothesis that innovations common to Old Armenian and Greek which fit in with Leskien's principle (see above) must be particularly old, it is possible to define relative-chronologically several sound laws, i.e., on the one hand the vocalic realization of laryngeals and on the other all phonological processes which took place separately in Greek and Old Armenian.

In the following, a number of phonological features of Old Armenian shall be described as to their relative chronology and compared with their Greek and/or Indo-European correspondences: (a) Laryngeals: Sound developments which imply the context conditioned vocalization of these phonemes furnish additional evidence of the old age of these processes; (b) Resonants: As their realization in the Greek dialects is not uniform, we cannot establish an isogloss between Common Greek and Old Armenian; (c) *s* > *h*: As this context conditioned transformation is not restricted to Greek and Old Armenian, it cannot be used as a criterium in the strict sense of Leskien's principle.

In the second part of my contribution I shall briefly discuss four phonological processes of Old Armenian which completely lack a Greek equivalent: (d) stress shift to the penultimate syllable, followed by weakening and reduction of the unstressed vowels; (e) change of *\*/w/* to */g/*; (f) consonant change with respect to place of articulation; (g) consonant change with respect to manner of articulation. These four processes are of different relevance for Indo-Europeans reconstruction: While (d) and (e) are significant only from a typological point of view, (f) and (g) are of fundamental importance for Proto-Indo-European.

(a) Laryngeals. The vowel prothesis (2) confirms the early transformation of laryngeals, which has been established for Greek by Rix (1969) and for all Indo-European languages except Anatolian by the contraction of short vowel + laryngeal > long vowel (Lindeman 1970: 48 ff.). The raising of *\*/ē/* and *\*/ō/* to */i/* and */u/* in Old Armenian implies this contraction. The disappearance of *\*/ə/* in middle syllables, which Old Armenian in contrast to Greek and Sanskrit shares with Iranian, Baltic, Slavic, and Germanic (Meillet 1936: 42), also belongs to a younger period:

- (4) OArm. *tur-k'* (pl.) 'gift' < \**dōro-* + *k'* < \**deH<sub>3</sub>-* : Gk. *dōron*; OArm. *dnem* 'lay, put' < \**dinem* < \**dhē-* < \**dheH<sub>1</sub>-* : Gk. *títhēmi*, *thēsō*, *éthēka*; OArm. *dustr* 'daughter', cf. also Gaulish *duxtir* in Larzac vs. Gk. *thugátēr*, Sanskrit *duhitā*

(b) Resonants: IE \*/*r*/, \*/*l*/ > Greek /*ra*, *ar*/, /*la*, *al*/, Aeolian /*ro*, *or*/, /*lo*, *ol*/ vs. Old Armenian /*ar*/, /*al*/ < \*/*al*/ (Meillet 1936: 42 f.). The agreement between Greek and Old Armenian does not comprise all Greek dialects (cf. also (f)). The *o*-vocalism of Aeolian and occasionally also Arcadian, Cyprian, and Mycenaean indicates that the vocalization of resonants must have taken place after the separation of the dialects (Rix 1976: 65).<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, long resonants cannot be clearly identified in such Old Armenian examples as *armukn* 'elbow' "avec *arə* de got. *arms* 'bras' ou *ṛ* (*ṛə*)

de v. ind. *īrmá-*" (Kuryłowicz 1956: 196<sup>40</sup>).

(c) \**s* > *h*: 1) in anlaut before vowel, where /*h*/ tends to disappear in Old Armenian:

- (5) OArm. *al*, *alt* 'salt', Gk. *háls*, Welsh *halen* : Latin *sal*, Gothic *salt*, Old Irish *salann*; OArm. *ewt'n* 'seven', Gk. *heptá*, Avestan *hapta* : Welsh *saith*, Sanskrit *saptá*, Latin *septem*; OArm. *hin* 'old', Gk. *hénos*, Avestan *hana-*, Welsh *hen* : Sanskrit *sana-*, Old Irish *sen*, Latin *senex*;

2) in intervocalic position with transition to zero both in Greek and Old Armenian:

- (6) OArm. *nu*, gen. *nuoy* 'daughter in law', Gk. *nuós* : Sanskrit *snuṣā*, Old Church Slavonic *snŭxá*, Latin *nurus*.

Meillet (1936: 39) pointed out that, in Old Armenian, process 2) precedes the apocope of vowels and the transformation of the diphthong \*/*eu*/ : \**swesōr* > *k'oyr* 'sister' (with \**-esō-* > \**-ehu-* > \**-eu-* > *oy*). The situation in Old Irish, where 'medial *s* between vowels has completely disappeared' (Thurneysen 1946: 132), while \*/*s*/ in anlaut is preserved, could deepen the impression that in Old Armenian process 1) follows process 2). In Iranian, however, an intervocalic /*s*/ after /*i*/, /*u*/, /*r*/ is preserved as a cerebralized /*š*/:

- (7) Old Persian *ni-šādayāmi* 'I set down' : *hadiš* 'palace, residence'

Cerebralization is a feature of satem languages. In Old Armenian it is realized by the change of \*/*rs*/ > /*rš*/ beside /*r̥*/:<sup>7</sup>

- (8) OArm. *t'aršamim* beside *t'aramim* 'to wilt, fade away' : Gk. *térsomai*, Gothic *þaursus* 'dry'; OArm. *or* 'backside' : Gk. *órros*, Homeric *palín-orsos*, Old High German *ars*<sup>8</sup>

Brythonic corresponds to the Old Irish model insofar as exception with preserved /s/ occur in anlaut, but not in intervocalic position (Lewis–Pedersen 1937: 16–17). The variable distribution of \*/s/ or \*/h/ respectively in other languages shows that (c) does not fit in with Leskien's principle.

(d) Old Armenian stress shift. The Old Armenian stress shift to the penultimate syllable resulted in apocope of vowel or vowel plus consonant other than *n*, *r*, *l* in auslaut, as well as weakening of pretonic vowels. These three processes reflect rather late developments. The Brythonic parallel already referred to by Pedersen (1906/1982: 105) is only of typological relevance:

- (9) OArm. *hin* 'old' < \**senos* : comparative *hn-agoyn*; *yoys* 'hope' : genitive *yusoy*; Welsh *dyn* [ī] 'man' < \**ghōmjos* (cf. the genitive plural *gdoni[o]n* in Vercelli) : pl. *dynion* [ə], Old Welsh *hinham* 'oldest' < \**senisamos*

(e) \*/w/ > /g/ in Old Armenian:<sup>9</sup>

- (10) OArm. *gorc* 'work' < \**worġom* : Gk. *érgon*, German *Werk*; OArm. *z-genum* 'I dress myself' < \**wes-nu-mi* : Gk. *hénnumi* (no. 1); OArm. *gitem* 'I know' : IE \**woida*; OArm. *taygr* 'brother in law' : Gk. *dāēr*, Sanskrit *devár-*, Lithuanian *dieveris*; Welsh *gwydd*, sg. *gwydden* 'tree' : Old Irish *fid*, Gaulish *vidu-*; Welsh *gwledd* 'banquet' : Old Irish *fled*, Gaulish *vlido-*

Although the independent Brythonic parallel of \*/w/ > /gw/ displays a different distribution due to the restriction of the Brythonic examples to anlaut position, and although \*/g/ is not the only realization of IE \*/w/ in Old Armenian, typological comparison suggests that Old Armenian also had an intermediate, unattested \*/gw/ (cf. also Godel 1975: 82).<sup>10</sup>

(f) Old Armenian consonantism: place of articulation: In contrast to Greek, Old Armenian belongs to the satem languages, among which it holds a special position together with Albanian — these two languages differentiate labiovelars and velars. In Old Armenian, however, the differentiation is restricted to Indo-European voiceless and voiced-aspirated obstruents which are subject to context-conditioned palatalization:

- (11)  $*k^w$  :  $k^w$  'an' 'than' : Latin *quam*, *čork* 'four' : IE  $*k^w$  *etwóres* vs.  $k$  :  $k^w$  *erem* 'I scratch' : Gk. *keirō*;  $*g^wh$  : *gan* (*i*-stem) 'strokes of a stick, whipping' : Gk. *phónos*, *žerm* 'warm' : Gk. *thermós* vs.  $gh$  : *gelj-k* (pl.) 'gland' : Old Church Slavonic *žlěza*, Lithuanian *gėlėžuonys*;  $*g^w$  : *kov* 'cow' : Old Irish *bó*, Old High German *kuo*; *kin* 'woman' : Old Irish *ben*, Old Church Slavonic *žena*, Old Prussian *genna* vs.  $*g$  : *krunk* 'crane' <  $*gērong$ - (Solta 1960: 171) : Gk. *géranos*

The context-conditioned palatalization has been explained by Solta (1965) on the basis of a 'Palatalisierungswelle' in Greek, Albanian, Armenian, and Tocharian, which, however, 'das äolische Gebiet nur zum Teil erreicht [hat]' (292). In the satem languages Armenian and Albanian the reflexes of this palatalization are older than the merger of labiovelars and velars into velars which occurred in Indo-Iranian, Baltic, and Slavic. According to Schmid (1966: 12) this merger took place before the assibilation of the Indo-European palatals, as the assibilation did not affect all Baltic and Slavic words with inherited palatals. As to the palatalization of labiovelars, this process confirms on the one hand areal contacts between Old Armenian and Greek dialects and on the other an early separation of the Greek dialects themselves — a situation that is comparable to the distribution of the resonants (cf. above under (b)).

If satem languages are defined by two features — 1. merger of labiovelars and velars into velars, 2. assibilation of palatals — then Old Armenian and Albanian, which lack feature 1, are not satem languages in the strict sense of the word. On the other hand, Slavic and particularly Baltic differ from the definition of a satem language because of their incomplete assibilation of palatals.<sup>11</sup> As to the different theories which try to reduce the reconstructed three series of palatals, velars, and labiovelars established by Bezzenger (1890)<sup>12</sup> to two series, the language history of the four 'deficient' satem languages would best agree with Meillet's point of departure,  $*k^w$  —  $k$ .

Among the characteristic differences between Old Armenian and Greek may also be mentioned the transformation of  $*p/ > h/\emptyset$  in Old Armenian:

- (12) OArm. *hayr* 'father' <  $*pətér$ , *hur* 'fire' : Gk. *pûr*, Umbrian *pir*, *otn* 'foot' <  $*pod-$

The inconstancy of the phoneme  $*p/$  is also evident in other languages: Indo-European (Celtic and Ossetic, cf. Schmidt 1974: 396; 1979) as well as non-Indo-European languages (cf. Pedersen

1951; Gamkrelidze 1975). In spite of this, the transformation of IE *\*/p/* to *h/Ø* in Old Armenian is more recent than a number of context-conditioned sound laws.

- (13) OArm. *ew* 'an, also' < \**epi* : Gk. *epí*, Sanskrit *ápi*; *k'oyr* 'sister' < \**swesōr*, *ewt'n* 'seven' < \**septm*, etc.<sup>13</sup>

(g) Old Armenian consonantism: manner of articulation: The comparison of the Old Armenian and Greek obstruent systems does not yield essentially new insights into the reconstruction of the Indo-European model:

- (14) Old system: /voiced — voiced aspirated — voiceless/ vs. new system (Gamkrelidze — Ivanov): earlier model: /ejective — voiced aspirated — voiceless aspirated/; later model: /ejective — voiced (aspirated) — voiceless (aspirated)/<sup>14</sup>

On the basis of the old system, Old Armenian shows three innovations vs. one in Greek:

- (15) Indo-European voiced > Old Armenian voiceless, Greek voiced; Indo-European voiced aspirated > Old Armenian voiced, Greek voiceless aspirated; Indo-European voiceless > Old Armenian voiceless aspirated, Greek voiceless

Based on the new/modified system, the proportion is more or less reversed: three Greek innovations vs. two in Old Armenian:

- (16) Indo-European ejective > Old Armenian voiceless, Greek voiced; Indo-European voiced (aspirated) > Old Armenian voiced, Greek voiceless aspirated; Indo-European voiceless (aspirated) > Old Armenian voiceless aspirated, Greek voiceless (Gamkrelidze — Ivanov 1984: 44 — 63)<sup>15</sup>

Therefore it seems impossible to solve this problem with the help of Old Armenian and Greek data alone. As to the development of the Indo-European voiced aspirated obstruents, the Italic languages are particularly close to Greek, while the voiceless aspirated obstruents in Old Armenian rather agree with the Germanic development (the double reflexes of voiced beside voiceless fricatives discovered by Verner 1877 represent a specifically Germanic sound law). The lack of areal contact between Germanic and Old Armenian could support the new system, which explains the agreement

as an archaism. On the other hand, the conservative character of the Sanskrit consonant system is stressed by the occurrence of the voiced aspirated obstruents in both the old and the new reconstructs.<sup>16</sup>

## Notes

- \* I should like to thank Mrs. K. Hlaváček for correcting my English.
1. Cf. also Bonfante (1937; 1982: 166: 'Armenian shows very close relations to Phrygian, Greek and also to Albanian'); Porzig (1954: 155) with further references; Solta (1960: 482); Djahukian (1980); Schmidt (1980).
  2. Godel (1975: 114 n. 111), without merger in the younger present stem formations *arariskō* 'I fit together' / *ar̥nem* 'I make, do' (cf. Hamp 1975: 107).
  3. Cf., however, a different position in Wyatt (1972: 120): 'Prothesis, then, is a perfectly regular linguistic tendency in the Greek language resulting from the equally regular tendency to devoice initial (and probably other) resonants in certain environments'.
  4. Cf. Winter (1965); Cowgill (1965: 151 ff.); Rix (1969: 80) on the position of laryngeal before sonant in Greek: 'daß der Ersatz der idg. Laryngale durch griechische Vokale mindestens in dieser Position älter ist als die griechische Vokalisierung der idg. Sonanten'; Lindeman (1970: 69 ff.); Greppin (1973: 15); Polomé (1980: 29), etc.
  5. The definition of Indo-European features on the restricted basis of Indo-Iranian, Greek, and Old Armenian has been obsolete at least since the identification of Hittite as an Indo-European language (cf. Schmidt 1980; 1983).
  6. The situation is comparable to the different realizations of vocalic nasals (before consonants other than old resonants, laryngeals, and the spirant \*/s/) in Celtic: Goidelic \*/em, en/ (/im, in/) vs. Brythonic and Celtiberian \*/am, an/.
  7. As to the merger of cerebral \*/s/ before an obstruent with \*/k/ in Baltic and Slavic cf. Andersen (1970).
  8. As to \*/ks/ in Old Armenian cf. Meillet (1936: 40).
  9. Cf., e. g., Meillet (1936: 49 f.); Pisani (1950: 184 f.); Greppin (1972); Godel (1975); Schmitt (1981: 69 f.).
  10. As to \*/w/ > \*/gw/ in French dialects cf. Fleuriot (1978) and my comments on this article in ZCP 37, 1979: 287 f.
  11. Cf. Porzig (1954: 74 ff.); Schmid (1966: 9 ff.), who traces the starting point of 'Satemisierung' back to Indo-Iranian (p. 11).
  12. Cf. e. g. Meillet (1894; 1964: 93 f.); Kuryłowicz (1935: 1 ff.; 1956: 356 ff.): \*k-k and the references given by Allen (1978).
  13. Cf. Schmidt (1974: 396; 1979); as to Old Armenian /sp/, /sp'/, /p'/ cf. Hiersche (1964: 233 ff.).
  14. As to the new system cf. particularly Gamkrelidze – Ivanov (1972; 1973); Hopper (1973).
  15. The later model by Gamkrelidze – Ivanov (1984) affects several phonetic laws: e. g., Grassmann's Law: \*beud<sup>h</sup>l- > Gk. *peúthomai* (with later consonant shift), Sanskrit *bodhate*. Instead of the independent aspirate dissimilation in Greek and



Sanskrit (with *\*bheudh-* as the point of departure), Gamkrelidze—Ivanov postulate an isogloss between Greek and Sanskrit, whereby the distribution of voiced and voiced aspirated stops is context-conditioned. According to Gamkrelidze—Ivanov, Latin *fido/foedus* < *\*bheid-/\*bhoid-* (the old system has *\*bheidh-/\*bhoidh-*), etc., shows the opposite distribution of voiced aspirated and voiced stops. Gamkrelidze—Ivanov's attempts to explain unclear etymologies in Germanic by the syntagmatic rule of fricatives preceding stops (e.g., Gothic *afhvapjan* : Gk. *kápos*, *kapnós*, Gothic *faíflokun* : Old Church Slavonic *plakati*) or to trace context-conditioned sound laws in Irish back to the preservation of the old aspirated allophone (e.g., Old Irish *lethan* with lenited *t* = *th* instead of Gaulish *litano-* on p. 78 or Old Irish *recht* with *kt* > *cht* instead of Gaulish *rectu-* on p. 28, etc.) are unacceptable.

16. Cf. also Schmidt 1983.

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## Talk about *tu* and *vous*

Joel Sherzer

This paper is an examination of ways in which the pronouns *tu* and *vous* are talked about by speakers of French in terms of the light they shed on *tu/vous* usage in contemporary France in particular and on address systems more generally.

The study of second person pronominal choice within European languages (*tu/vous* in French, *tu/usted* in Spanish, etc.) is a classic topic within sociolinguistics. The choice, often called T/V following a much cited paper by Brown – Gilman (1960), involves an informal, intimate T form and a formal, polite V form. This area of language use has received considerable attention in sociolinguistics precisely because it so obviously involves an intersection of language, linguistic structure, or grammar (second person pronouns in grammatical terms) on the one hand, and social factors or dimensions (kinship, class, formality, intimacy, distance, etc.) on the other. A very salient aspect of T/V usage is that the communicative means or choices are limited to a finite two (with some interesting exceptions, areally and interactionally), while the social factors and dimensions are many and varied, perhaps ultimately infinite. The achievement of the Brown – Gilman study was to reduce these to two – power and solidarity.

In order to contextualize my remarks, it is useful to provide a brief overview of the major existing approaches to terms of address and especially T/V usage. A survey of the rather substantial literature reveals a variety of theoretical perspectives as well as methodological and analytical techniques. For convenience, I will number the different approaches as I have organized them.

1. The pronominal choice T/V is viewed as part of a larger class of terms of address and reference in the language, including other pronouns, names, and titles, and treated as shifters or indexicals, a perspective associated with the linguists Benveniste and Jakobson, and also influenced by the semiotician C. S. Peirce. (See discussion by Silverstein 1979.) In more precise linguistic terms, T/V usage can be shown to be part of a system involving other expressions of

person in language. In keeping with this approach is Zwicky's (1977) notion of hierarchy of person as well as Laberge—Sankoff's (1980) study of change in progress in Montreal, which shows the relationship between T/V usage and the quite multifunctional French pronoun *on*. The perspective of Zwicky and Laberge and Sankoff is that of the linguistic system as a dynamic set of intersecting possibilities. More generally, T/V usage is one aspect of, or element in, a set of devices employed in the strategy of social interaction, a view in keeping with the work of E. Goffman and incorporated into a global sociolinguistic theory by Brown—Levinson (1978), who view T/V usage as a surface manifestation of universal rules of social and especially verbal interaction.

2. T/V usage is viewed at a macro- or societal level, typically aiming to encompass or account for an entire country or region, such as France, Italy, or Quebec, or an entire language, such as French or Italian. (In addition to Brown—Gilman 1960, see Bates—Benigni 1975 and Lambert—Tucker 1976.) These studies employ the survey techniques of macro-level sociology, use questionnaires, and tend to be normative, that is they reflect what respondents say they do or think they ought to do rather than what they actually do. The goal of such studies from a sociolinguistic point of view is to analyze T/V usage in terms of the underlying social and psychological dimensions of the normative system, reduced to two, power and solidarity, by Brown—Gilman, several more by P. Friedrich (1972) in his work on 19th century Russian. Such dimensions provide the basis for the flow chart analyses of S. Ervin-Tripp (1972).

3. Another approach, much more micro- and interactional in orientation, views the normative system of T/V selection as given and therefore expected and predictable and focuses on instances which are unexpected and surprising but interpretable and therefore informationally meaningful. This approach often uses the linguistic concept of marking, labelling expected choices unmarked and surprising ones marked. (See Geoghegan 1970 as well as Ervin-Tripp 1972.)

4. A final approach is in some ways related to 3. above in that it focuses on emergent, strategic, verbally artistic, and creatively meaningful aspects of T/V usage. The orientation tends to be social interactional, ethnographic, and qualitative, and more mi-

cro than macro. Here I would place the various studies of the role of address forms in written literature, most notably Friedrich's (1972) study of 19th century Russian novels, and Paulston's (1976) study of the complex and changing Swedish pronominal system. (Paulston draws on all of the perspectives and approaches I have outlined here.)

One aspect of my own research on *tu* and *vous* in France has been to explore the ways in which individuals talk about *tu* and *vous* in the course of verbal interactions. For this paper, I have grouped these into three categories.

I begin with a first type of talk about *tu* and *vous*, personal narratives in which experience with *tu* and *vous* is the topic or focus, that is, personal experience in the use of *tu* and *vous* is interesting and engaging enough to build a narrative around. The narratives I draw on here are reports or verbal transformations of actual, particular experiences, rather than of idealized usages, as Brown—Gilman and derived questionnaires produce. There is something special from the narrator's point of view that makes these experiences interesting enough to narrate about. They are reportable, in Labov's (1972a) terminology. And it is this same something special that makes them useful for students of *tu/vous* usage in France. While the narratives might also relate to and be interesting because of other topics they contain — husband/wife relationships or the situation of immigrant workers in France today — their central focus or topic is *tu/vous* usage; this is what they are about. Most of the narratives I draw on here were told as first person narratives, that is narrations of the teller's own experiences. In several cases it is experiences of others that the narrator reports.

The first group of narratives about *tu* and *vous* are special and reportable because they hinge on difficult decisions regarding whether to use *tu* or *vous* with particular individuals or in particular situations, or on conflicting underlying models of *tu/vous* usage.

PM tells how during the day he ran into an acquaintance of his, the chief of police of his southeastern town A. While the chief of police used *tu* with PM, PM said *vous* in return. The chief of police told PM to call him *tu*. If not, he said, he would respond *merde* each time PM talked to him and called him *vous*.

HR, who lives and works in Paris but is originally from a village near Toulouse, describes the arrival in his village of a woman he knew from his childhood but to whom one did not know whether

to say *tu* or *vous*. So everyone spoke *patois* to her and of course used *tu*. That solved the problem.

A Spanish immigrant worker in the town of A. reports that he uses *tu* (in speaking French) with all his co-workers in a factory; he feels that this is the French model. In Spain he would use *usted* to older co-workers. In particular, with J., an older co-worker and also Spanish, he uses *tu* (when speaking French and Spanish), while in Spain he would call him *usted*.

PD reports a narrative told to him by a bricklayer who now works for him about the contrast in *tu/vous* usage between himself and a count he previously worked for. The bricklayer was struck by the fact that the count called his wife *vous* and the bricklayer *tu* while the bricklayer called his own wife *tu* and the count *vous*.

The second group of narratives are reportable because of seemingly individual, idiosyncratic usages of *tu/vous* which nonetheless make sense when *tu* and *vous* are viewed as resources which are available for creative manipulation to fit particular social relationships and situations.

MD and her husband, PD, in their late forties, address one another as *vous* in public. Before marriage and during courtship the husband P started to use *tu* with her and she thought this was too early and too *osé* and told him so. As a result, P switched back to *vous* with her and continued to use *vous* even after their marriage. Both M and P address one another often as *vous*, switching at times to *tu* as well. As a result, people often note their public *vous* usage and ask them why, so much so that P sometimes tells them to mind their own business.

MH, an elderly man who reports himself as not liking to say *tu* to people and who limits his *tu* to childhood friends and family members, reports that during the war (first) one would tend to address others as *tu*. At one point, while in the army, he met a person from the Jura and they spontaneously used *tu* with each other, because they were from adjacent regions, the Jura and the Vosges.

The third group of narratives are reportable because they deal with the always sensitive issue of switching from *vous* to *tu*.

PM describes the difficulty he and his wife had calling a particular woman much older than themselves *tu*. The difficulty lies in the



fact that the woman was an elementary school teacher of P's wife G. The passage from *vous* to *tu* occurred during a summer vacation camping trip the three made together in a group with other friends. The other friends, who never knew the woman before, called her *tu* immediately in the context of the camping trip, causing P to switch from *vous* to *tu*, even though he felt it was harder for him than for them.

FM, a woman in her early twenties, reports that she has been trying to rebuff the advances of a particular older man. One day she comes across him, together with a co-worker and age-mate of hers, in a mutual *tu* relationship. The man was thus able to call F *tu*, much to her dislike.

The final set of narratives are reportable because they deal with the more unusual switch from *tu* to *vous*.

J-F P, a male school teacher, who feels himself to be a *tu* user, reports that he used *tu* with a neighbor, a woman. She became very sick and as a result her face became deformed. After her sickness, J-F P switched to *vous* with her.

MM tells the story that a captain in the army with whom he was in an asymmetrical *tu/vous* relationship during his military service, due to the officer/non-officer relationship, recently came to his home for a visit, totally unrelated to the army experience. The ex-captain addressed M as *vous* and they had a reciprocal, symmetrical *vous/vous* relationship.

I turn now to a second way *tu* and *vous* are talked about, narratives, again usually but not necessarily first person, in which *tu* and *vous* are used as cueing or keying devices. Every narrative which contains dramatizations, that is, direct quotations of the actors in the narrative, and which furthermore includes direct address between actors within these dramatizations, uses the *tu/vous* distinction to indicate social relationships between the actors involved. In the first example, the narrator distinguishes his relationship to each of the persons talked about by means of *tu* and *vous*.

MR, a Parisian author, is describing conversations he had with two other Parisian authors, J-P F and PS, concerning his work. In these narrated conversations, MR uses *tu* with J-P F and *vous* with PS.

In the next two examples switches in *tu/vous* usage key changes in the social relationship between actors in the narrative and also play



a role in the development of the narrative itself. In the first of these examples the *tu/vous* shift is not overtly called attention to. Rather, it occurs in the form of dramatized, directly quoted speech. In the second example, the shift is reported in the form of metacommunicative comments about what happened. In other words, a narrative about *tu* and *vous* (my type one above) is embedded into a larger narrative. In this sense, this example is thus also a case of my type three below.

FM is narrating her adventures with the owner of a local car-repair shop. He was trying to get her involved in an affair with him and had pulled a series of dirty tricks on her because she rebuffed him. In the direct quotations used in the narration, he uses *tu* with her, she *vous* with him. Then, in the narrative, he writes her an angry letter. In this letter he uses *vous* with her.

DP reports an illicit affair an acquaintance was having with a young woman and how the woman tried in the presence of others to hide the fact that she was having the affair. While she tried to address him as *vous*, *tu* kept slipping in.

The usage of *tu/vous* switching, sometimes overtly framed, sometimes not so, is a device found in written literature and has been studied by literary critics. It is interesting that exactly the same device is used in everyday oral narrations of personal experience. This device is furthermore related to a more general rhetorical device of shifting or switching among pronouns and other expressions of person. Examples are the many political speeches which alternate *je, nous, on, les Français*, as part of the rhetorical strategy of the speech.

A third way of talking about *tu* and *vous* is overt and explicit metacommunicative commentary. I have chosen to distinguish this third type from type one, in the following way. In type one an entire narrative is constructed dealing with *tu* and *vous*; *tu/vous* usage is the topic of the narrative. In type three, *tu/vous* usage is not the topic of a narrative. Rather, a metacommunicative comment about *tu/vous* usage occurs in the context of a variety of forms of discourse. In the first examples I have selected the metacommunicative commentary occurs in the context of a verbal interaction among two or more individuals in which one participant in the interaction calls attention to and corrects what she considers to be inappropriate *tu/vous* usage on the part of another.

Two saleswomen in their early twenties in a large Paris store are talking with a customer, a young woman of the same age. One of the saleswomen uses *tu* to the customer and the other criticizes her for it in front of the customer. The saleswoman who used *ta* responds to the criticism by saying that since the customer was her age she felt justified in using *tu*.

JM, a woman in her late forties, reports meeting another woman in a supermarket who greeted her but whom she did not recognize and thus used *vous* with in response to the greeting. The original greeter responded with: *Tu me vousvois maintenant, alors?* 'So you call me *vous* now?'.

In the final example, a participant in a verbal interaction excuses herself for an inappropriate usage that slipped out.

After a long dinner at a farm in southwestern France two women who met at the table and along with others had been engaged in friendly conversation were helping the owner-host to clear the table. Everyone at the table used *vous* with one another. One of the women said to the other: *Tu as fini?* 'Are you finished?' and then immediately followed with the excuse: *Je tutoie, c'est l'armagnac* 'I call you *tu*; it's the armagnac's fault'. They used mutual *vous* thereafter.

Investigation of these three types of talk about and involving *tu* and *vous* and in particular the examples I have selected focus attention on several crucial and intersecting aspects of *tu/vous* usage.

*Tu* and *vous* are part of a larger system of French address and reference and the expression of person in language and cannot be analyzed adequately in isolation from this larger system. The system most notably includes the pronouns *nous* and *on*, as well as names and titles, but also other resources in speakers' linguistic repertoires, including local dialects and styles such as baby talk. The narrative about the switch from standard French to a local *patois*, in order to solve the *tu/vous* choice problem, illustrates this point.

The system of expression of person, including *tu* and *vous*, provides a set of potential choices which include ambiguities which are disambiguated or left ambiguous as part of the rhetorical processes and strategies of speaking. Ambiguities and conflicts with regard to dimensions of choice are the source of the narrative about the bricklayer and the metacommunicative corrective commentary of the saleswoman. Most of the narratives about *tu/vous* usage involve particular individual manipulations of the system which are striking

precisely because they are so seemingly personal and idiosyncratic on the one hand and yet make sense within the potentials the system provides on the other. It is usage which is creative and almost literary in nature, rather than normative, which becomes the topic of narrative. Notice that there is a difference between creative, individual manipulation of the system and Geoghegan's notion of marking. According to the concept of marking, there is an expected, normal usage and well-defined breakings of this expected system which are used for particular conventional effects, intimacy, insult, and humor central among them. The cases which are the focus of the narratives I have reported here are not so much marked usages within the system as creative, individual manipulations of the system itself, as in the case of the husband and wife who use *vous* with each other.

Individual personal histories of *tu/vous* usage are essential to an understanding and interpretation of the social meaning of particular usages. Thus it is important to know that the man who switches to *vous* with the woman whose face had become deformed had begun his relationship with her using *vous*, had later switched to *tu*, and now again uses *vous*.

The process of switching, either momentarily or permanently, from *vous* to *tu* or from *tu* to *vous*, is central to an understanding of the social, personal, negotiated, and dynamic nature of *tu/vous* usage. This is illustrated in many of the examples, but particularly in the examples in which *tu/vous* switching is a cueing device in narratives.

In addition to focusing attention on certain aspects of *tu/vous* usage, what I am offering here is a fourth methodology in the repertoire of methodologies that have been employed in the study of forms of address, especially T/V usage. The other three are questionnaires, observation and recording of actual usage, and analysis of written literary usage.<sup>1</sup> Studies of T/V usage have had difficulty avoiding what W. Labov (1972b) calls the 'observer's paradox', the fact that observers want to know what people do when they are not there but must be there in order to study. This is a particularly challenging issue in the case of the study of T/V usage which is dyadic, that is, the observer wants to know not how A speaks but how A speaks to B. The most commonly used methodology is the questionnaire — about remembered, idealized, intuited, or normative usage. Questionnaires, which seem to have the greatest potential to capture broad generalizations with regard

to social and regional differences and are the most easily adapted to quantification, are also most suspect of providing what respondents think is expected of them rather than what they actually do. (See Bates—Benigni 1975 for a good discussion of this issue.) Observation and recording of actual usage is limited to particular and focused contexts, such as offices, stores, and bars, and tends to capture relatively normative usage. Looking at literary examples of T/V usage reveals both normative and special aspects of the system. The methodology used here draws on verbal transformations and keyings of experience, in the sense that these notions are given in Goffman's (1974) frame analysis, including explicit meta-communication, and provides a perspective on the study of *tu/vous* usage which compliments other approaches.

It is reasonable to ask whether considering talk about *tu/vous* usage as I have here focuses too much attention on odd and idiosyncratic aspects of the system. I think not. Rather, issues that lurk within the T/V analytic literature loom larger in this particular perspective. The focus is not on static, stable, or normative aspects of the system, but rather on dynamic and creative aspects of it, as well as ambiguities, tensions, and change in progress. Interesting questions to ask in any society are: What do people talk about? What do they narrate about? When, where, and why does meta-communication emerge? In France, people sometimes talk about *tu* and *vous*, and I have looked at some of the aspects of and reasons why they do.<sup>2</sup>

### Notes

1. See also Hollos' (1977) use of role-playing with children.
2. It is a pleasure to offer this paper to Edgar Polomé, a pioneer in the development of sociolinguistics and a native user of the *tu/vous* system.

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## Heroic ethical philosophy and philosophical consolation in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*

John Mack Simpson

In the introduction of *Troilus and Criseyde*, the poet immediately proposes to tell of the two-fold suffering of Troilus and invokes his audience's awareness of the tradition of the Trojan War: great armies, siege, heroic valor, and the eventual defeat of the doomed Trojans. He states clearly that despite a great variety of combatants and stratagems, the compelling motive of the Greek host is a simple one: vengeance. Knowing as they do the fate of the city, the audience expects not only the revelation of a love tale, but also the coloring of heroic action, of moments of glory and doom. The audience learns of *a lord of gret auctorite, / A gret devyn, that clepid was Calkas* (Chaucer 1957: 65–66). As such a lord, Calkas's duty is to nurture his city; instead he betrays it to become, *Calkas traitour ... that falsly hadde his faith so broken* (Chaucer 1957: 87–89). Calkas's treason abets the treachery of Antenor, *Antenor, that brought hem to meschaunce. / For he was after traitor to the town / Of Troye* (Chaucer 1957: 203–205). War, vicious duplicity, and the manifold vagaries of romantic love frame the tale and prepare for the eventual moral lesson of the conclusion. Within the frame of the poem, the themes of romantic love, philosophical consolation, and heroic friendship turn on the vexing matter of Pandar.

In *A Preface to Chaucer*, D. W. Robertson (1962: 480) writes:

Much has been made of Pandarus as a 'true friend', but friendship in Cicero, Boethius, St. Ailred, Andreas, Jean de Meun, Jehan le Bel, and, in fact, in almost any medieval account of the subject, is based on virtue and cannot lead to vice. Pandarus' offer of his sister is thus an unmistakable clue to his real nature and to the nature of his relationship with Troilus. He has no 'psychological' motivation for what he does, and such motivation should not be sought; his actions depend upon the moral structure of his person.

The influence of moral philosophy in *Troilus and Criseyde* is indeed profound, and it is not the purpose of this paper to argue against

this influence, but is, rather, to identify certain aspects of Indo-European heroic ethical philosophy which influence the relationship between Troilus and Pandar and which define Pandar's motives.

Indo-European heroic ethical philosophy especially celebrates the relationship between heroic companions and demands of each absolute loyalty, loyalty so strong as to overwhelm reason and all other considerations. Each comrade must be resolute in his devotion to the other and implacable in vengeance, if necessary. However, a frequent complement to absolute loyalty is the dilemma into which many heroic characters fall owing to their single-minded commitments, both characters lauded as exemplars of ethical integrity like Rüdiger in *Das Nibelungenlied*, and others painted more darkly like Hagen and Pandar.<sup>1</sup>

Frequently in heroic literature a great hero has a companion who, Dumézil (1970: 58) writes, goes, '... along to praise him, to sing his incantations, to 'increase' and 'strengthen' him, to make way for him, or at most, to give him momentary aid'. This relationship is often complex and particularly trying for the companion, as is the case for Olivier in *La Chanson de Roland*. Often the hero moves under the compulsion of berserk rage or some other potent emotion. The companion may have the perspective to appraise the situation, to find himself in a dilemma, and to be forced to resolve the dilemma. The preeminent function of the companion is to help his more prominent fellow against whatever adversaries may confront him. Pandar serves Troilus as his companion.

Although there is some critical debate, it seems clear that Pandar is a member of the warrior class, and a noble warrior at that. He is the intimate not only of Troilus, but also of the great lords Deiphebus, Hector, and Sarpedon. On the day of the ill-fated exchange, he cannot come to Troilus immediately because, as the narrator reports, *with the kyng Priam alday was he* (Chaucer 1957: V, 284). On one occasion in the garden, he and Troilus drill at martial exercises. His behavior towards Troilus consistently reflects their martial comradeship. As befits a noble retainer, Pandar aids and protects his lord as best he can, frequently exhorts him to his best efforts, and even harangues him when he languishes. He calls Troilus *frend* and *fulle frend* and recalls the love and joy they have shared. He enjoins Troilus to share his pain as well. Their relationship is obviously close, and given their stature and the context of the poem, especially the popular tradition of the Trojan War which glorifies heroic comradeship and valor, it is revealing critically to



examine their friendship as a heroic companionship. One should also remember that traditionally heroic companionship does not suffer encroachment easily.

Upon seeing Troilus undone by what he knows not, Pandar, ... *neigh malt for wo and routhe* (Chaucer 1957: I, 582), and pleads with him to confide in him because he is Troilus's friend and not to hide, *fro thi frend so gret a care* (Chaucer 1957: I, 587), Pandar insists on aiding Troilus because, *it is frendes right* (Chaucer 1957: I, 591). The reason for his offer is very simple and quite in keeping with the heroic ethical tenet of absolute loyalty to one's comrade, *I have, and shal, for trewe or fals report, / In wrong and right iloved the al my lyve* (Chaucer 1957: I, 593–594).

Although it may not be very pretty, the key to Pandar's relationship with Troilus lies in this last passage. The phrase *for trewe or fals report* reveals either Pandar's determination to stand fast against whatever may be said about Troilus or their friendship, or his willingness to employ whatever is necessary, truth or lie, to protect his friend. He supports his friend with his loyalty and love even in the sure knowledge of wrong. His commitment to Troilus is absolute, highly personal, and quite typical of heroic companionship.

There seems to be little or no reason to doubt Pandar's shocked concern for, and love of, Troilus. Although he does not know what may be involved, he vows his aid to his friend and thereby commits himself ethically to support Troilus. Learning that Troilus suffers from love sickness, Pandar vows, *To Cerberus yn helle ay be I bounde, / Were it for my suster, al thy sorwe, / By my wil she sholde al be thyn tomorwe* (Chaucer 1957: I, 859–861). Upon hearing Criseyde's name, Pandar rejoices not only because she is a proper match for Troilus but also because he hopes to be able to aid his fellow in his love suit.

Pandar's offer of his sister poses a traditional problem, particularly for the student of the poem who disregards surviving remnants of heroic ethical philosophy apparent in the poem. Martial groups such as heroic companionships and the comitatus are masculine in composition and disposition. That these systems tolerate no feminine intrusion is revealed by the precipitous collapse of the sworn brotherhood of Palamon and Arcite when they behold Emelye in 'The Knight's Tale'. Even if Pandar's offer of his sister were absolutely serious, there would be no necessary conflict with heroic ethical philosophy. In the *Iliad*, for example, acting in a role not unlike Pandar's, Odysseus entreats Achilles to return to combat,



his vocation. To sweeten the deal Odysseus offers in Agamemnon's name gold, copper, horses, land, and women — seven women of Lesbos, Briseis, whom Agamemnon swears he has not touched, twenty Trojan women of Achilles' choice, and the pick of Agamemnon's own daughters. In *La Chanson de Roland* Olivier, irked at Roland for stalling and not sounding the horn, repudiates Roland's betrothal to his sister. In 'The Knight's Tale' Theseus wins more than martial glory in Scythia; Ypolita travels to Athens as part of his spoils, along with Emelye. Without her consultation or consent, Emelye finds herself betrothed first to Arcite and then to Palomon. The use of women as a medium of exchange is common in the general heroic tradition even though it is abhorrent by our standards. Certainly under the circumstances of the poem, such an offer as Pandar makes to the overwrought Troilus does not brand Pandar the immoral beast some critics would make him. His comrade is in jeopardy; his natural response is to protect and serve him.

Seeing Troilus prostrate, moaning, and witless in bed, Pandar thinks that Troilus is exercised over the Greeks and responds to him as he might in battle; he exhorts and infuriates him in order to encourage him:

*Thise words seyde he for the nones alle,  
That with swich thing he myght hym angry maken,  
And with an angre don his wo to falle,  
As for the tyme, and his courage awaken.*

(Chaucer: 1957: I, 561 — 564)

Because Troilus acts in dereliction of duty by lying in bed stricken by love sickness while the Greeks rage about the walls, a defection not unlike Calchas's, Pandar must help this 'second Hector' to return to duty. Battle fury consistently motivates heroic warriors, and it is *an angre* with which Pandar causes Troilus's debilitating anguish *to falle*. In the same martial vein Pandar berates Troilus, *for thy cowardherte* (Chaucer, 1957: I, 592), and he rallies him forcefully when Troilus seems to be in grave danger, *lest that in frenesie / He sholde falle or elles soone dye* (Chaucer 1957: I, 727 — 728) by twice shouting, *Awake* (Chaucer 1957: I, 729, 751).

The thrust of Pandar's appeal to Troilus to allow him to help conforms closely to the tenets of heroic ethical philosophy, calling strongly on comradeship and trust, *The wise seith, "Wo hym that is allone, / For, and he falle, he hath non helpe to ryse." / And sith thou hast a felawe, tel thi mone* (Chaucer, 1957: I, 694 — 696). Continuing

to employ the theme of trust, Pandar reminds Troilus that trust is reciprocal, *And sith thow woost I do it for no wyle, / And seyst I am he that thow trusteth moost, / Telle me somewhat, syn al my wo thow woost* (Chaucer 1957: I, 719–721). Pandar then reminds Troilus of his manhood. His rhetorical ploy works, and Troilus, with some difficulty, tells Pandar that he loves Criseyde.

Learning that Criseyde is Troilus's beloved, Pandar reaffirms his commitment to Troilus, praising Criseyde's attributes all the while. Troilus responds by putting his life entirely in Pandar's hands, hyperbole, perhaps, but not inconsistent with the heroic tradition of sworn companions guarding and serving one another. *Help now!* pleads Troilus; *Yis, by my trowthe, I shal*, responds Pandar (Chaucer 1957: I, 1054).

Pandar's vow *by my trowthe* requires some examination because this concept of steadfast loyalty generates much of heroic ethical philosophy and of Pandar's dilemma; he pledges his *trowthe* to both Troilus and Criseyde. Cognate to Old High German *triuwa* and *gitriuwi*, Old English *treowth*, Medieval Latin *treuga*, Old French *trieve*, Middle English *trowthe* means 'truth; troth, promise; fidelity' according to Robinson (1962: 985). Denis H. Green (1965: 117) writes:

The semantic starting-point for this word appears to have been some such meaning as 'a mutual agreement or treaty on the basis of a promise between two parties', sometimes shading off to 'alliance' or to its result, 'truce' or 'peace'.

Members of this semantic group appear frequently within the context of a heroic martial group like the *comitatus*, either designating the relationship between the lord and his retainers or between warriors of equal rank within the martial brotherhood. Within such social-military organizations as the *comitatus*, all ethical obligations are reciprocal, so both parties are essential for the preservation of the pact. In return for his help to Troilus, Pandar asks for discretion and respect for the lady's good name.

Received critical doctrine usually condemns Pandar for his masterful manipulation of Criseyde to obtain her for Troilus. Pandar deludes Criseyde and lies to her whenever he feels that Troilus's cause may be better served. From the perspective of moral philosophy, there is no court of appeal for Pandar. However, from the perspective of heroic ethical philosophy, the matter is not as simple. Pandar faces a dilemma of which he is fully aware, although the

fullest moral implications may be lost to him because of his limited perspective. He is strongly bound to both parties: to Troilus by the demands of their heroic friendship and to Criseyde by blood and friendship. He must decide, if he is to do anything at all, which of the two sets of demands are imperative. His choice is not happy, but within the context of heroic ethical philosophy, it is obvious.

Pandar confesses to Criseyde, *I am thyn em, the shame were to me, / As wel as the, if that I sholde assente, / Thorugh myn abet, that he thyn honour shente* (Chaucer 1957: II, 355–357). He later begins his ‘confession’ to Troilus by addressing him as, *Myn alder-levest lord, and brother deere* (Chaucer 1957: III, 239). Pandar’s lord and, apparently, his comrade in arms, Troilus commands his love above all others. Pandar states clearly that what he has done has been to relieve Troilus of the pain which so torments him. The game which Pandar has played he would play for no other man, *although he were a thousand fold my brother* (Chaucer 1957: III, 252). He continues:

*That is to saye, for the am I becomen,  
Bitwixen game and ernest, swich a meene  
As maken wommen unto men to comen;  
Al sey I nought, thow wost wel what I meene.  
For the have I my nece, of vices cleene,  
So fully maad thi gentillesse trist,  
That al shal ben right as thiselven liste.*

(Chaucer 1957: III, 253–259)

Confronting what he can perceive as the bane of his lord, learning that he can do his lord a special service, and accepting the cost of that service, both to himself and to Criseyde, Pandar chooses to serve Troilus, sacrificing all else to this single commitment, including the respect and good will of most students of the poem.

By all dictates of moral philosophy, Pandar’s friendship and service are false since they lead Troilus, Criseyde, and Pandar himself to vice and not to virtue. However, moral philosophy alone does not inform the matter of the poem. Judging from the perspective afforded by heroic ethical philosophy, one may decide that Pandar acts compelled by certain ethical imperatives which, harsh as they are, demand of him most strenuously that he serve Troilus at all costs. Thus he resolves his dilemma. As the narrator says of Pandar, *to quike alway the fir, / Was evere ylike prest and diligent;*

/ *To ese his frend was set al his desire* (Chaucer 1957: III, 484–486).<sup>2</sup>

Traditionally the heroic lord and his companion engage adversaries as they find them. Rare is the heroic warrior or lord who possesses both prowess and wisdom, who perceives his duty as given to philosophical truth rather than to the lord whom he serves and to the code which binds heroic society. It does not serve well to condemn Pandar or to vilify him. Both Pandar and the code which he serves are casualties in the poem. Pandar's success, his victory on behalf of Troilus which he wins at great cost, cannot persist long. Adversaries beyond his strength thwart his efforts. Pandar cannot overcome the order of the council of state that Criseyde is to be exchanged because as a loyal Trojan he now feels bound to abide by this decision, even though it seems prompted by the noise of the rabble. Then he must confront Criseyde's betrayal of Troilus in favor of Diomedes.

Although Pandar's efforts at consolation must fall short, he never has an alternative; he must seek to aid his beloved friend and lord. He rails, as Troilus has before him, at fortune, *Who wolde have wend that in so litel a throwe / Fortune oure joie wold han overthrowe?* (Chaucer 1957: IV, 383–384). Superficially rallying, Pandar continues, *Swich is this world! forthi I thus diffyne, / Ne trust no wight to fynden in Fortune / Ay propretee; hire yiftes ben comune* (Chaucer 1957: IV, 390–392). Obviously Pandar comprehends fortune from a very limited perspective defined by his devotion to Troilus. He cannot offer philosophical consolation because he has no idea what it is. His best offer is diversion, characterized by his prolonged stay with Troilus at the establishment of Sarpedon and by his offhand observation that, *This town is ful of ladys al aboute* (Chaucer 1957: IV, 401).

Ironically, Troilus eventually becomes a formidable obstacle to Pandar's service. Again fearing for Troilus's life, Pandar says to himself, *What! parde, rather than my felawe deye, / Yet shal I somewhat more unto hym seye!* (Chaucer 1957: IV, 524–525). Baffled by Troilus's indecision, he urges him, ... *with the manhood letten al this game? / Go ravisshe here ne kanstow nat for shame!* (Chaucer 1957: IV, 529–540), but Troilus fears to perturb Criseyde, to risk her good public name by disclosure if he should attempt to prevent her exchange forcefully. Weeping and despondent, he prompts Pandar to respond,

... *Frend, thow maist, for me,  
 Don as the list; but hadde ich it so hoote,  
 And thyn estat, she sholde go with me,  
 Though al this town cride on this thyng by note.  
 I nolde sette at al that noys a grote!*

(Chaucer 1957: IV, 582–585)

Because at this point Pandar counsels rebellion against the state as the only apparent way by which he can serve Troilus, one cannot but realize the absoluteness of Pandar's devotion to Troilus.

In *Troilus and Criseyde* Indo-European heroic ethical philosophy does not war with the moral lessons of *De Consolatione*. Like the *comune strompettis* (Chaucer 1957: I, 1, 48, 52) of Chaucer's *Boece* who distract one with their *sweete venym*, the tenets of heroic ethical philosophy apparent in the poem are essential to the rhetorical and thematic development of the poem. Quite as does romantic love, heroic ethical philosophy offers a way, offers satisfactions to the characters, but these gratifications are of this earth and are fraught with dangers: dilemma, betrayal, and death. Even martial glory does not endure more than a cosmic moment. Including Indo-European heroic ethical philosophy as one perspective in an analysis of the poem in general and of Pandar in particular provides one with certain insights which are complementary and subordinate to the Boethian moral lesson of the poem. Like serving physical love, serving the ethical imperatives of martial heroism fails to nurture one spiritually and rather than liberating one, enslaves him to fortune. This lesson Troilus comprehends only after his deliverance from the distractions of mortal life. His doubled sorrow and Pandar's devoted, troubled, and troubling service to him in his sorrow and momentary glory embody the moral lesson of the poem.<sup>3</sup>

### Notes

1. The work of Georges Dumézil has been very useful to my interpretations of certain problems in medieval heroic literature and in the formulation of this limited definition of heroic ethical philosophy, especially *The destiny of the warrior* (Dumézil 1970).
2. Perhaps the most illustrative example of this sort of ethical dilemma confronts the ethically steadfast Rüdiger in *Das Nibelungenlied*. Although the chief retainer of Etzel, Rüdiger binds himself ethically to the Burgundians on their passage to the Hunnish court through hospitality, the exchange of rich gifts, and the betrothal of his daughter to Giselher, one of the three Burgundian kings. As the

bloody fight in Etzel's hall continues, Rüdiger finds himself torn between Etzel's claim on his service and his profound reluctance to sever his ties to the Burgundians. He must fight Etzel's enemies because, as he states clearly to the Burgundians, he has sworn an oath. He dies locked in combat with Gernot. In "Rüdigers Schild. Zur 37. Aventure des Nibelungenlieds", *Euphorion* 54: 380–410, Peter Wapnewski presents a particularly insightful examination of this dilemma.

Rüdiger enjoys popular and critical approval, but Hagen's dilemma may be even more instructive regarding Pandar's case. In order to learn the secret of the colossal Siegfried's vulnerability, Gunther's ferocious retainer falsely pledges his *triuwe*, his fidelity, to Kriemhild because he feels he must do so in order to kill Siegfried who Hagen is convinced threatens his three lords. He solves this dilemma easily enough, accepting the outrage of almost everyone in order to satisfy his ethical imperative, service and loyalty to, and only to, his Burgundian lords.

3. During the defence of my dissertation, *The ethic of the heroic warrior: Beowulf, The Nibelungenlied, and The Chanson de Roland*, my dissertation director, Professor Edgar Polomé, asked if Dumézil's comparative Indo-European mythology could be applied to analysis of problems in medieval romance as I had applied it in my analysis of certain problems in the above three heroic poems. I replied, 'No, it cannot'. Now I have to answer, 'Yes, it can, in certain limited ways'.

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## **Hoffmann von Fallersleben: Anreger einer niederländischsprachigen Neuphilologie**

Cornelis Soeteman

Deutsch haben Edgar Polomé und ich noch nie miteinander gesprochen! Solange wir uns kennen (ich schätze es auf ein Vierteljahrhundert), haben wir uns des uns gemeinsamen Niederländisch bedient, und als ich dank einer wohl von ihm angeregten Einladung ein Jahr an der University of Texas in Austin lehren und lernen durfte, haben wir dann naturgemäß auch englisch gesprochen. Allerdings hat er in Deutschland jene verlockende Gastprofessur zum erstenmal mit mir zur Sprache gebracht (Dialektologenkongreß Marburg 1965), und nachdem er dann zusammen mit dem Niederlandisten Francis Bulhof uns im September 1968 vom Austiner Flugplatz abgeholt hatte, war es in der Universität auch wieder die Deutschabteilung, wo wir drei uns mit den anderen Kollegen – Rehder, Schulz-Behrend, Lehmann, Werbow, Willson, Michael, Travis, Middleton – beruflich trafen. Wenn ich also im Hinblick auf Polomé's belgische und germanistische Herkunft ihm zu Ehren ein wenig über Hoffmann von Fallersleben philosophieren und schreiben will und dabei die Wahl zwischen Englisch und Deutsch habe, wähle ich letzteres, in Übereinstimmung mit dem Thema und vor allem, ich gebe es zu, im größeren Vertrauen auf meine Sprachkenntnisse, die im Englischen sowieso zu wünschen übriglassen. – Noch eine letzte Vorbemerkung. Sofern mein Beitrag eher ein wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher als philologischer oder linguistischer ist, gehorche ich dem vor Jahren einmal von einem älteren Kollegen formulierten Gesetz, wer nach einem Leben im Dienste philologischer Forschung über die Geschichte seines Faches zu schreiben anfange, zeige damit die ersten Symptome kommender Senilität.

Mit dem Deutschen Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798–1874) nimmt in den Niederlanden, den südlichen wie den nördlichen, die neuzeitliche Germanistik, ja, die moderne Neuphilologie ihren Anfang. Er selber hat sich für das Studium des Deutschen bezeichnenderweise erst nach längerem Schwanken zwischen diesem und der



Klassischen Philologie entschieden. Überhaupt stand die wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit der eigenen Sprache in Deutschland (dort neben dem patriotischen Aspekt) so gut wie in den Niederlanden anfangs im Zeichen der Emanzipation von der Herrschaft der Altphilologie. In der Grammatik, auch der wissenschaftlichen, ist dieser Emanzipationsprozeß bekanntlich auch heute noch im Gange. Aber Gelehrte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts wie Jacob Grimm und Karl Lachmann, J. F. Willems und Matthias de Vries, und eben auch Hoffmann, haben diesen Schritt bewußt getan, ebenso wie den von der Nutzanwendung der gepflegten Rede im öffentlichen Leben zur Philologie um ihrer selbst willen, und letzterer, August Heinrich Hoffmann, geboren in der heute zur Volkswagenstadt Wolfsburg in Niedersachsen gehörigen Ortschaft Fallerleben, hat nach einem entscheidenden Gespräch mit Jacob Grimm das Objekt seines Studiums sehr genau, aber auch sehr großzügig umrissen: „Ich begriff darunter das Gotische, Alt-, Mittel-, Neuhochdeutsche mit allen seinen Mundarten, das Alt-sächsische, Niederdeutsche und Niederländische, das Friesische, Angelsächsische und Englische, und das Skandinavische, ferner die deutsche Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte, alles Volkstümliche in Sitten, Gebräuchen, Sagen und Märchen, sowie endlich Deutschlands Geschichte, Kunst, Altertümer und Recht. Ich wollte die germanischen lebenden Sprachen nicht nur verstehen, sondern auch sprechen. So wie in mehreren Mundarten, so hatte ich es auch schon im Dänischen so weit gebracht, im Holländischen war ich nahe daran. Ich las manches Holländische, trieb Grammatik eifrig und sammelte aus einer Menge neuerer Liederbücher die wenigen zerstreuten Volkslieder.“

Für unsereinen ist diese Aufzählung rundweg imposant und Hoffmann hat ihr, ganz von seinem poetischen Schaffen abgesehen, durch seinen Reichtum an Talent und Energie sein Leben lang treu bleiben können. Wir finden die eben zitierten Zeilen in der Autobiographie, die er als Siebzigjähriger 1868 herausgab, und zwar an einer Stelle seines Berichtes, an der seine erste ‚literarische Reise‘ und damit sein erster Besuch in den Niederlanden noch in einiger Ferne lag. Er studierte an der schon bewährten (1737) Universität Göttingen und der eben erst gegründeten (1818) in Bonn, war aber wegen seiner anspruchsvollen Forschungsziele weitgehend auf Selbststudium und auf Bücher- und Handschriftensammeln angewiesen. Universitäts- und Klosterbibliotheken haben in seinem Leben, ebenso wie Trödelmärkte, eine große Rolle gespielt. Erhoffte

und erwarb sich der junge Jacob Grimm Auskunft durch Briefe in alle Welt, so machte sich H. v. F. (so seine vielgebrauchten Initialen) 21jährig wie ein Wanderbursche auf den Weg und überquerte im August 1819 zwischen Aachen und Lüttich zum ersten Male die niederländische Grenze, um selber an Ort und Stelle zu suchen, was auch hier an mittelalterlichem Sprachmaterial vorhanden sein mußte, aber trotz der Aufrufe, die auch er verschickt hatte, nicht zum Vorschein gekommen war. Ging doch mit der Hochachtung vor der Antike eine krasse Ignoranz und Indifferenz gegenüber der eigenen literarischen und sprachlichen Überlieferung zusammen, zumindest seitdem die Stimmen der neugegründeten ‚Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde‘ in Leiden (1766) und gebildeter Liebhaber wie Huydecoper und Clignett, ganz zu schweigen vom Linguisten Lambert ten Kate (1674–1731), einstweilen verklungen waren.<sup>1</sup>

Es fiel soeben im Zusammenhang mit den neusprachlichen Studien unserer Vorfahren das Wort ‚mittelalterlich‘ und es mußte fallen, da ja für das 19. Jahrhundert nicht nur die allein betriebene Philologie die ungeteilte, sondern sicher von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm bis zu Hermann Paul und dem Groninger Junggrammatiker Barend Sijmons die allein anerkannte Linguistik die historische war. Wir lassen den ‚chronischen‘ Aspekt der Sprachforschung, so sehr er wohl gerade in diesem Band wiederum am Platze wäre, hier auf sich beruhen; für die ungeteilte Philologie aber und vor allem die ungeteilte Germanistik ist Hoffmann von Fallersleben sowohl Beispiel wie Vorbild. Als ihr Fahnenträger zog er durch Europa und zwischen 1819 und 1856 achtmal in die Niederlande. Ihm kam es auch im Interesse der Sprachkenntnis auf alte Texte an und umgekehrt sind ihm die hier wie in Deutschland vermuteten Liedtexte zugleich Sprachdenkmäler. Allein die Akzente liegen von Forscher zu Forscher verschieden: ein Jacob Grimm ist bei allem, was er sonst noch ist, ein zünftigerer Linguist als H. v. F., dem es als Philologen um literarischen oder volkstümlichen Stil, um Wörter und Sachen und um Materialsammlung für fruchtbare Sprachforschung und Literaturgeschichte ging. So ergänzen sich eine Generation später in den nördlichen Niederlanden M. de Vries und W. J. A. Jonckbloet innerhalb der ungeteilten Philologie, indem, ausgehend von der Editorik, sich der eine über Mittelniederlandistik zur Lexikographie und der andere über Literaturgeschichtsschreibung zur Ästhetik entwickelte, wodurch von 1877 bis 1883 zwar beide in Leiden Professor der Niederlandistik waren, aber Matthias

de Vries den philologisch-linguistischen und Jonckbloet den neu-gegründeten ersten literaturwissenschaftlichen Lehrstuhl innehatte.<sup>2</sup>

Inzwischen bringt die erste Geniereise mit eintägigem Aufenthalt in Lüttich Hoffmann und seinen Weggenossen nicht viel mehr als folkloristische, wenn auch auf angehende Philologen zugeschnittene Eindrücke ein. „Welch eine Sprachverwirrung! So wie die Stadt selbst Liège, Luik, Lüttich heißt, so spricht man darin nicht allein französisch, holländisch, deutsch, sondern auch dies fürchterliche Patois, das Wallonische.“ Ob er da wohl in allem recht hatte? Zumindest fällt der merkwürdige Gebrauch der Bezeichnung ‚holländisch‘ für unsere Sprache auf, wobei er übrigens verharren wird, bis Jan Frans Willems in seinem ersten Brief an Hoffmann von Fallersleben (17. 9. 1836) ihm diesen Mißbrauch unmißverständlich verweist. Von der Lütticher Universität weiß er zu berichten: „Alle hiesigen Universitäts-Einrichtungen sind rein holländisch ...“. Geldmangel beschränkt den weiteren Ausflug auf das Dreieck Maastricht – Spa – Malmedy, und es dauert zwei Jahre, bis Hoffmann, erwachsener und mit besseren Sprachkenntnissen gerüstet, über Nimwegen nach Utrecht wandert, um den ersten seiner konsultativen Professorenbesuche abzulegen, nämlich bei dem dortigen Ordinarius für ‚Nederduitsche Letteren en Welsprekendheid‘ (Beredsamkeit), der ihn aber in seiner wissenschaftlichen Ahnungslosigkeit so wenig Hoffnung auf irgendwelche ‚literarische‘ Ausbeute in der Bischofsstadt macht, daß er nach wenigen Tagen nach Leiden weiterreist, das ohnehin das Ziel dieser wohlüberlegten Bildungsreise war und wo er vom 22. Juni bis zum 6. Oktober 1821 verblieb.

Hier fand er einiges Verständnis für das, was er suchte, altniederländische Sprachdenkmäler, aber auch schon Bewunderung für seinen ersten niederlandistischen Versuch, nämlich die eben (April 1821) erschienenen „Bonner Bruchstücke“. Diese Publikation enthielt neben Fragmenten eines rheinfränkischen Evangelienbuchs von 868 und einer Trierer Psalmen-Interlinearversion aus dem 12. Jahrhundert eine Probe aus einem mittelniederländischen Roman, dem *Renout van Montelbaen*, mitsamt „einer Übersicht aller mir bekannt gewordenen Denkmäler der mittelniederländischen Dichtung“. Letztere kann er nunmehr aufgrund seiner reichhaltigen Funde in Den Haag (in der Königlichen Bibliothek), Amsterdam (im Königlichen Institut) und Leiden (in der Universitätsbibliothek und in dem von ihr gehüteten Besitz der ‚Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde‘) stark erweitern und umarbeiten, und sie erscheint in dieser Form und in niederländischer Sprache 1821 und 1822 im

„Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode“. Er katalogisiert und beschreibt sodann in Leiden die Handschriften und alten Drucke der „Maatschappij“ und bemüht auch die eigene Dichterader, indem er nicht nur hochdeutsch und in seiner Verliebtheit gar alemannisch, sondern auch niederländisch und sogar mittelniederländisch dichtet. Zwei mittelniederländische Gedichte aus seiner Feder haben lange Zeit als authentisch gegolten, Hoffmann selbst hat die eigene Autorschaft zwar nie ausdrücklich bestritten, aber sich erst in den *Loverkens* (1852) implizite und in *Mein Leben* (1868) ausdrücklich zu ihr bekannt, so daß sie noch bei Willems–Snellaert (Gent 1848) als *Oude Vlaemsche Lieder* erscheinen!

Übrigens heißt ebenso wie schon für Julius Caesar (den ganzen nördlichen Teil des transalpinen Gallien „incolunt Belgae“) auch in der Zeit, von der wir hier reden, „niederländisch“ außer „nederduitsch“ auch „belgisch“, – dafür galt auf jeden Fall nicht der Vorwurf, der H. v. F. gegenüber wegen des hartnäckigen Gebrauchs von „holländisch“ berechtigt war. Höchstens mutet es etwas hochtrabend-klassizistisch an, wenn ein Leidener Gelehrter Hoffmann zur Ermutigung seiner niederlandistischen Bestrebungen ins Stammbuch schrieb:

Ga voort op 't welgekozen spoor!  
 Treed landgenoot en vreemd'ling voor! (...)  
 Zoo kenn' men eens der Belgen taal  
 In al haar pracht, in al haar praal!

Aber jedermann weiß, daß zumindest im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit unser Schrifttum südniederländisch war. Gegen das Vorhaben des Matthias de Vries und der Seinen, für das Belegmaterial des „Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal“ (W. N. T.) als „terminus a quo“ die Bibelübersetzung von 1637 (*Statenvertaling*) zu wählen, wandte Jacob Grimm brieflich ein (23. 5. 1852 an De Vries), damit schneide man dem Niederländischen „einen guten Teil seiner Kraft ab. (...) Mich wundert, wie die Belgier sich diesen Ausgangspunkt gefallen lassen, mit welchem das Beste, was sie liefern und beitragen können, wegfällt“. Und vollends, wer lateinisch schreibt, wählt das Adjektiv „belgicus“ und meint damit „niederländisch“. <sup>3</sup> So hat auch Hoffmann von Fallersleben die von ihm gefundenen niederländischen Sprachdenkmäler von 1830 bis 1862 konsequent als *Horae Belgicae* publiziert, jene gewaltige, zwölfbändige Sammlung von Texten, Kommentaren und Abhandlungen, zu der 1821 in Leiden der Grund gelegt wurde.

Kein Wunder, daß Hoffmann selbst, in der Autobiographie auf diese Zeit zurückblickend, mit rührendem Rückfall in den alten Sprachfehler von dem damaligen deutschen Gast in Leiden spricht, der „für die ältere holländische Literatur etwas unternahm, woran kein holländischer Gelehrter bisher gedacht hatte“; kein Wunder auch, daß Matthias de Vries die erste Lieferung seines Mittelniederländischen Wörterbuches Hoffmann von Fallersleben widmete, dem Deutschen, der den Reichtum und die Bedeutung unseres mittelalterlichen Schrifttums entdeckt habe; viel stärker zwar, aber immerhin ein Zeichen derselben hohen Anerkennung, wenn die Leidener Universität dem 25-jährigen ihr Ehrendoktorat zuerkennt. Von der Philosophischen Fakultät in Leiden wird das Doktorat für den „Virum doctissimum Henr. Hoffmann Fallerslebensem ob insignia ejus in literas Belgicas merita“ beim akademischen Senat beantragt, der seinerseits am 19. April 1823, „rectore magnifico M. Siegenbeek“, in bezug auf den „Virum eruditissimum Henr. Hoffmannum von Fallersleben, quamquam absentem, propter ejus eximia et, in peregrino, sane insolita in rem literariam Belgicam merita“ den Gesuch der Fakultät offenbar ohne viel Aufhebens bewilligt hat, denn: „Cui petitioni annuit Senatus.“<sup>4</sup>

So war denn H. v. F.'s erstes Auftreten auf der akademisch-philologischen Schaubühne der Niederlande ein schlagender Erfolg geworden. Demgegenüber erlebte er dann in Deutschland seine erste berufliche Enttäuschung. Er bewarb sich vergeblich um eine Bibliothekarsstelle in Berlin, wobei ihm weder seine „Neigung für das Studium der Sprachen, (das sich richtet, C. S.) auf die deutsche in ihren ältesten Urkunden und Schriftdenkmälen, so wie zugleich auch auf die verwandte altholländische“, noch die Hervorhebung des Gewinns aus den „vorzüglichsten gelehrten Anstalten und Bibliotheken Hollands“ und durch die „zuvorkommende Unterstützung der dortigen Gelehrten“ etwas nützten. Darauf folgte eine freilich aussichtsreichere und fürs erste folgenswertere Anstellung in Breslau, wo er Bibliothekar und 1830 Professor wurde. Die Professur wurde ihm dann aber aufgrund seiner „demagogischen“ Umtriebe und Dichtungen (*Unpolitische Lieder*, 1840) entzogen. — Freilich wäre es verfehlt, zu behaupten, daß die von Hoffmann von Fallersleben in der niederländischen gelehrten Welt ausgestreuten Samen sofort und vielverheißend aufgegangen wären. Die Szene, wie der Leidener Senat der Ehrung des jungen Deutschen „annuit“, zunicht, ist geradezu symbolisch für die Aktivität, die er hier auslöste. Nur der *poeta doctus* Willem Bilderdijk, so wenig deutsch-

freundlich er war, zeigt sich von H. v. F.'s jugendlichem Enthusiasmus kongenialisch angesprochen, aber er war als Denker zu konfus und im akademischen „establishment“ zu wenig akzeptiert und außerdem zu alt (1756–1831), um aktiv zu reagieren.<sup>5</sup> Es bedurfte einer jüngeren akademischen Generation mit Köpfen wie Matthias de Vries (1849 Professor in Groningen und 1853 in Leiden) und W. J. A. Jonckbloet (1847 Professor am Athenaeum Illustre in Deventer und 1854 De Vries' Nachfolger in Groningen) und des Einflusses des methodisch strengen Jacob Grimm, um bei uns in den vierziger Jahren<sup>6</sup> eine neue philologische Schule ins Leben zu rufen: 1841 gibt Jonckbloet die *Beatrijs* und 1842 den *Dietschen Doctrinael* (Antwerpen 1345) heraus, De Vries 1843 den *Warenar* und 1844 den *Leekenspieghel*; 1844 erscheint auch Jonckbloets Ausgabe der *Chanson de geste des Loherains* und 1845 De Vries' *Bijdrage* zu deren Kritik und Erläuterung; zusammen errichten sie die ‚Vereeniging ter bevordering der Oude Nederlandsche Letterkunde‘, deren Publikationen 1844 zu erscheinen beginnen, darunter 1846 Jonckbloets *Lancelot* und *Walewein*. In demselben Jahr schreibt Jonckbloet seine nicht nur mit dem betreffenden Buch, sondern mit der ganzen philologischen Pfuscherei der Niederlande aufräumende Rezension von B. H. Lulofs' insuffizientem *Handboek van den vroegsten bloei der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*, und ebenfalls 1846 besuchen De Vries und Jonckbloet den Germanistenkongreß in Frankfurt am Main, bei dem Jacob Grimm den Vorsitz führt und Wilhelm Grimm über die Arbeit am *Deutschen Wörterbuch* berichtet. Damit ist auch der Grund zu unserem eigenen W. N. T. gelegt, dessen Vorbereitung 1849 in Gent beim ersten ‚Nederlandsch Taal- en Letterkundig Congres‘ gefordert und 1859 in Amsterdam einer belgisch-niederländischen Kommission übertragen wird, als deren Wortführer M. de Vries 1851 dem dritten, Brüsseler Kongreß den *Ontwerp* eines W. N. T. anbietet, auf den Jacob Grimm, wie wir oben sahen, in seinem ersten Brief an De Vries kritisch aber im ganzen positiv reagierte und der 1852 bei De Vries' erstem Besuch in Berlin mit den Brüdern Grimm näher erörtert wurde. Auch die Regierungen, die belgische wie die niederländische, reagierten großzügig, indem beide einen Jahreszuschuß von 500 nld. Gulden zusagten. Belgischerseits gehörte Jan Baptist David aus Löwen der dreiköpfigen Redaktion des W. N. T. an, niederländischerseits M. de Vries und L. A. te Winkel. blieb Davids lexikographische Leistung eine bescheidene, so sind aus der weiteren Geschichte des W. N. T. namhafte belgische Mitarbeiter zu nennen, darunter (*at random*) de



Vreese, de Tollenaere, van Coetsem, Lievens, Geerts, Thijs, Tops, Willaert.

Was aber die Anfänge der philologischen Entwicklung der südlichen Niederlande bzw. Belgiens betrifft, so können wir Hoffmann von Fallerslebens dritte Hollandreise, die wiederum fast nur Den Haag und Leiden galt, schnell übergehen, obwohl sie, fünfzehn Jahre nach der vorigen, die zweite Besuchsreihe (1836, 1837, 1839) einleitet und dem Reisenden außer vielen Kontakten auch eine Goldmedaille des niederländischen Königs wegen seiner Verdienste um die „alte niederdeutsche Literatur“ einbringt; bei der Audienz brachte der König, wohl kaum aufgrund eigener Lektüre, seine hohe Genugtuung darüber zum Ausdruck, daß Hoffmann „als ein Fremder so glücklich im Finden gewesen sei“ und sich „so eifrig mit der alten Sprache und Dichtung der Niederländer beschäftige“. In Flandern aber (um das richtige Wort endlich einmal fallen zu lassen) ist die Hoffmann-Nachfolge ganz anders verlaufen als in Holland, und zwar vielleicht noch am ehesten, wenn auch von ferne und *mutatis mutandis*, dem Aufblühen der Germanistik in Deutschland in den Jahren 1805/1806 vergleichbar, wie es in Hoffmanns eigener, 50 Jahre später gegebener Beschreibung und Interpretation zutage tritt:<sup>7</sup>

„Als Deutschland nach den unglücklichen Kriegen mit Napoleon in seiner tiefsten politischen Erniedrigung lag, da suchten die edelsten Gemüter durch das Schönste, was übrig geblieben war, durch die deutsche Sprache und Poesie sich zu trösten und sich und das Vaterland aufzurichten. Mit einer reineren Liebe, mit einem höheren Eifer als jemals zuvor erfaßte man das eigentümliche geistige Leben unseres Volkes in allen seinen Erscheinungen; es begann ein gründlicheres und vielseitigeres Studium unserer Sprache und aller ihrer Denkmäler der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.“

Es hat schon seine Richtigkeit, die Anfänge der Neuphilologie, einschließlich Niederlandistik, im Norden und im Süden unseres Sprachgebiets getrennt zu behandeln. Vor allem mußte sich Hoffmanns Einfluß hüben und drüben verschieden auswirken. Nach Holland kam er 1821 als ein linguistisches und literarisches Wunderkind, um hier die gelehrte Welt für die Schätze ihrer eigenen Vergangenheit zu interessieren. Nach dem seit 1830 selbständigen Königreich Belgien zog er erst auf seiner vierten Niederlandreise, 1837, er selber nunmehr um sechzehn Jahre älter und erfahrener, als Germanist zum Wissenschaftler von Rang und als Publizist zum Anwalt der Freiheitskämpfer geworden, und ihn zog diesmal nicht

die holländische Bildung, sondern die flämische Bewegung an – *De Vlaamsche Beweging*, wie sie sich selber nannte und wie auch H. v. F.'s Schrift über den Kampf des Niederländischen um Gleichberechtigung neben dem Französischen im belgischen Staat hieß, die er 1856 veröffentlichte. Daß die niederländische Literatur im Grunde, d. h. in ihrer mittelalterlichen Hochblüte südniederländisch, nämlich flämisch und brabantisch war, diente als wissenschaftliches Argument in den Händen und Schriften der Führer der Bewegung, allen voran Jan Frans Willems', dessen Korrespondenz mit Hoffmann von Fallersleben 1963 Ada Deprez mit viel Sinn für deren Bedeutung und mit ausführlichen Erläuterungen herausgegeben hat.

Schon in Hoffmanns erstem Brief an Willems, Ende 1836, heißt es: „Künftigen Herbst gehe ich nach Paris und von da nach Belgien“, vorher möge W. ihn aber noch „von allem in Kenntnis setzen, was in Belgien neuerdings für die dortige vaterländische Sprache, Literatur und Geschichte geschehen ist“. Über ihn, den Autor der *Horae Belgicae* (HB) und Herausgeber der *Fundgruben für Geschichte deutscher Sprache und Litteratur* (zumindest Band I, 1830) zeigen sich die Belgier schon besser unterrichtet, denn auch König Leopold schickt ihm Ostern 1837 „einen höchst kostbaren Brillantring“, eine „große Anerkennung meiner Bemühungen für die altflamländische Literatur“, die in ihm, dem die amtlichen Verhältnisse in Breslau und die politische Lage in Preußen, „dem Paradiese der Diener und Soldaten“, ohnehin bedrängen, die Hoffnung erweckt, „mit dem schönen Lande, wohin so gern sich meine literarische Tätigkeit wendet, in nähere Beziehung zu kommen“, d. h. ein ihm passendes Amt in Belgien zu erlangen. Darin bestärkt ihn Willems freilich nicht. Deutsche Professoren (man erinnerte sich wohl noch an einen oder den andern pangermanisch Interessierten) seien in Belgien seit 1830 kaum erwünscht und die meisten Minister den Flamen und ihrer Sprache abhold. Dennoch zieht H. v. F. am 21. September 1837 nach erstmaliger, ihn höchlichst aufregender Eisenbahnfahrt in Willems' Genter Wohnung ein, als ein allerdings etwas unruhiger Gast, denn er besucht in wenigen Wochen noch Mecheln, Löwen, Brüssel, Antwerpen und Doornik, aber vor allem Valenciennes, wo er überglücklich das verschollene, nur aus einem Druck von 1696 bekannte althochdeutsche *Ludwigslied* zutage fördert.<sup>8</sup> Mit ein paar Beiträgen bereichert er Willems' *Belgisch Museum voor de Nederduitsche Taelen Letterkunde en de Geschiedenis des Vaderlands*, in dessen zehn Bänden, 1837–1846, wie später in Serrures *Vaderlandsch Museum* (1855–1863) die meisten mittelniederländischen Textpublikationen



aus Belgien, sofern nicht von H. v. F. in den HB erstgedruckt, enthalten sind. Im ganzen aber hat C. G. N. de Vooy's wohl recht, wenn er in seinem Abriß der niederländischen Sprachgeschichte feststellt (Übers.): „Es ist das unbestreitbare Verdienst der Führer der flämischen Bewegung, der Willems, Blommaert, Snellaert, David, Serrure, Bormans, daß sie den ersten Anstoß zum Studium des Mittelniederländischen gegeben haben ... Waren gleich die ersten Textausgaben durch dilettantische Ungenauigkeit und Mangel an wissenschaftlicher Schulung vielfach unzulänglich, so hat doch ihr Eifer nordniederländische Editoren wie De Vries und Jonckbloet angeregt“. Der erste Band von Willems' *Museum* berechtigte zu gewissen Qualitätserwartungen, beginnt er doch mit einem einsichtigen Aufsatz aus der Feder des Herausgebers über Ursprung, Wesen und Struktur (so würde man heute etwa sagen) der niederländischen Sprache, in dem wir lesen (Übers.): „Das Sprachstudium befindet sich bei uns erst in den Anfängen. Während im Ausland die Philologen miteinander wetteifern, um die trefflichen Eigenschaften ihrer Sprachen ins rechte Licht zu rücken, verachten oder verwahrlosen viele Flamen und Brabanter die Sprache ihrer Väter oder lassen sie verwahrlosen ... Nur Wenigen sind die gelehrten Schriften der letzten Jahre bekannt, durch deren Verbreitung die Linguistik eine Höhe wie nie zuvor erreicht hat. Wer heute die deutsche Sprache im allgemeinen oder die niederländische im besondern gründlich kennen will, kommt bei jener nicht ohne die Führung von Jacob Grimm und bei dieser nicht ohne die Hilfe Bilderdijks aus und droht aus dem Gestümpfer auf Irrwegen und Nebengassen vorerst nicht herauszukommen, besonders wenn er, nach lateinischen Schulbegriffen unbekümmert dahintrottend, sich nicht getraut, die neugebahnten Wege einzuschlagen.“ (Es frappieren die etwas ungenaue Unterscheidung von ‚im allgemeinen‘ und ‚im besondern‘ bei Deutsch und Niederdeutsch (= Niederländisch!), der Gebrauch des Substantivs ‚linguistiek‘ in diesem niederländischen Text von 1837, die Gleichstellung von Grimm und Bilderdijk als sprachwissenschaftlichen Autoritäten und der unverhohlene Unmut über die lateinische Schulgrammatik). – Auch enthält der Band unter dem Titel *Elnonensia* (= Texte aus der St. Amandus-Abtei Elno bei Doornik) Hoffmanns Fund aus „Valencijn“ mit Willems' Übersetzung ins Niederländische und Notizen, aber ebensogut *Alte Volks-sitten*, populär erläutert von J. F. W., sowie hausbackene *Proben von belgisch-niederdeutschen Mundarten*, alles in allem nicht besser als der Haarlemer ‚Konst- en Letterbode‘,<sup>9</sup> obwohl hin und wieder

auch mit mittelniederländischen Proben, die aber textunkritisch abgedruckt werden. Die Zeitschrift endet 1846 mit Willems' Tod, d. h. mit einem Nachruf von F. A. Snellaert auf den mitten in der Arbeit vom Tode ereilten Führer. Wenige Wochen später hätte dieser noch wertvolle wissenschaftliche Kontakte gewinnen können auf dem Frankfurter Germanistenkongreß, wohin Jacob Grimm auch ihn eingeladen hatte.

Aber während der Jahre des *Belgisch Museum* ist J. F. Willems (1793–1846) und seinen oben erwähnten, alle kurz nach 1800 geborenen Mitkämpfern der Rücken durch Hoffmann von Fallerslebens philologische Schulung und seinen patriotischen Elan gestärkt worden. Fast zwei Jahre nach seinem Abschiedsbrief, in dem er Willems versichert, in Belgien sei ihm wie einem andern Columbus eine Neue Welt aufgegangen, beschließt H. v. F. im Herbst 1839 wiederum eine längere Europareise (u. a. Wien – „bei Karajan!“ –, Meersburg – „bei Lassberg!“ –, St. Gallen – „immer schon das Ziel meiner Wünsche!“ – und Paris) mit einem dreiwöchigen Aufenthalt in Belgien und bei Willems, schreibt einige ‚Genter‘ Gedichte über die französische Druck- und belgische ‚Gallomanie‘ ausgesetzte Bewegung („*Schöne Blume, wie umstricket dich die welsche Spinne doch*“) – ob Bezeichnungen wie welsch und allemant und durch gemeinsame Prägungsbedingungen haben? – und bekommt wie überall viel Geschriebenes und Gedrucktes zu Gesicht, u. a. die dreibändige *Nederduytsche Spraekkunst* von Pieter Behaegel (Brugge 1817 f.; sie ist noch sehr an orthographischen Fragen interessiert), und scheint auch die vorgenommene Arbeit an einem mittelniederländischen Wörterbuch erörtert zu haben, in der ihm dann M. de Vries zuvorgekommen ist.<sup>10</sup> Im Übrigen steht H. v. F.'s lexikographische Leistung nicht hinter der editorischen und textkritischen zurück, sie ist den späteren Wörterbüchern, auch dem W. N. T., zugute gekommen, aber bis heute nicht voll ausgeschöpft. Wir nennen sein Glossar zum *Williram* (1827, Hss. aus Breslau und Leiden) und aus den *Horae Belgicae* die erklärenden Wörterverzeichnisse zu den einzelnen mittelniederländischen Texten, aber besonders den ganzen VII. Band: *Glossarium Belgicum*.

Dann dauert es aber fast anderthalb Jahrzehnte, eine Zeit der Ächtung und Irrung und der Entfremdung von Freunden im In- und Ausland, bis der endlich einigermaßen rehabilitierte H. v. F. erneute Fühlungnahme mit seiner ersten Liebe, dem niederländischen Nachbarstamm, wieder erwägen, gegebenenfalls auch deren Kosten bestreiten kann. Im Jahre 1852 entspannt sich auch das

jahrelange Zerwürfnis mit Jacob Grimm und beweist ihm ein Lebenszeichen des philologisch interessierten Prof. iuris H. W. Tydeman in Leiden, daß seiner auch drüben noch gedacht wird. Er antwortet diesem: „Meine Errungenschaft vom J. 1848 ist meine Rehabilitation mit einem mäßigen Wartegelde. Seitdem lebe ich verheiratet an dem schönen Rhein in stiller Zurückgezogenheit den Meinigen und der Poesie und Wissenschaft: ich singe und dichte, forsche, schreibe Bücher, spaziere, hacke Holz und pflücke Blumen. ... Ich werde jedoch an meiner Sammlung *altniederländischer Volkslieder* ruhig fortarbeiten; sie ist viel reicher und bedeutender als die von Willems und wird allen Freunden des Volksgesangs eine sehr willkommene Gabe sein.“ Auch besucht ihn 1852 der damals noch Groninger Professor Matthias de Vries, „eigens hier ausgestiegen, um mich zu begrüßen. Er erzählte viel von Holland, von meinen alten Freunden, dem jetzigen Zustande der niederländischen Sprachwissenschaft und in wie gutem Ansehen ich dort stehe. Er war in Berlin bei den Grimms gewesen, um sich mit ihnen näher zu besprechen über das große holländische Wörterbuch, das von ihm unter Mitwirkung von holländischen und belgischen Gelehrten herausgegeben werden sollte“. Auf die Zueignung des IX. Bandes der *HB* antwortet ihm M. de Vries, er sei hocherfreut, „meinen Namen im Verein mit dem Ihrigen und unter der Ägide Ihres Ruhmes in die Welt hinausgehen zu sehen“. — Dennoch fährt H. v. F. erst im April 1854 nach Holland, dann am 7. Mai mit dem Dampfschiff von Leiden nach dem Moerdijk, mit der Diligence nach Antwerpen und mit der Eisenbahn nach Gent — die Reise kostet ihn zwölf Stunden. Mehr als Begegnungen mit alten und neuen Bekannten, Tydeman, De Vries und dessen Widersacher Van Vloten (er nannte De Vries ‚Leidens Kathederpedanten‘), Prudens van Duyse, Blommaert, David, Bormans, Snellaert — bei letzterem und seinen Schwestern wird die Tischunterhaltung zwar holländisch geführt, „es kommt aber manches flämische Wort vor und manche Eigentümlichkeit der Genter Mundart“ — mehr also als eine Reihe von Begegnungen und allerdings notwendigen Gesprächen über den Fortgang der *Horae Belgicae* und eine (wahrscheinlich recht beschwerliche) Last an Buchgeschenken bringt ihm diese Reise nicht ein. Mit ihr begann die letzte Trias von Hoffmanns Niederlandreisen (1854, 1855, 1856).

Er lebte in diesen Jahren in Weimar, wo der damalige Großherzog wie sein Großvater zur Goethezeit eine Art Musenhof von Gelehrten und Künstlern um sich versammelte, Hoffmann von Fallersleben

und mit ihm Oskar Schade, den Verfasser des *Altdeutschen Wörterbuchs* und Hoffmanns Mitherausgeber des Weimarischen *Jahrbuchs*, den Hofkapellmeister Franz Liszt, der auch einige von Hoffmanns Liedern komponierte, andere Musiker wie Anton Rubinstein, Peter Cornelius und Henry Charles Litolf und im Jahre 1855 sogar einmal Hector Berlioz, während auch der obengenannte Johannes van Vloten, als Prof.litt. Jonckbloets Nachfolger am Athenaeum Illustre in Deventer, H. v. F. in Weimar besuchte. Selber fährt er im August 1855 über Lüttich, wo er Bormans besucht, nach Gent, wo er für einen Franken pro Nacht in einem Hotel unterkommt und ausgiebig diskutiert mit Führern der flämischen Bewegung wie Frans Rens und F. A. Boone, und hält wie zuvor in Leiden so auch hier, in der ‚Maatschappij van Vlaemsche Letteroefening‘, einen niederländischen Vortrag. Über Antwerpen, wo er mit Hendrik Conscience und dem Faustübersetzer Lodewijk Vleeschouwer zusammen ist, fährt H. v. F. nach Den Haag, wo er wochenlang in der Königlichen Bibliothek arbeitet und im übrigen, wie in Belgien, interessante Begegnungen hat, wie mit dem Reichsarchivar Bakhuizen van den Brink, dem Buchhändler Nijhoff, dem Ehepaar Bosboom-Toussaint. In Leiden verfehlt er diesmal Matthias de Vries, aber schon im Sommer 1856 wiederholt er die Reise noch einmal nach dem erprobten Programm: 17. – 26. Mai Brüssel, Audienz beim Innenminister De Decker, wiederholter Besuch in der Königlichen Bibliothek, wo er erfährt, „daß diese für niederländische Geschichte, Sprache und Literatur so wichtige Bibliothek unter der Verwaltung von Leuten steht, die nicht einmal ein Wort flämisch verstehen“, aber zugleich im *Journal d'Anvers* über sich selbst liest: „C'est grâce à lui que l'Allemagne scientifique paie aujourd'hui un juste tribut d'admiration au génie antique de la Belgique flamingante“. In Gent das Übliche, einschließlich eines Besuchs im Verein ‚De Tael is gansch het Volk‘ und der Abfassung seiner Schrift über die flämische Bewegung, wozu ihn Heremans mit Auskunft und Material versah. In Antwerpen wiederum Conscience. Dann Rotterdam, Den Haag, Leiden, wo am 15. Juni sein erster Besuch M. de Vries galt. „Wir unterhielten uns viel über sein niederl. Wörterbuch und die Geschichte des Niederländischen“. Er trifft Prof. Jacob Geel und ist Gast bei einem trinkspruch- und überhaupt weinseligen Abendessen, das De Vries seinen Studenten anbietet, die den Professor haben porträtieren lassen. Ein günstiger Eindruck vom niederländischen Verkehr zwischen Hochschullehrern und Studenten begleitet ihn auf der Heimreise – es war Hoffmanns letzter Besuch in den Nieder-

landen. Er wurde 1860 Bibliothekar des Herzogs von Ratibor auf Schloß Corvey an der Weser, wo er am 19. Januar 1874 gestorben ist.

Im Mai 1979 war ich bei der Eröffnung der Bonner Ausstellung „Hoffmann von Fallersleben“ zusammen mit u. a. Cola Minis aus Amsterdam und den Belgiern Lissens und Peter H. Nelde. Mit dieser Erwähnung wären zugleich einige niederländischsprachige „Hoffmann-Nachfolger“ von heute genannt. Ganz willkürlich zähle ich dazu etwa noch Gilbert de Smet und seine Genter Schule und den heutigen Inhaber des Leidener Jonckbloet-Lehrstuhls, den Utrechter Gerritsen-Schüler Frits van Oostrom, *e. t. q.*, „welch reicher Himmel, Stern bei Stern: wer nennet ihre Namen“, die hiesigen und die überseeischen? Denn ein Einfluß wie der von Hoffmann von Fallersleben wird exportiert mit den Texten und emigriert mit den Gelehrten. Eine der Thesen von Norbert Voorwindens in Anmerkung 8 angeführter Dissertation lautete (Übers.): „Hoffmann von Fallerslebens Verdienste um die Germanistik werden völlig verkannt“. So überspitzt und apodiktisch die Formulierung lauten mag – und lauten mußte –,<sup>11</sup> so interessant ist sie zugleich. Die Linguistik unserer Tage, auch die amerikanische, über De Saussure und die deutschen Junggrammatiker auf Jacob Grimm zurückzuführen, ist kein allzu großes Wagnis. Die Philologie aber, einerseits ein weiteres Feld als die Linguistik und diese einschließend, andererseits eine verschiedene, denn vorwiegend textorientierte Disziplin, welche Resultate aus dem Gebiet der Sprachforschung verwertet und dieses zugleich befruchtet, läßt weniger exakt die Linien erkennen, die von einem H. v. F. ausgehen und zu bestimmten Stationen etwa der Germanistik geführt haben. K. Hoppe (1949) nennt global drei Gebiete von Hoffmanns germanistischem Wirken: 1. die Erschließung niederländischen Sprachguts aus dem Mittelalter; 2. die Erforschung des Niederdeutschen, einschließlich der lexikalischen und phonetischen Beschreibung der eigenen Mundart und der kritischen Ausgabe von *Reineke Vos* und *Theophilus*, und 3. die Entdeckung und Bearbeitung zahlreicher hochdeutscher Mediävalia, zu denen ihm „sein mit merkwürdigem Glück gepaarter, vor allem aber mit unermüdlichem Fleiß betriebener Sammeleifer den Zugang öffnete“ und die, so füge ich hinzu, unsere Kenntnis von Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters wesentlich bereichert und verfeinert haben. Vergessen wir nicht, daß unser Bild vom Mittelalter weitgehend vom Zufall bedingt ist, nämlich von der Menge und der Beschaffenheit des Erhaltenen und von der Kompetenz der zuständigen

Betrachter. Hoffmanns legendäres Finderglück bleibe unbestritten, aber seine für jene Zeit als *allround* zu bezeichnenden germanistischen Kenntnisse und sein von geistreicher Neugierde gespeister Forschungsdrang begünstigten dieses Finderglück, statt umgekehrt. Die philologische Mediävistik steht tief in seiner Schuld. Das Niederländische stand in obiger Dreiteilung neben dem Hochdeutschen und dem Niederdeutschen an erster Stelle. Das ist objektiv richtig und war für unsere Zwecke wichtig. Unser ist der größte Teil des wissenschaftlichen Gewinns. Dabei mag den Nordniederländern etwas von der romantischen Fahrigkeit zugute gekommen sein, die einen Jacob Grimm an Hoffmann von Fallersleben störte, und mag den belgischen Philologen des 19. Jahrhunderts das kritische Gewissen geschärft worden sein. Beide kennen durch ihn ihre Literatur und Sprache des Mittelalters, und beide haben von ihm die Methodik von deren Erforschung gelernt.

### Anmerkungen

1. Noch 1843 schrieb J. Zacher in *Jahrbücher f. wissensch. Kritik* (I, Sp. 708): „Das Studium der altniederländischen Literatur und Sprache zeigt während der letzten Jahrzehnte je nach den verschiedenen Ländern, in denen es gepflegt wurde, auch eine verschiedene Färbung. In Deutschland beschäftigten sich damit natürlich nur einzelne Männer, und auch diese fast nur beiläufig; dennoch trugen ihre Arbeiten, wie verschieden sie auch ausfielen und ausfallen mußten, alle ein wissenschaftliches Gepräge, weil sie nie den Zusammenhang mit dem großen Ganzen der gesamten deutschen Sprachwissenschaft vergaßen ... In Holland war seit Huydecopers und Clignetts Zeiten ein gewisser Dilettantismus eingerissen, der sich bald in selbsteigner Person bewunderte, bald mit lobenswertem, wenngleich ganz unkritischem Sammlerfleiß dicke Kommentare zusammentrug, bald auch mit kindlicher Naivität herausgab und erklärte, was er verstand und nicht verstand.“
2. Ähnlich bekamen auch deutsche Universitäten in derselben Zeit die ersten Ordinariate für „Neuere deutsche Literatur“, z. B. München 1874 (Michael Bernays) und Berlin 1877 (Wilhelm Scherer).
3. Schon 1707 hieß Adriaan Verwers Sprachlehre *Idea Linguae Belgicae Grammatica*.
4. *Acta Senatus* und *Acta in Consessibus Facultatis* usw. in der U. B. Leiden. Man beachte, wie verschieden sich die beiden Herren Protokollanten lateinisch ausdrücken.
5. Schon 1837 erschienen seine Briefe an H. v. F., hrsg. v. W. Messchert.
6. Noch im Januar 1839 schreibt H. v. F. an J. F. Willems: „Die Holländer arbeiten langsam und wenig“.
7. Im *Weimarischen Jahrbuch für deutsche Sprache, Literatur und Kunst*, s. Janota (1980: 61 – 62).



8. Seine freudige Erregung bei dieser Gelegenheit ist nur mit der am Karfreitag 1834 zu vergleichen, als er in Prag das frühmittelhochdeutsche *Merigarto* entdeckte, vgl. N. Th. J. Voorwindens gleichnamige Diss. Leiden 1973.
9. Und sicher nicht besser als *Taalkundig Magazijn of Gemengde Bijdragen tot de kennis der Nederduitsche Taal*, 1835–1842, wodurch (u. a.) sich der Herausgeber, der Rotterdamer Lehrer Arie de Jager, 1850 (also während der Professur von De Vries) ein Groninger Ehrendoktorat erwarb.
10. Deprez (1963: 115–116). Nachdem De Vries, zu sehr beansprucht durch das W. N. T., die Arbeit am Mnl. Wb. aufgegeben hat, ist diese von seinem späteren Nachfolger in Leiden, J. Verdam, fortgeführt und vollendet worden.
11. Jeder an einer holländischen Universität zu verteidigenden Dissertation müssen Thesen beigefügt werden, deren Zahl frei ist, nur daß ihrer sechs keine Beziehung zum Thema der Dissertation haben dürfen. Daß ihre Formulierung zur Opposition oder zumindest zum Nachfragen herausfordern soll, versteht sich.

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# **Ancient economic plants of South Asia: linguistic archaeology and early agriculture\***

Franklin C. Southworth

## **1. Introduction**

The relationships between social groups and the plant world form a basic part of human culture and human subsistence patterns, and are thus of key importance in the study of social history, as well as the history of technology. As a semantic domain, plant names embody a large part of the history of specific groups, and thus detailed study of these names can often yield clues to prehistoric habitats, earlier contacts with other groups, and diffusion of plant products, as well as hypotheses to test against archaeological and palaeobotanical observations. For these reasons, plant names can be considered a fruitful area for the application of the techniques of linguistic archaeology.

Edgar Polomé, to whom we dedicate this volume of essays, has provided in his own work several examples of the use of botanical materials for prehistoric inference (see his bibliography in this volume).

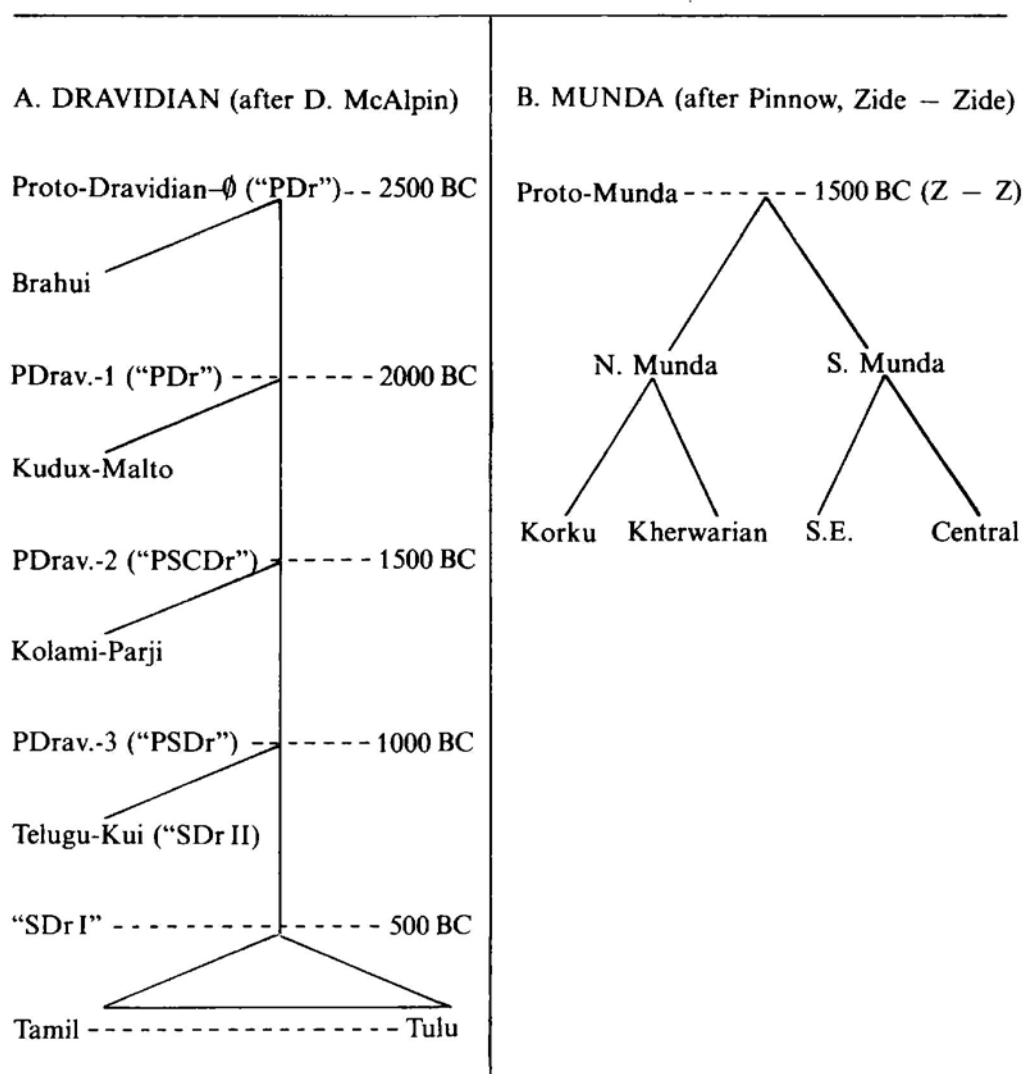
In the present case we shall be concerned with tracing the origins of terms for agricultural products (and a few related items) as far back as possible, in order to search for the most likely routes by which each term came to be used in the languages and regions in which it is found in the earliest linguistic data. Linguistic archaeology can be regarded as a field of prehistoric study drawing on the results of historical linguistics, archaeology (and other prehistoric sciences including palaeobotany, palaeozoology, etc.), and modern studies of language in its social context. In addition to supplementing the work of archaeologists and others who deal with the physical remains of earlier cultures, linguistic archaeology seeks to place the earlier linguistic forms in a communicative context appropriate to the times and places in which they were first known to be used.

In South Asia we are fortunate to have three language families which provide reliable data for the period of early agriculture: Indo-

Aryan, with texts dating back to the late 2nd millennium B. C. (as well as reconstructed forms of Proto-Indo-Iranian, going back perhaps another 500 years); Dravidian, for which comparative evidence provides reconstructions dating back probably to the third millennium B. C.; and Munda, a branch of the Austro-Asiatic family, which provides reconstructions dateable to about the middle of the second millennium B. C. A few brief comments are given below on these major linguistic groups.

*Dravidian* (see figure 1A). Dravidian languages were for a long time considered indigenous to South Asia, and it is possible that they are, though several recent studies have raised the possibility that they were spoken earlier in areas to the west or northwest of the

Figure 1. Prehistoric stages of major South Asian language families



subcontinent (see, e. g., McAlpin 1981, Tyler 1968). McAlpin's proposal of a relationship between Dravidian and Elamite (an ancient language of western Iran) would imply the possibility that speakers of Dravidian languages entered the subcontinent as late as the third millennium B. C. Though the evidence for this connection is not yet absolutely convincing, it may be noted that two putative Elamo-Dravidian words are relevant to the present discussion: (1) *\*um-* 'to process grain' PDrav.-1 *\*um* 'husk, chaff': Achaeminid Elamite *umi-* 'grind (grain)' (McAlpin 1981: 96); (2) *\*var* 'seed, grain' (Elamite *bar* 'seed': PDrav.-1 *\*vari* 'rice, grain' — see below).

Dravidian languages are first mentioned in the Sanskrit epics around the middle of the first millennium B. C. Later records show various Dravidian-speaking groups in South India in the early centuries A.D./B.C. Other ("non-literary") Dravidian languages are found in central India, in Bihar, and in Baluchistan (western Pakistan). Investigation of earlier locations of Dravidian speakers depends heavily on careful sifting of etymological evidence, and agricultural and botanical terms are an important part of that evidence. As I will point out later, Dravidian languages seem to have furnished a number of agricultural terms to other South Asian languages, but this does not necessarily prove that these languages are indigenous to South Asia — since we also find evidence that Dravidian speakers have borrowed several important terms from other languages (see the discussion of wheat, dates, and the plough below).

The scheme shown in figure 1A gives some approximate dates for the stages of Proto-Dravidian. Though the stages shown here are not accepted by all Dravidianists, the dates can be considered reasonable; indeed, some have called them conservative.

*Indo-Aryan.* The dating is difficult here, but on the assumption (which will be supported by evidence to be presented below) that the early speakers of Indo-Aryan, i. e., the authors of the Rigveda, had no substantial contact with the Harappan civilization of the Indus Valley, it would follow that they entered the Indus Valley only after the decline of that civilization in the mid-second millennium B. C. The Rigveda is thought to have been compiled (though only in oral form) about 1000 B. C., and it can be assumed that the events referred to in it took place sometime in the preceding 500 years or so. The other Vedas are considered later (at least, in the form in which we have them) on linguistic grounds, though they

may contain some elements as old as the Rigveda. This is especially true of the Atharvaveda, which in a sense represents a separate, and perhaps competing, tradition — a “magical” or perhaps even shamanistic tradition, which was only later integrated into the mainstream of Hindu religious practice.

Hock and Pandharipande (1976) suggest the following relative chronology for Old Indo-Aryan:

- (1) Vedic
  - (a) Rigvedic (most of RV)
  - (b) late Rigvedic (RV 10, 1, etc.)
  - (c) Atharvaveda
  - (d) Yajurveda, Sāmaveda
- (2) Classical Sanskrit (including Epics)

It is well known that hardly any of the Old Indo-Aryan terms for specific plant species or their products can be linked to Indo-European languages outside the subcontinent, and it must therefore be assumed that the bulk of the Indo-Aryan botanical and agricultural vocabulary originated in the subcontinent, either as borrowings from local languages, as new coinages, or as adaptations of older terms (see examples below). In a study of the agricultural vocabulary of modern Hindi-Urdu, Masica (1979) found that about 80% of the terms he studied were of non-Indo-European origin. A further conclusion of interest is that about 31% of the total were of unknown origin, indicating the possible presence of South Asian languages of unknown affiliation in ancient times.

*Munda* (figure 1B). Munda languages are at present located mainly in eastern India, and there is no evidence for their having been more widespread in earlier times (though the location of Korku, on the middle Narbada, could possibly point in that direction). The Austro-Asiatic family, of which Munda is a branch, includes various languages of Southeast Asia, as well as Khasi (spoken in Assam) and Nicobarese (in the Nicobar islands in the Bay of Bengal).

*Tibeto-Burman*. Tibeto-Burman languages are at present scattered in small pockets in the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan regions. Only a few tentative linguistic links have been established between the languages of this family and the others mentioned above.

The scholarly discussion of South Asian prehistory has been much clouded by unwarranted equations of language with race and/

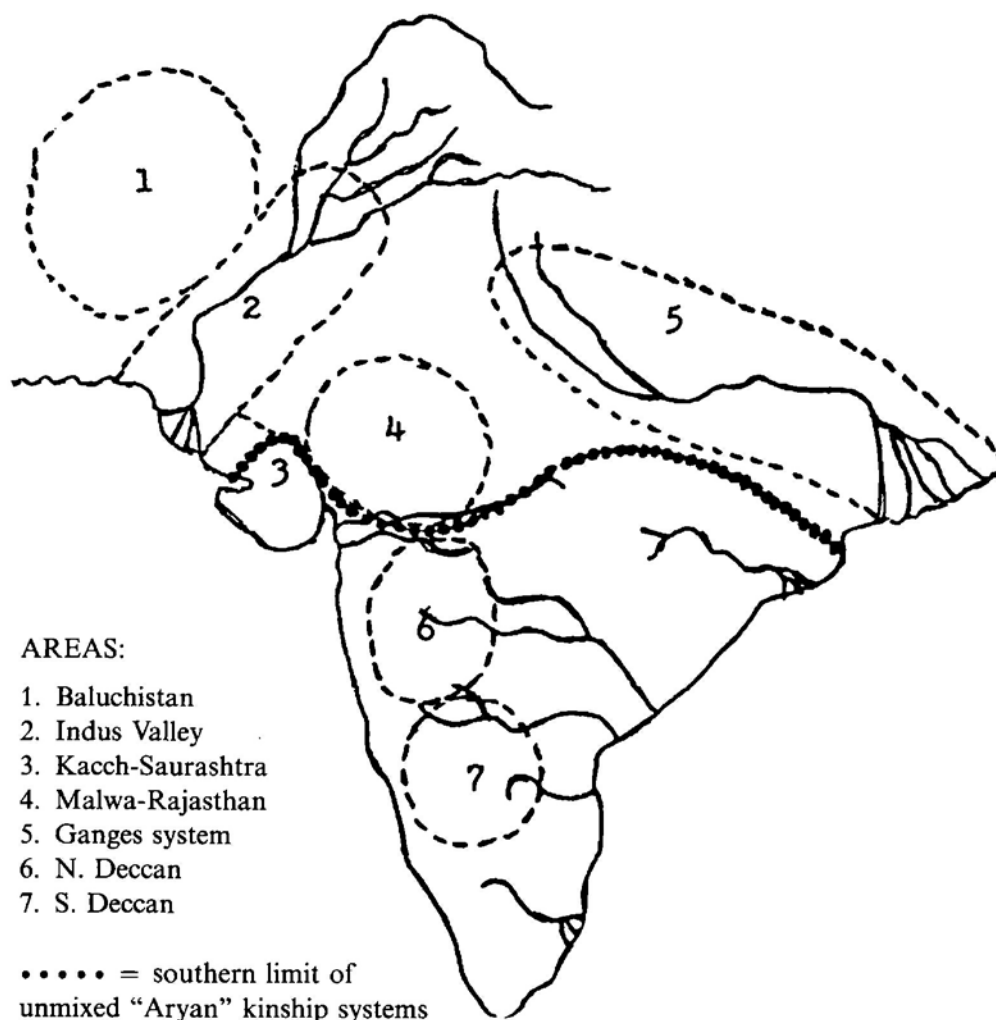
or culture, and consequently much loose talk about “Aryans”, “Dravidians”, and the like. It seems most reasonable to assume that the groups commonly designated by these labels included a range of culturally and linguistically assimilated groups, just as groups like the modern Brahui of Baluchistan do (Emeneau 1981: 96). Those designated as “Aryans”, for example, probably in most cases had control of an Aryan language (Vedic, Sanskrit, or an early form of Prakrit, or more than one of these), but many doubtless knew and used other languages — whether as “native” or “non-native” speakers. The question then becomes one of trying to identify sources of vocabulary not in terms of monolithically conceived ethnic blocs, but in terms of the diffusion of knowledge about plants and cultivation across time and space.

## **2. A brief overview of early agriculture in South Asia**

The map (figure 2) shows seven areas in the subcontinent which were important in the early development of agriculture. The specific plants and plant products identified by archaeologists in these regions are presented in figure 3. The data presented here represent a small part of the data being collected in a study of ancient economic plants of South Asia, which seeks to assemble archaeological, botanical, palaeo-botanical, and etymological information on useful plants which have been identified archaeologically. The few terms selected for discussion here include some of the key items of early South Asian agriculture. The following discussion will illustrate the methodology being used in the larger study, and provide examples of the types of conclusions which can be reached by this approach.

The archaeological record of agriculture in the subcontinent first appears in the western borderlands, mainly in Baluchistan (focal area #1). Here, at several sites, are found pre-ceramic, probably nomadic settlements, with samples of wheat and barley along with remains of domesticated cattle, sheep and goats, with later evidence of more settled occupation (all before 5000 B. C.). Subsequently, a “ceramic neolithic” developed, with expansion in several places of villages into towns. By the mid-to-late 4th millennium B. C., we

Figure 2. Focal areas of early agriculture in the South Asian subcontinent



find copper tools and a considerable increase in the variety of cereal grains (Allchin — Allchin 1982: 125 — 127).

More or less contemporaneously with this last stage, agricultural settlements begin to appear in the Indus system (focal area #2). Settlements appearing in eastern, central, and peninsular India may be tentatively dated to about the same time period, or somewhat later. Koldihwa, near Allahabad on the Ganges (focal area #5), shows an apparently very early find of rice husks (radiocarbon dates of 5440 and 4530 B. C.), but the dates have been questioned. Chirand in Bihar, on the other hand, in contexts dateable to the late third millennium B. C., shows rice husks and fish bones, indicating a type of diet still prevalent in eastern India (Allchin — Allchin 1982: 117 — 118).

In the Indus Valley, around the mid-fourth millennium B. C., 'regular agricultural settlements, based on wheat and barley, and domestic cattle, sheep and goats, begin to appear' (Allchin—Allchin 1982: 162). This period is usually known as the early Indus stage. The succeeding mature Indus stage was founded primarily on the cultivation of wheat and barley in the Indus flood plain; additional important agricultural products were the date, certain leguminous plants (e. g., *Pisum* spp.), sesamum, mustard, and cotton (a relative of *Gossypium arboreum*). The southern Harappan sites of Lothal and Rangpur (focal area #3) yield impressions of rice husks in pottery in the late third millennium B. C. The Allchins suggest that it may have been the availability of raw materials like rice and cotton in this area which led the Harappans to establish control over these sites, where there is evidence of the co-existence of Harappan culture with 'local styles of material culture' (Allchin—Allchin 1982: 243).

Following the decline of the Indus Valley civilization, most parts of the subcontinent showed a continuation of earlier patterns, with the gradual introduction of new elements. In Baluchistan the dominance of wheat and barley continued, with rice and sorghum appearing in the early first millennium B. C. East of the Indus system wheat and barley continue to be the major crops, with rice appearing in the eastern regions (modern Bengal) in the late second millennium B. C. In the regions south of the Ganges system, rice and sorghum, and possibly also *bajra* or pearl millet (*Pennisetum typhoides/typhoideum*), appear in sites in focal area #4. Wheat is also found in this region. Around 1700 B. C. this area shows a large variety of new agricultural items: rice, lentil, *Phaseolus mungo* (mung beans, green gram), *Phaseolus radiatus* (black gram, *urad*), grass pea, linseed, jujube, and myrobalan (*Phyllanthus emblica*). Most of these crops are still grown today in this region. A similar pattern is observable in area 6, where for example at Inamgaon (approximately 1800—1500 B. C.) wheat and barley, sorghum, field peas, lentils, and horse gram are found; in the subsequent period several other pulses are added, long with silk and cotton.

In South India (focal area #7), the neolithic culture of Karnataka which existed from about 3000 B. C. had an economy based on cattle, but from the earliest period the presence of querns and rubbing stones suggest 'some sort of grain cultivation or collection' (Allchin—Allchin 1982: 287). Later periods show remains of rice, *bajra*, horse gram, finger millet (*ragi*, *Eleusine coracana*), and black gram *CP. radiatus*).



Figure 3. Chronology of prehistoric agriculture in South Asia

TIME SCALE (B. C.)	PLANTS IDENTIFIED ARCHAEOLOGICALLY	EARLY HARAPPAN
	Site/region: plant	
pre-5000	Mehrgarh/1: WHEAT, BARLEY, DATE, COTTON Koldihwa/5: ??RICE	EARLY HARAPPAN
pre-3000	Mundigak/1: JUJUBE	
2500	Chirand/5: rice, barley	MATURE HARAPPAN
2300	Mohenjodaro, etc./2: wheat, barley, date, jujube, SESAMUM, MUSTARD, cotton	
2200	Lothal/3: rice	
2000	Loebanr/2: LENTIL, grape, wheat, barley Rangpur/3: lentil, rice	LATE HARAPPAN
1800	Hallur/7: RAGI, ?BAJRA, rice Tekkalakotta/7: HORSE GRAM Ahar/4: rice	
1600	Inamgaon/6: wheat, grams, horse gram Navdatoli/4: jujube, lentil	
1500	Navdatoli/4: rice, gram, LINSEED, MYROBALAN Daimabad/6: sorghum, ?bajra Ahar/4: sorghum Nevasa/6: cotton Paiyampalli/7: bajra	
1400	Paiyampalli/7: gram, horse gram	
1300	Sonegaon/6: ragi	
1200	Atranjikheda/5: ragi	
1000		
900		
800		
700		
600		
500		
400		
300		
200		
100		

	EARLY HARAPPAN	DRAVIDIAN	MUNDA	INDO-ARYAN
	MATURE HARAPPAN	<i>PDrav.-0</i> fodder, (food) grain		
		<i>PDrav.-1</i> rice, date, jujube, ?wheat  plough, winnow		
LATE HARAPPAN		<i>PDrav.-2</i> sorghum, grams, horse gram, myrobalan  cotton?	<i>PMunda</i> rice, millets, sorghum/ maize, horse gram, beans	<i>1a-b</i> barley, beans
		<i>PDrav.-3</i> bajra, ragi, flax, cotton		<i>1c</i> rice, sesame
				<i>1d</i> wheat, lentil, gram, date, jujube
				(2) horse gram, sorghum, flax, grape, cotton

### 3. Etymological data

Etymological information on a number of plant names and other related items is given in table 1.

(1) *Wheat*: No word for this important early crop is found in Indo-Aryan until period 3. The Dravidian words have usually been thought to be borrowings from Indo-Aryan, but it is also possible that both of these are adaptations of a word derived from some third language. (The Old Indo-Aryan word means literally ‘cow-smoke’, which is reminiscent of folk-transformations like English *sparrowgrass*. The Dravidian form might have meant something like ‘low red plant’.)

(2) *Barley*: OIA *yava-*, usually glossed as ‘barley’, is the only word for a specific cereal in the Rigveda. It is mentioned frequently from the earliest period. Since the cognates in other Indo-European languages do not show the specific meaning ‘barley’ (e.g., Greek *zeiai* means ‘coarse grain, spelt’, while Lithuanian *jāvas* is glossed by Mayrhofer simply as ‘a type of grain’), it is not at all certain that the early speakers of Indo-Aryan ‘brought with them their staple foodgrain (*yava*)’, as Randhawa would have it (1980: 163). They may have brought with them the knowledge of grain cultivation, and applied their general word for ‘grain’ to the crop they learned to cultivate after arriving in the subcontinent (see Appendix, item 1). Note that the site of Loebanr on the upper Indus shows remains of two varieties of barley dating to the late third-early second millennium B. C. (Allchin – Allchin 1982: 115), and this very site is one of the ones which later shows burials which have been associated with early speakers of Indo-Aryan (Allchin – Allchin 1982: 237).

(3) *Rice*: Dravidian allows the reconstruction of a word for rice at the Proto-Dravidian-1 level, dateable to about 2000 B. C. (close to the date of the earliest finds of rice in area #3). (See Appendix, item 2.) Though most of the cognate forms in the Dravidian languages refer to rice or paddy, the Kudux (North Dravidian) form means ‘seed’ – suggesting that a general word for grain might have become specialized in the meaning ‘rice’, in this case in the Central and South Dravidian languages. The early date for the Dravidian term makes it probable that similar forms found in other languages were derived from the Dravidian word, including:

- (a) OIA *vrihi* (period 1b);
- (b) proto-Munda \**arig* 'Panicum miliare' (starting from the earlier meaning 'seed, grain'? — see above);
- (c) Persian *birinj*;
- (d) Arabic *ruz*;
- (e) Somali *baris*;
- (f) *wari*, *wali* in various Bantu languages (D. Nurse 1983);
- (g) words in several Malayo-Polynesian languages (Malagasy *vari*, *vare*, Dayak *bari*);
- (h) Greek *óryzon*, *óryza* (the source of most European words for rice). (See Southworth 1979: 202 for the phonology of the Greek word.)

The main term for rice in the Gangetic region of North India today is derived from a word which first appears in Middle Indo-Aryan, and is possibly derived from a Tibeto-Burman word. (See Appendix, item 3.)

(4) *Sorghum*: the oldest word for sorghum again seems to be the Dravidian word, from which at least one of the Indo-Aryan words is probably borrowed (unless both came from a third source). (See Appendix, item 4.)

(5) *Date*: the Dravidian word for date is again the oldest, and probably the source of the Munda words. Here the source of the Dravidian word, as well as the Proto-Bantu word, should presumably be sought in those parts of the Middle East where the date-palm is first known to have been cultivated.

Another interesting aspect of this word is that a later Dravidian form, PDrav.-2 \**ciintu* (phonetically *ciindu/siindu*), is a possible candidate for the source of the names Sindh and Sindhu (the old name of the river Indus and its territory). Sindh was and is an area famous for its dates, and it would not be surprising if this fruit, which was already important in Harappan times, gave its name to the regions where it was grown.

(7) *Phaseolus* spp.: in this connection it may be noted that there are four terms for different kinds of pulses or beans which first appear at the PDrav.-2 level. The implications of this will be discussed below.

(8) *Plough*: here we find that both Dravidian and Indo-Aryan have an early word, probably from the same source. This word has been attributed to Austro-Asiatic, but the evidence for this claim is not

Table 1. Etymological data on selected South Asian agricultural terms

BOTANICAL DESIGNATION	SOUTH ASIAN TERMS	COMMENTS
<i>Triticum</i> spp. (wheat)	{ OIA <i>godhūmā</i> - (1d) PDrav.-3 * <i>koo-tumpai</i>	{ ← X?
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i> (barley)	OIA <i>yava</i> - (1a)	← PIE * <i>yavo</i> - 'grain'
<i>Oryza sativa</i> (rice)	PDrav.-1 * <i>vari-nci</i> , *(v) <i>ari-ki</i> OIA <i>vr̥hi</i> - (1c) OIA <i>taṇḍula</i> - (1c) { OIA <i>śāli</i> - (2) PIA * <i>cāmala</i> -/ <i>cāvala</i> - PMunda <i>ruṇ-kug</i> (PMunda <i>erig</i> 'Panicum miliare')	{ ← ? ← Drav. ← X? ← Drav.? ← T-B <i>ca/jia</i> ? ← AA ← Drav. ← * <i>cool-nel</i> ? ← Drav. ← Drav.? ← ?
<i>Sorghum vulgare</i> (sorghum, jowar)	PDrav.-2 * <i>connel</i> OIA <i>yavanāla</i> - (2) OIA <i>yavākāra</i> - (2?) PMunda * <i>gaṇ</i> (-)/ <i>gay</i> 'maize/sorghum/bajra'	{ ← ? ← ? ← ? ← PDraV-Ø * <i>irai</i> 'food' ← ?
<i>Pennisetum typhoides</i> (bulrush millet, pearl millet)	PDrav.-3 * <i>kampu</i> PIA * <i>bājara</i> -	← ? ← ?
<i>Eleusine coracana</i> (ragi)	PDrav.-3 * <i>iraki</i> OIA * <i>maḍaka</i> - (2?)	← ? ← ?
<i>Phoenix sylvestris</i> (date)	PDrav.-1 * <i>kiintu</i> (Munda <i>sindi</i> , <i>kindad</i> , <i>kita</i> , etc.) OIA <i>kharijura</i> - (1d)	cf. P-Bantu <i>mu-kindu</i> ← Drav. ← ?
<i>Phaseolus mungo</i> , <i>P. radiatus</i> (Black gram, green gram)	PDrav.-2 * <i>payaru</i> 'P. mungo' PDrav.-2 * <i>minumu</i> 'P. mungo/radiatus' PDrav.-2 * <i>cikkuṭ</i> 'kind of bean' PDrav.-2 * <i>mutirai</i> 'pulse' PDrav.-3 * <i>narunnu</i> 'pulse'	{ ← * <i>paca</i> 'green'? ← ? ← ?

BOTANICAL DESIGNATION	SOUTH ASIAN TERMS	COMMENTS
<i>Dolichos biflorus</i> (horse gram)	PMunda *kodaXj PDrav.-2 *kol(ut) 'D. uniflorus' OIA kulattthikā-(2)	← ? ← Munda? ← Drav.?
<i>Sesamum indicum</i> (sesame)	OIA tila- (1c); taila- 's. oil' SDrav. I eḷ 'sesame', eṇ-ney '(sesame) oil'	← ? ← *tel/*cel?
<i>Brassica juncea</i> , <i>B. campestris</i>	OIA sarṣapa- (2) PIA *troṭikā	← ? ← ?
<i>Phyllanthus emblica</i> (myrobalan, a sour fruit)	PDrav.-2 *nel 'P. emblica, etc.' OIA āmlaka-(2)	← *aṇil? ← Drav.?
<i>Gossypium arboreum</i> /herbaceum (cotton)	OIA karpāsa-(2) PDrav.-3 *tuu...	← AA? ← PDrav.-2 *tuu- 'feather, down'
<i>Linum usitatissimum</i> (flax, linseed)	OIA atasī-(2) PDrav.-3 *akace	← Drav.? ← ?
5. Other terms related to agriculture		
PLOUGH	PDrav.-1 *ṇaankal (= ṇaan 'earth' + kal 'stone') OIA lāṅgala- (1a)	(both poss. ← AA; cf. Khasi lynkol, etc.)
WINNOW	PDrav.-1 *nemp- PDrav.-1 *kēḷ- PDrav.-1 *tel(ḷ)-	
Abbreviations: OIA = Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic/Sanskrit) PIA = Proto-Indo-Aryan (reconstructions based on modern I-A languages) PIE = Proto-Indo-European T-B = Tibeto-Burman		
	AA = Austroasiatic PMunda = Proto-Munda (a branch of Austroasiatic) PBantu = Proto-Bantu (Nurse) PDrav. = Proto-Dravidian	

compelling. The plough was known to the Harappan civilization, and a ploughed field was uncovered in a pre-Harappan context at Kalibangan (focal area #4).

(9) The words for winnowing in Proto-Dravidian-1 are adduced here as evidence for a knowledge of grain processing among Dravidian speakers in the early second millennium B. C.

## **4. Conclusions**

### **A. Relations between language families and archaeological cultures**

(1) The oldest Dravidian (Proto-Dravidian-0) allows only the reconstruction of a word for fodder (which later becomes the word for sorghum), and a general word for food or grain, in the domain of agriculture. On the other hand, early Dravidian shows ample evidence of words relating to pastoralism, thus leading us to believe that agriculture was probably only a part-time occupation, at least for some of the earliest Dravidian speakers (just as it has been in recent historical times for such groups as the Brahui).

(2) Proto-Dravidian-1, on the other hand, shows evidence for the presence of rice, dates, and the jujube, as well as a word for plough and three distinct verbs for winnowing. Considering that the date was important in the Indus Valley, and that rice was apparently known to the occupants of the southern Harappan site of Lothal — and that, on the other hand, Proto-Dravidian-1 shows only uncertain evidence for wheat and none for barley, the main crops of the Harappan civilization — we might be justified in placing speakers of Proto-Dravidian-1 in at least some sort of peripheral relationship to the main centres of the Indus Valley in the late third and early second millennium B. C. (The negative evidence for wheat and barley must be treated as neutral in this respect, especially since most Dravidian languages are now spoken in areas where neither is a significant crop.)

(3) The agricultural repertoire of Proto-Dravidian-2 includes sorghum, several types of grams or pulses, including horse gram, and myrobalans — providing a reasonably good fit with the list of products identified in the sites of focal areas 4, 6, and 7 in the early

second millennium B. C. The southern part of this region (area 7) is Dravidian-speaking territory today, whereas areas 4 and 6 are now in Indo-Aryan territory, but there is evidence for the earlier presence of Dravidian speakers at least in area 6, and also in area 3. One of these pieces of evidence is the presence of “Dravidian” types of kinship systems (including cross-cousin marriage) in these areas, as indicated by the dotted line on the map in handout #2. At least one archaeologist (Leshnick) has suggested that there was a “Malwa culture” which covered roughly the areas designated here as 4, 6, and 7, on the basis of various shared features.

(4) Proto-Munda also shows a good fit with the materials from the areas just mentioned. Furthermore, there are enough items shared with Dravidian (the words for date, *Panicum miliare*, and horse gram) to suggest the probability of contact, though the vocabulary is on the whole quite distinct. Though we do not have other evidence to suggest that Munda speakers might have been present in areas 4, 6, or 7, it is still possible that they were also participants (at least peripheral ones) in the “Malwa” culture.

(5) At a comparable time period, the agriculture of the Vedic Aryans was apparently limited to barley and beans. Rice and sesamum appeared later, and wheat probably not till the early first millennium B. C. (Here we are dealing with texts, not reconstructions, and thus the absence of an item carries more weight.) These facts support the view that the earliest Vedic texts were associated with a mountain-dwelling, primarily herding people who were unacquainted with the type of floodplain agriculture practiced by the Harappans. The fact that the main products of the Indus Valley — wheat, dates, sesamum, cotton, and (southern) rice — are absent from the earliest literature is evidence for a lack of substantial contact between these people and the Harappans.

(6) This leaves us with no certain linguistic identification for the farmers of the Indus Valley, the most prominent groups of the third and early second millennia from the archaeologists’ point of view. Though as I mentioned above, it is possible that Dravidian speakers were among them, it seems necessary to assume that the language(s) which served as the source for the bulk of the names of local flora (as well as local fauna) did not belong to any of the families mentioned. We might then speak tentatively of an “Indus” or “Harappan” language or group of languages. As yet we have no substantial clue to the linguistic identity of these people.



**B. Intergroup and interregional communications**

(1) Indo-Aryan received its earliest words for rice from Dravidian, as well as its words for sorghum, black gram, and horse gram — though some of these words may have been borrowed independently from a third source. Later Indo-Aryan words for rice appear to point to Tibeto-Burman as a source. This sequence would appear to tie in with the movement of Indo-Aryan speakers from the northwest of the subcontinent eastward to the Ganges. The fact that the contact between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian is evidenced more in the later than in the earlier texts may indicate, as some believe, that this contact began only in the late Vedic period; alternatively, it may indicate that the main early contact was with groups of Indo-Aryan speakers other than the authors of the Rigveda, and that the linguistic results of this contact appeared textually only after the integration of other traditions into the mainstream of Hinduism.

(2) It was noted above that the words for rice in the Gangetic plain and in the southern regions are and always have been distinct, as far as information is available. Thus the early finds of rice in southern and western India may be independent of those in the Gangetic plain. One piece of evidence which would support this notion is that these southern and western areas are not typical wet rice country (see Randhawa 1980: 271), and thus it is possible that the rice in these areas in the second and third millennia B.C. was upland rice, as opposed to the (presumably) wet rice grown in the floodplain of the Ganges. This difference might relate to Randhawa's suggestion (1980: 269) that there were independent centers for the development of rice (one being the Malabar coast, where wild varieties of rice abound).

(3) The amount of evidence for early contacts with areas outside the subcontinent is still small, but suggestive. The following may be mentioned:

- (a) Malayo-Polynesian languages have words for 'rice' and 'fruit' which were probably borrowed from Dravidian; the Somali word for rice also appears to be of Dravidian origin; all of these items would suggest probable coastal contact;
- (b) The Proto-Dravidian-1 word for date and the Proto-Bantu word are nearly identical in form, and suggest probable derivation from a third source, probably in the Middle East; sea

trade between the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia would be the most obvious mechanism to account for this word in South Asia;

- (c) The European words for rice derive from Greek *óryzon*, etc. (with possible help from Arabic *ruz*), which in turn derive from a Proto-Dravidian-1 *\*(v)arici* — again suggesting coastal contact, in this case most probably the west coast of India.
- (4) Sorghum, *bajra*, and *ragi*, which are all important grains in modern South Asia, are believed to be of African origin (Randhawa 1980: 504). Though we have no evidence which will solve the mystery of their appearance in South Asia in the early second millennium B. C., it may be significant that all the early finds are in the west or northwest of the subcontinent. In fact, even today Karnataka (roughly corresponding to focal area #7) has the largest area under *ragi*, and together with the adjoining states of Maharashtra (area #6), Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu accounts for more than two-thirds of Indian *ragi* production (Randhawa 1980: 235–236). Similarly for sorghum, Maharashtra and Karnataka are the leading states (followed by Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Tamilnadu, in that order: Randhawa 1980: 245). *Bajra*, a crop with a high level of heat tolerance which grows well in dry areas, has a distribution similar to that of sorghum except that it is not important in Karnataka; Rajasthan (area 4) and Maharashtra lead in its production in India (Randhawa 1980: 318).

Though the linguistic links with Somali, Bantu, and Malagasy do suggest possible contact between the west coast of South Asia and the east coast of Africa, they do not tell us anything about the chronology of this contact. On the other hand, it is known that small fishing boats from Kerala have occasionally been blown across the Arabian Sea, to wash up on Somalian shores. (See also Appendix, item 5.) Thus, the further pursuit of these slender linguistic clues might eventually lead to a whole new chapter in the prehistory of the Indian Ocean region.

### Appendix

1. This particular semantic development, from 'grain' to 'specific grain', is found repeatedly in the history of languages, in South Asia and elsewhere. For example, Panjabi *kanak* 'wheat' is descended from Skt. *kaṇaka*- 'grain, particle' (the latter meaning is retained in the other NIA languages). Tamil *arici* means 'paddy', but the older meaning 'seed' survives in such words as *eelav-arici* 'cardamom seed'. (See the

next item.) Outside of South Asia, a well-known example is English *corn*, which also originally meant 'grain, granule' (cognate with Latin *granum*), but has come to refer to specific cereal grains in different parts of the English-speaking world: 'maize' in the U. S., 'wheat' in parts of the U. K., and 'oats' in others, etc.; the original meaning survives in *peppercorn*, and (by analogy) in *acorn*.

2. The relevant forms are: PDrav.-3 *\*ari(ki)* (DED 178), PDrav.-2 *\*vari(nci)* (DED 4306), and PDrav.-1 *\*manji(k)* (DED 3790). The reflexes of the first two refer generally to paddy, but in the case of the third form, the Kudux (NDrav.) form means 'seed (in general)'. Note also Elamite *bar* 'seed', and cf. item 1 above. The change *\*k* → *c* occurs between PDrav.-2 and PDrav.-3 (Krishnamurti 1969). Since Proto-Munda is dated at about 1500 B. C. (Zide–Zide 1973), approximately the same time as PDrav.-2, it can be presumed that a word *\*arik(i)*, perhaps meaning 'staple grain', was borrowed into proto-Munda from some group of Proto-Dravidian-2 speakers.

3. The earliest form of this word in IA is Pkt. *caulā* (plural), *cavala-*. Turner reconstructs a form *\*cāmala-/cāvala-* 'husked rice' on the basis of the NIA forms. (Note that in the rice regions of north India, this word often contrasts with *bhāt* 'cooked rice'.) The origin of this term is uncertain, but a connection with Tibeto-Burman words such as Newari *ja* 'cooked rice', Lahu *ca-* 'rice' seems the most plausible. Bloch's suggestion of a connection with Dravidian is hardly compelling: DED 1976 would go back to a PDrav.-2 *\*caval* 'mortar', and only the South Dravidian words refer to rice. Another Dravidian possibility would be SDrav. *\*cooru* 'cooked rice', but two things are against this: first the meaning, second the *-r-* (IA has some *-r-* forms, but the *-l-* forms seem to be original...).

Another possibly relevant item in this context is OIA *sāli-* 'growing or unhusked rice', which appears in both the Sanskrit epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. Its origin is unknown, but it is possibly connected with the above word.

4. PDrav.-2 *\*connal* 'maize, great millet, sorghum' (DED 2359) looks as though it might be a compound containing PDrav.-3 *\*nel* (DED 3112) as its second element. In this case, the first element might be connected with Brahui *cooND* 'lucerne' — suggesting that the earliest meaning in Dravidian could have been 'grass, fodder'. The OIA *yavanāla-* 'Andropogon bicolor' shows the following meanings in NIA: 'millet, oats, great millet, maize, Holcus sorghum', and is probably a folk-etymological transformation of the form *yōnala-* attested in the lexicographical tradition; this in turn is probably ultimately derived from the Proto-Dravidian form mentioned above, unless both are from a third source. (Mayrhofer accepts the derivation of this word from *yavana-* 'foreigner', but this could as easily be a folk etymology.)

5. Stephen Jett has called my attention to the presence of blowguns in South India which 'seems most likely attributable to contact with Malaysians, who have maintained trade relations with southern India for centuries. Presumably this area was also a stopping-point on the route from Indonesia to East Africa and Madagascar' (Jett 1970: 670). In the present time perspective, this appears to be a rather late phenomenon, since it is presumably subsequent to the settlement of Borneans in Madagascar in the early centuries A. D. (Jett 1970: 670). So far my attempts to locate linguistic data on blowguns in India have failed. (The English index of the *Dravidian etymological dictionary* has only one entry for 'blowpipe' (DED 1511), and this appears to refer to a tube for blowing fires.)

## Note

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## **Bilingualism and mother tongue education**

R. N. Srivastava

Educational planners have been forced to revise many of their basic assumptions and methods concerning educational development in the context of substantial wastage and failure prevalent in the multilingual environment of the developing nations of Africa and Asia. A substantial cause of this wastage and failure has been traced to the imparting of education in the early stages in languages other than the mother tongue (Goel—Saini 1972; Pattanayak 1981; Roy—Kapoor 1975; Srivastava 1980a). It is now being recognised that it is essential to promote the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at least at the level of primary education for a better utilization of the available educational resources and also for the maintenance of ethnic identity. The learners can at the same time be encouraged to acquire competence in languages of wider communication with a view to enabling them to participate in the institutions of national importance, i. e., the socio-cultural heritage of the national mainstream. The acculturation to the languages of wider communication can be facilitated by their use in stages other than primary education.

In the meeting of experts in language teaching in a bi- or plurilingual and multicultural environment organised by Unesco (19—23 December 1977), it was noted that the three main trends which bind these otherwise divergent countries of Africa and Asia are as follows: (1) rediscovery of the importance of indigenous languages, (2) understanding the importance of mother tongues for equal access to education for everybody, and (3) promotion of unity of the polity comprising a large number of heterogeneous ethnolinguistic groups by selection and development of a national language. On the one hand, selection and subsequent promotion of national/official language(s), was considered essential, because (i) the access language serves as one of the main unifying factors in the national integration, (ii) it becomes the symbol of national pride, (iii) it is also a means of national identity, and (iv) it serves as the medium of interethnic and intercultural communication. On the other problem of the mother-tongue teaching was considered of primary importance within the overall development policy of a given plurilingual country, because (i) it is the language in

which a child first of all finds expression of his self and that of his immediate environment, (ii) it allows for everyone an equal access to educational opportunities, (iii) it meets the psychological needs of the people and provides means of identifying one's self with the culture, and (iv) it helps in bridging the gap between the home and the school language (Srivastava 1980b).

In fact, most of the countries of Asia and Africa are marked by multiplicity of ethnic culture, stable type of societal bilingualism, increasingly strong ethnocentrism, and de facto existence of native European bilingualism. Educational policies in these countries are motivated by both ethnic identity and political unity. In order to promote the national unity without destroying the rich cultural diversity and also to integrate the localized indigenous speech communities into a national network of communication system, a three-tier language structure has been adopted for the education system. It has been proposed that education should be initiated through the mother tongue but the child be encouraged to learn one major regional language other than his mother tongue, i. e., for example, in Nigeria, one of the three — Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba, and in India, one of the languages mentioned in the VIII schedule of its constitution, as well as languages involved in national and international activities. In a monolingual setting, the same language is employed at different stages of educational achievement. In fact, there is one language with its different styles and registers which is called upon to perform the three distinct socialization processes<sup>1</sup>. Contrary to this, in multilingual context the three stages of educational achievements and three kind of socialization processes demand three distinct linguistic codes for its functional realization. A parallel between the three corresponding educational stages and socialization processes with that of functionality of languages, as shown by Srivastava — Gupta (1982: 8), is given below:

Educational Level	Socialization process	Relative focus on language(s)
Level I	Primary	Mother-tongue (Ethnic languages)
Level II	Secondary	Main stream languages (Inter-language for languages of 'little tradition')

Educational Level	Socialization process	Relative focus on language(s)
Level III	Tertiary	National official languages (Interlanguage for languages of great traditions).

As there are mother tongues which exclusively function as ethnic languages, and there are mother tongues which apart from being ethnic in nature also function as main stream and/or national languages, it is suggested that the notion of mother tongue be defined in the light of different roles and functions it is called upon to perform.

It must be stated, however, that there is considerable complexity in interpreting what a mother tongue is in a given set of surroundings; especially in the case of our multilingual and pluricultural environment, it is an illusive concept which for many defies a clear definition (Illich 1981, Pattanayak 1981, Khubchandani 1974). Scholars often forget that unlike other logical terms of linguistics, i.e., sentence, morpheme, syllable, phoneme, etc., the term mother tongue is not a theoretical construct definable by position and function which it may have in a given theory of language. In fact, like other folk-categories, terms like 'dialect', 'mother tongue', etc., are in no sense definable unless empirical facts of situation are taken into account (Srivastava 1982a). Such terms are to be defined as constructs characterised by the role and function they have in the verbal repertoire of a given speech community and the status and position they have in the total network of communication systems in a given setting.

### **Narrow and broad interpretation**

Two types of interpretations, viz., narrow and broad, need to be borne in mind while determining the functional use of a mother tongue in education in multilingual countries. The narrow interpretation defines it as a language spoken by the child from the cradle, i.e., the first speech in infancy. A mother tongue, under this inter-



pretation, is a language employed by the child for the purpose of primary socialization. The broad interpretation defines this concept in terms of institutional reality (Srivastava 1980a). According to Illich, the term mother tongue, from its very first use, 'instrumentalizes every day language in the service of an institutional cause', and acquires a strong meaning only as an institutional reality (Illich 1981: 28). One finds that out of common literary and cultural heritage, a member of a given speech community feels like speaking one and the same language inspite of dialectal and diatopic variations. In this context, the concept of mother tongue as an institutional reality acts as an integrating force linguistically as well as culturally.

The concept of mother tongue serving as an institutional reality can be exemplified from the Indian linguistic scene. For example, Hindi in the North-Central region serves as a supra-dialectal norm of verbal behaviour for a single intra-urban speech community connected by a super-regional network of communication (newspapers, books, radio, etc.) which extends from one urban centre to another without directly touching the intervening rural areas (Gumperz—Naim 1960). It is to be noted that people residing in rural areas employ as vernacular linguistically distinct and regionally circumscribed verbal codes, such as, Braj, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, etc. From the point of view of formal linguistics, these are distinct languages because structurally they are different from each other and from standard Hindi (which is based on *khariboli*). Since speakers of these regionally marked linguistic codes regard themselves as a part of the great Hindi tradition, these codes are viewed functionally as regional dialects of Hindi. It is simply for this reason that even those dialect speakers who have no communicative competence in Hindi, identify Hindi as their mother tongue (Srivastava et al. 1978). At the time of a census, these dialect speakers invariably register Hindi as their mother tongue.

In a monolingual setting the two interpretations of mother tongue — narrow and broad, and their respective functional roles merge into one language. However, in a multilingual context it is possible that the two roles of mother tongue are discharged by two distinct codes. In the case of the Hindi speech community there appears to be a disjuncture between them. For example, if an out-group member asks a member of the Hindi speech community to identify his mother tongue, he names Hindi, whereas when asked by an in-group member, the answer often is one of the regional dialects.

Mother tongue as a concept can thus be defined on two distinct planes: the chronological plane which places mother tongue first in the order of learning, and the socio-linguistic plane which accords to the mother tongue first place in order of institutional importance. 'A possible way of keeping the two apart would,' according to Christophersen (1964: 22), 'be to talk of "first" and "second" language (L1 and L2) in the chronological sense, and "primary" and "secondary" language (which might be represented as LA and LB) when referring to relative importance at any particular stage in a person's life. The two notions could be combined into LA1 and LA2 etc.'

The application of this conceptual framework to the Hindi-speaking areas reveals a diffused and varied orientation towards the concept of mother tongue. For example, we can note the following categories from within the context of Hindi speech community:

- (1) *Native Mother Tongue* (LA1), i. e., language of great tradition (Hindi) acquired natively, and used for both primary and secondary socialization processes.
- (2) *Vernacular Mother Tongue* (LB1), i. e., languages of little tradition (regional dialects) acquired natively but in conjunction with the language of great tradition (Hindi). Their use is generally restricted to primary socialization process.
- (3) *Associate Mother Tongue* (LA2), i. e., language of great tradition learned with native-like competence after acquiring the competence in a language of little tradition. Its use is generally restricted to secondary socialization processes.

One can find even instances of LB2, i. e., non-mother tongue functionality of vernaculars. Certain dialects of Hindi, for example, Awadhi, Braj, Maithili, etc., are quite rich in their cultural heritage and literary achievements and consequently are taught as part of Hindi tradition in formal school education. Such a dialect never gains the status of a mother tongue within the Hindi speech community, except for those members for whom it also serves as the vernacular mother tongue.

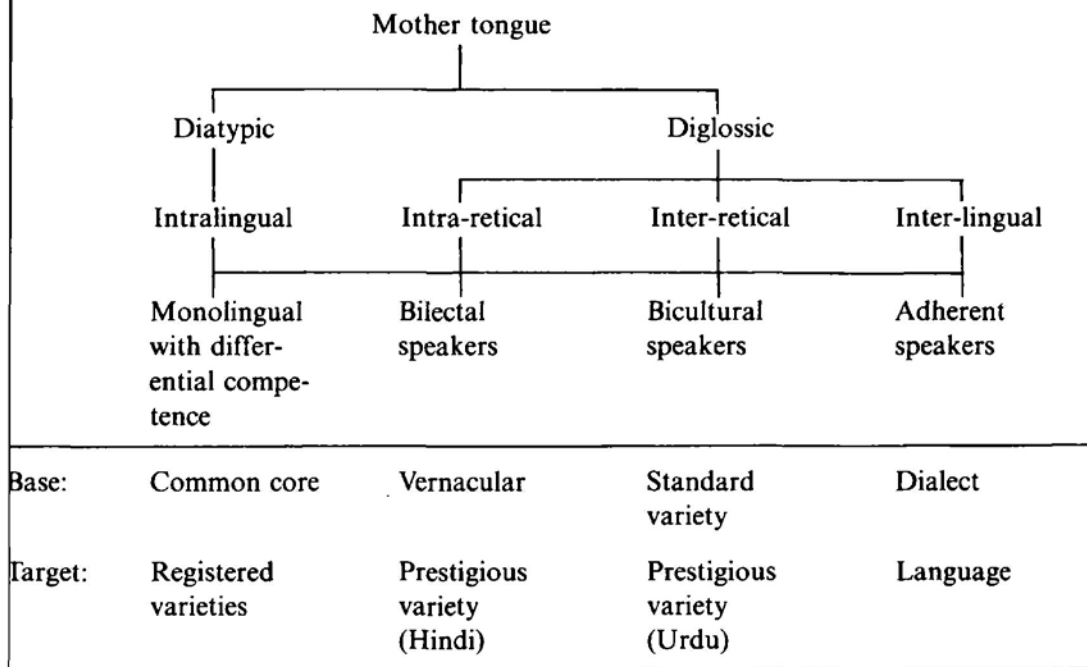
It is necessary for any meaningful discussion of the role of mother-tongue teaching in the multilingual and pluricultural societies that we evolve a method for describing a language as a self-contained and homogeneous system, regardless of its heterogeneity of data and multiplicity of functional variations (Srivastava 1969). Scholars have pro-

posed the coexistence of simultaneous systems in the verbal repertoire which 'operate partly in harmony and partly in conflict' (Fries — Pike 1949). That the concept of coexistent systems is not merely a linguist's construct but that it exists in reality in the verbal behaviour of mono- and bilingual speakers of these speech communities has been convincingly demonstrated by different scholars working on South Asian languages (Ferguson 1959, Gumperz 1961, Ferguson — Gumperz 1960, Gumperz — Naim 1960, Krishnamurthy 1975, Sjoberg 1963, Shammugam Pillai 1960, Srivastava 1969, Zvelebil 1964).

The diverse types of coexistent systems of mother tongues can be captured if we systematize the variations in functional and socio-cultural contexts of a language. Functional variations can best be systematized in the context of register variants of a given language. These variants lead to the distinct diatypic varieties according to their contexts of different fields, modes and tenors of discourse. These contextualized diatypic variants do not invoke the feeling of high and low or good and bad forms of speech.

Different from the diatypic varieties is the diglossic relationship which exists between the different codes of the verbal repertoire of a given speech community. For example, the verbal repertoire of the Hindi speech community exhibits three such types of relationship between its constituent codes — intra-retical, inter-retical and inter-lingual.

Intra-retical and inter-retical relationships involve the notion of microlects. Microlects are speech varieties which are defined with reference to the vernacular, because they are considered to be superimposed varieties — not 'primary' but learned. The two major microlects, High Hindi and High Urdu can be taken as two literary styles superimposed over Hindustani-based vernaculars. The two high styles are restricted to learned written discourse, the difference being in script, source of classicized vocabulary, and metrices; the former uses Devanagari script and depends on Sanskrit while the latter is associated for its script and lexical resources with Perso-Arabic languages. It is to be noted that the gap in terms of comprehensibility and communicability between a Hindustani-based vernacular and the two High microlects of Hindi on the one hand and between two microlects — High Hindi and High Urdu on the other, can sometimes be almost as wide as the gap between two languages. It is also interesting to note that for native mother-tongue speakers of Hindi, High Hindi microlect functions in vertical diglossic relationship with its vernacular variety. Contrary to this, the High Urdu microlect gets realized in the



form of horizontal diglossia as High Hindi and High Urdu are two literary and cultural styles which have a common linguistic base. The intra-retical relationship between the two codes is based on the vertical type of diglossia where learning of the prestigious code makes the learner a bilectal speaker. The inter-retical relation between the two compartmentalized codes is based on the horizontal type of diglossia where learning of a prestigious code makes the learner competent in controlling another culturally contextualized literary style of a language.

As different regional dialects of Hindi are structurally composite linguistic entities at par with that of their language, they exist in the verbal repertoire of the speech community in a diglossic relationship which is inter-lingual. Kelkar (1968) suggests that such dialect speakers command a native-like control over Hindi and may hence be called 'adherent speakers' as distinct from 'native speakers'. The teaching of Hindi as a mother tongue thus involves for members of Hindi speech community the concept of coexistence of simultaneous system which is extended from the intra-lingual varieties to the inter-lingual diglossic situations. As given in Srivastava (1980a), the following contexts of role relations and speech interaction can be specified for defining the verbal repertoire of a mother tongue.

The proscriptive approach to the teaching of Hindi as a mother tongue interferes directly with existing vernacular skills in Hindustani (in the case of bilectal speakers) and oral skills in a Vernacular

Mother Tongue already successfully acquired (in the case of adherent speakers). It tries to replace the patterns of activity of LB1 by LA2 on the one hand and the living vernacular speech by the supra-regional high language of an elite on the other hand. Productive language teaching in this context involves teaching of new registeral variants, corrected speech variety and impersonal rhetoric of people. It also encourages teaching of reading and writing skills in a code other than the vernacular mother tongue.

### **Literacy and mother-tongue education**

The concept and the use of the term 'literacy' covers a multiplicity of meaning (Srivastava 1978, Srivastava—Gupta 1983). Consequently, linguists, educationists, policy-makers, etc., differ widely in their approach towards defining the form, function, and use of literacy. For example, concerned literature on literacy raises two conflicting claims related to its operational efficiency:

- (a) Literacy as a skill is effectively achieved in already acquired mother tongues (as literacy generally presupposes articulatory), and
- (b) literacy as a function is most effectively achieved in the language (of wider communication) which has as its semantic and social setting an esoteric written culture.

It is obvious, the former defines literacy as an extension of the functional potential of language with regard to the written mode of transmission involving written and reading skills, while the latter accepts literacy as a call for participation of the socially deprived and economically disadvantaged illiterate masses in the heritage of written culture.

These two different orientations make two conflicting demands on the language use in a literacy programme, especially in the context of our multilingual setting. In India, mother tongues are generally neither languages of wider communication nor are they employed in the ecological setting to which writing is contextually appropriate. As there are some mother tongues which have no writing system of their own, and some, though written, have a lower status and restricted function, we find in our educational pro-

grammes literacy being initiated through a language which is not a learner's own language.

There are many instances and several types of situations in India in which literacy skills are being initiated through a second language. The first situation is basically concerned with tribal or minority (non-literate) language speakers. Some of the other situations can be exemplified by literacy patterns from the Hindi region. Literacy here gets initiated through primers written in 'Standard Hindi' at the cost of linguistically distinct dialects in which learners have exclusive communicative proficiency. Another instance of initiating literacy in the second language can be seen in English-medium schools. In spite of the fact that learners are brought up in the environment of a written regional language at home and in society, they at first are imparted literacy in English. This practice of initiating literacy in a language other than the vernacular mother tongue, first of all, violates the operational efficiency condition that literacy is most effectively achieved in the mother tongue and secondly leaves certain negatively marked effects on the language and social organization. Some of these effects are as below:

- it leaves many learners at the level of semi-literacy,
- it creates intellectual imbalances between standard language literacy and mass literacy,
- it downgrades a learner's mother tongue,
- it interferes with the channel for cross-cultural communication that could serve as a bridge between oral culture and written culture, and
- it generates a disharmonious relationship between functions of literacy, i. e., what literacy does for learners, and uses of literacy, i. e., what learners do with literacy skills.

However, surveys conducted to investigate the style/language attitudes of different groups of informants belonging to schools in rural and urban settings clearly indicate higher preferential attitude scores for the style and language which have higher status and prestige in society rather than the one which has a greater communicative potential in usage (Parasher 1978, Saxena 1984, Srivastava 1982b). These studies indicate what the members of a given speech community want to achieve in their terminal and target behaviours.

It is quite obvious that learners — whether they belong to rural areas or urban centres, prefer to acquire literacy skills in the style and language which are controlled by elitist structures. This goal is

best achieved by imparting literacy in the linguistic code which is non-vernacular in orientation. In order to meet operational efficiency as well as the overall expectation of a learner, it is proposed that we differentiate between the initial stage of literacy and its terminal stage. Our contention is that in our multilingual setting, the two stages may not be best suited if one and the same language and/or style is opted for.

A literacy programme must in the initial phase draw upon the linguistic resources of the vernacular/dialect, as literacy education operates most efficiently in the language of home and intimate relations. As literacy can be extended indefinitely within the institutional writing system of the mother tongue, it is further suggested that a gradual transfer be made to the preferred terminal behaviour. There is a definite advantage in promoting this vernacular-cum-transfer literacy model, since first, it does not stigmatize a learner's mother tongue, second, it does not generate pressure on learners to acquire two skills at one time — articulacy as well as literacy; and third, it does not foster the growth of either semilingualism or the subtractive type of bilingualism.

### Note

1. The Education Commission of India (1963–1966) proposes the following three levels of education: first level: pre-school and primary education; second level: lower and higher secondary education; and third level: undergraduate and post-graduate education, professional degree and research. Three kinds of socialization processes, as envisaged by Singleton (1973) are: primary wherein children learn to adapt themselves to family and community roles occurring in familial and primary group contexts, secondary wherein children participate in and learn to be members of their larger community; and tertiary wherein children learn operational skills related to vocational and other socio-economic roles.

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## ***Na sthātavyam* ('Not Being Stayed') in the Eight-Thousand-Line Perfection-of-Wisdom Sutra**

Frederick J. Streng

Several basic concerns stand out during the past century in the comparative study of religion. One is the concern for accurate descriptions of the historical-cultural context in which religious life is developed. A second concern is comparison of myths, rituals, and names of gods from different locations for similarities which indicate common cultural ancestry. Another is the identification and comparison of structures of religious meaning based on a comparison of symbols and linguistic usage. Professor Edgar Polomé has made significant contributions to each of these areas.

Within the broad scope of his study Professor Polomé has wrestled with the complexity and multidimensional character of cosmologies, ideologies, and mythologies. For example, in 'The gods of the Indo-Europeans', Polomé (1980) shows deep respect for Georges Dumézil's tripartite mythological correspondence with social functions, but recognizes that societies in early Germanic communities focus social-political power collectively in tribal or clan leaders. In 'Recent developments in Indo-European comparative religion', Polomé (1981) recognizes that not all Indo-European mythology can be reduced to the reflection of social functions, and affirms Mircea Eliade's insight that the Indo-European pantheon also expresses celestial and atmospheric hierophanies. In 'Vedic speculations on the ultimate', Polomé (1979) wrestles with both the mythical and philosophical aspects of Vedic cosmogony. In this small addition to the celebration of Professor Polomé's contribution to scholarship, I will examine an Indian Buddhist religious claim regarding the character of deep insight.

The phrase *na sthātavyam* is a basic concept in the Indian Buddhist text (of perhaps the second century B.C.E.) *Eight-Thousand-Line Perfection-of-Wisdom Sutra* (Vaidya 1960. This will be abbreviated below as *ASPP*.) This study will focus on the structure of religious meaning as revealed in the claims of the Buddhist advo-

cates that the deepest religious insight must transcend the symbols, myths, and teaching which are used for purposes of communication. This analysis suggests that the religious meaning is related to the manner in which words or symbols are used for religious goals — in this case to the goal of the perfection of wisdom. To the degree that symbols, terms, and structures of language help to create and actualize the deepest values for religious participants, they are important indicators of the process whereby people attain their religious meaning and insight.<sup>1</sup>

A comparison of the religious intention found in this Buddhist example and in a mythological expression of meaning suggests that there are different processes of evaluation in religious experience. Many scholars have noted that in myths and rituals a person symbolically structures a world of meaning through “sacralizing” — that is, imbuing with overwhelming significance and obligation — certain everyday experiences such as giving birth, reaching puberty, eating together, or saying goodbye. This, I suggest, is one way or mode of evaluation. By contrast, in the Buddhist training of “the perfection of wisdom” the religious adept seeks freedom from the designations, symbols, and rituals which are used to express ultimate significance. As we will see, even though the Buddhist adept uses concepts and symbols to communicate his view, the primary value is not the construction of a symbolic world of meaning; rather, it is the freedom from the common tendency to value self-images, ideal images, or objects of desire. Even religious notions that may be valuable at a beginning stage of training are later discarded as ultimately without value. We will focus on the phrase *na sthātavyam* ‘not being stayed’ to highlight a process of evaluation that stresses freedom from attachment to emotional, mental, and behavioral forms.

According to the *ASPP*, the basic spiritual problem in existence is the tendency for people to assume the reality of any object of their affection, to become affixed to their own ideas which provide them meaning, and to seek the deepest quality of life in experiences that tend toward disappointment and pain. Overcoming this pain, say the advocates in the *ASPP*, requires avoiding the hypostatization of, or ‘becoming stayed’ in, the moments of one’s experience. To avoid ‘being stayed’ is very difficult because there is a tendency for us to crystallize our perceptions of significance into an attachment to perceived objects which eventually die or dissipate. This results in suffering.

To correct this basic problem inherent in conventional intellectual and emotional experience one must learn to 'stand firm' in the recognition of change, while at the same time avoid becoming fixed or 'stayed' (*sthāavyam*) in the conventional emotional projections, conceptual designations, or even ideal models that are a regular part of human experience. In advocating *na sthāavyam* ('not taking a stand', or 'not being stayed') in mental and emotional objects this spiritual practice can be seen as a type of *via negativa* spirituality; however, we should note that it is without the assumption of an eternal creator and sanctifier as one finds in the *via negativa* of the 16th century Christian Spanish mystic St. John of the Cross; and this changes the goal and process of valuation significantly.

First we will examine the need to avoid an emotional attachment even to a spiritual ideal. In Chapter 1, the venerable adept of perfect wisdom, Subhūti, says that despite the talk of 'a bodhisattva' (an enlightenment being), there is really nothing outside the verbalizing process with corresponds in a one-to-one way with the idea 'bodhisattva'. One who does not become fearful when hearing this is at the irreversible stage of the bodhisattva path; he stands well (*suṣṭhita*) while not having stood anywhere (*as-thānayogena*) (Vaidya 1960: 4). In Chapter 2 Subhūti instructs the god Śakra on the deepest value of life, perfect wisdom, and how to achieve it. He says that having abided (*tiṣṭhatā*) in emptiness (*śūnyatām*) a bodhisattva 'is stayed' (*sthāavyam*) in the perfection of wisdom. Then he continues by contrasting 'abiding in emptiness' with other possibilities which one should avoid. For example, the bodhisattva should 'not be stayed' (*na sthāavyam*) in form and the other four *skandhas*, not in any of the five senses or minds (*manas*), not in sensory or mental objects, not in the elements, not on 'the pillars of mindfulness, right efforts, roads to psychic power, faculties, powers, limbs of enlightenment and limbs of the path' (Conze 1973: 97) nor on the fruits of different levels of spiritual attainment, even arhatship.

The text continues through two more sections (nos. 35 and 36) stating possibilities of what one should *not* be stayed (*na sthāavyam*) in, including the idea that form is empty, that it is to be apprehended as something, not even on the idea that 'this is Buddhahood'. Further, a bodhisattva should not 'be stayed' on the notion 'that the fruits of the holy life derive their dignity from the Unconditioned', nor 'be stayed' on the stage of a Buddha, or in the recog-

nition that he has done a Buddha's work (Conze 1973: 97). This list of negations by Subhūti leaves another disciple, Śāriputra, with a question to himself: If one should 'not be stayed' even on the highest level of enlightenment, how then should one abide in emptiness and train oneself (*śikṣitavyam*) (Vaidya 1960: 19)? In a Socratic manner Subhūti responds with a question: Where did the Buddha abide (*stitha*)? Śāriputra answers: The Tathāgata, the completely enlightened one (*samyaksambuddha*) abode (*stitha*) nowhere. On what grounds is this claim made? Because the completely enlightened one has 'not stationed' (*apratiṣṭhita*) his mind anywhere (Vaidya 1960: 19).<sup>2</sup>

An understanding of the impact of this claim leads to the second point that we want to make regarding the attainment of perfect wisdom. Not only should the bodhisattva avoid clinging emotionally to spiritual ideals or levels of attainment, she/he also should eliminate projections of images or concepts on the flux of perceptions which tend to crystallize an idea into a thing. In the passage from Chapter 1 mentioned before, in which Subhūti states that one should not be frightened on hearing that there is no bodhisattva as such, he goes on to say that 'it would surely be regrettable if I, unable to find the thing itself, would merely in words cause a Bodhisattva to arise and pass away' (Conze 1973: 85). Earlier in this chapter Subhūti has warned that thought should be regarded as 'no thought'. Even 'right views' or conceptual formulations of truth tend to lead people into false assumptions because of the mechanism of words. For example Śāriputra asks: 'That thought which is not thought, is that something which is' (Conze 1973: 84)? In response Subhūti asserts that the meaning of the phrase 'no thought' does not imply either 'there is' or 'there is not'.

Likewise, in contrast to the Abhidharma masters, the advocates of the Perfection of Wisdom assert that the wisdom is the 'non-apprehension of all dharmas'. The dharmas were the constituent factors of existence given methodical attention in meditation. By giving attention to the dharmas, the Abhidharma masters sought to clarify the law of dependent co-arising, not as a thing-in-itself, but as an orientation needed for allowing a release from philosophical claims and common experience of a permanent self. By clarifying the process of dependent co-arising, they could attend to the avoidance of those factors that caused both attachment and the arising of existence. However, for the Perfection of Wisdom advocates, the descriptions of constituents of existence (*dharmas*) and

the analysis of dependent co-arising were conventions that were useful only for communicating with people who were on a low to moderate level of insight.

To state the highest level of image-ing about the pulsating, arising, and dissipation of the phenomenal world, one had to say that there was 'no arising' and 'no dissipation'; all things, constituent factors, and causal relations are empty of self-establishing essences — they themselves have dependently co-arisen. Therefore, claims Subhūti:

a Bodhisattva who courses in perfect wisdom and develops it, should consider and meditate on what perfect wisdom is, on him who has it, and on this perfect wisdom as a dharma which does not exist, which cannot be apprehended.

(Conze 1973: 86)

In order to avoid the incipient tendency of mental processes to establish (*pratiṣṭhati* 'to station') the consciousness in an illusory thing the Perfection of Wisdom itself is to be conceived as non-thought, as non-apprehension, not stayed in anything.

The third point of the warning to be 'not stayed' in anything in the perfection of wisdom is that in order to avoid the fabrication of false values, such as pseudo-spiritual problems, a student must become sensitive to the quality of consciousness which avoids fixation if s/he wants to actualize the freedom of 'empty' existence. In other words, a clear perception of the nature of changing existence includes perceiving different qualities of consciousness as part of the training in the perfection of wisdom. A bodhisattva needs to distinguish between training him/herself spiritually and a mere continual entangling him/herself in figments of his/her imagination. She/he needs to focus on the manner in which she/he perceives the problem of the arising and dissipation of existence. From the standpoint of the *ASPP*, the purpose in knowing the nature of dharmas, the stages of perfection, or characteristics of experience is liberation from pain which sentient beings tend to inflict on themselves. To understand the internal dynamics of spiritual development in this value orientation requires a person to recognize that he or she commonly is projecting an intention to fix or 'station' some value as an isolatable object or entity. In order to avoid the attachments and resulting pain from that, the spiritual adept is asked by the *ASPP* advocates not to imagine spiritual training simply as holding right

views or beliefs, complying to certain moral obligations, nor performing certain symbolic rituals; it is not enough even to go through a mystical path to achieve a projected 'good'. Enlightenment is the freeing of one's thoughts and emotions from inappropriate restrictions due to attachment. Such freeing is not just the exchanging of one thought for another, nor even the total elimination of thought, as if it were some inherently bad entity separate from nonthought. It is a realization that all thought is participation in, and construction of, interdependently arising phenomena. Unless spiritual perfection is actualized in a manner different from the conventional fixation of ideas and emotions, however, a person will be 'stayed' in his or her own construction.

It is not surprising, then, that in the conversation between Subhūti and Śāriputra mentioned earlier regarding where did the Buddha 'abide' in his attainment of perfect enlightenment, that Śāriputra correctly says that the Tathāgata did not abide (*na stitah*) in the conditioned realm nor in the non-conditioned realm, or abandon (*vyutthita*) them both. Subhuti then affirms Śāriputra's statement and summarizes the view of the *ASPP* by saying:

Even so, Śāriputra, a bodhisattva, a great being, is stayed (*sthā-tavyam*), is trained. [He thinks:] As the Tathāgata, the highest (completely) enlightened one, so I am not anywhere stayed (*sthitah*), not non-abiding (*nāsthitah*), not fixed (*viṣṭitah*), not non-fixed (*nāviṣṭitah*). Being stayed (*sthāsyam*) in this way, one is trained (*śikṣitavyam*, i. e., trained correctly). As the Tathāgata, so I 'stand' (*sthāsyamī*); thus I am trained. As the Tathāgata has stood (*sthānam*), thus, I stand (*sthāsyamī*); thus I train ... well placed (*suṣṭhitah*), not having stood anywhere (*asthānayaogena*). Even so a bodhisattva, a great being, is stayed (*sthātavyam*), is trained. Thus trained the bodhisattva, a great being, abides (*vi-harati*) in the perfection of wisdom and does not lose his attentiveness to it.

(Vaidya 1960: 19)

Thus to train, or to stay in the course of perfect wisdom, a person should avoid being 'fixed' or 'stayed' in any object of perception or mental ideal.



## Notes

1. I have analyzed the intentional function of religious life from a comparative descriptive phenomenological perspective in Streng (1984), and compared the religious functions of different mystical expressions in Streng (1978).
2. Conze (1973: 98) translates the last sentence: 'because his mind sought no support'.

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# **The languages of the peoples of the USSR**

E. G. Tumanjan

The linguistic map of the USSR mirrors a fascinating variety of languages, for the state territory accommodates languages of the Indo-European, Turkic, Iberic-Caucasian, Finno-Ugric, Mongolian, Manchu-Tungus, Paleosiberian and other families, the total number of the languages exceeding 130. A number of official languages of other countries are spoken in the USSR, such as Polish, German, Korean, Hungarian, and Greek.

By the principle of state national institution the peoples of the USSR are organized in Soviet Socialist and autonomous republics (SSR and AR below), autonomous regions, and autonomous districts (AD below). Each of the state units is designated by the ethnic name of the autochthonous population.

The USSR consists of fifteen republics with major nationalities, viz., the Azerbaijani, Armenian, Belorussian, Estonian, Georgian, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Latvian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Tadzhik, Turkmenian, Uzbek Republics, the Ukraine, and the Russian Federative Soviet Republic.

The Russian Federative Soviet Republic (RFSR), being the largest by territory, encompasses 16 of the twenty autonomous republics, viz., the Bashkir, Buryat, Chechen-Ingush, Chuvashian, Dagestani, Kabardian-Balkar, Kalmyk, Karelian, Komi, Mari, Mordvin, North-Ossetian, Tatar, Tuva, Udmurt, Yakut ARs. The RFSR includes five of eight autonomous regions, viz., Adyghe, Mountain Altai, Jewish, Karachay-Circassian, Khakas. Furthermore, all the ten autonomous districts of the USSR are located in the RFSR; these are Agin Buryat, Komi-Permyak, Koryak, Nenets, Taimyr, Ust-Orda Buryat, Khanty-Mansi, Chukchee, Evenki, Yamalo-Nenets. All the names given above correspond to the ethnic denomination of the respective autochthonous people. The Azerbaijani SSR includes the Nakhichevan AR, and the Mountain Karabakh AD. In the territory of the Georgian SSR are located the Abkhaz and Adjara ARs and the South-Ossetian AD. The Mountain Badkhan AD is situated in the territory of the Tajik SSR, and the Uzbek SSR includes the Karakalpak ASSR.

In the USSR, with its ethnolinguistic variety of most territories and intensive economic and cultural contacts between peoples, bilingualism and multilingualism are quite common, the most frequent component of these being the Russian language. The number of the speakers of individual languages varies significantly, for languages with less than one thousand speakers are observed (e. g. in the Far North or in the Caucasus) alongside "multimillionaires" such as Russian, Ukrainian, etc. However, population growth proves to be non-balanced as well, the rate being highest in Central Asia.

The Constitution of the USSR grants all the languages equal rights. The Russian language serves international communication; there are some regions (e. g. the Caucasus, the Pamirs) where the language of regional communication is that of the largest ethnic group.

The linguistic situation in the USSR has a number of specific traits. After the Revolution of 1917, the young Soviet Republic was left a troublesome inheritance from the Tsarist state, for the economy of the country was completely ruined. The restoration of the economy required educated specialists. Meanwhile, the colonial policy of Tsarist Russia towards national languages and cultures had resulted in widespread illiteracy, affecting the majority of the population in some regions. Quite a lot of the peoples had no orthography and no literary language, and only about 20 nationalities of 130 had developed systems of writing. Some possessed merely the beginnings of writing, with literary languages either being absent altogether or functioning only in limited spheres and thus failing, to develop adequately. The alphabet used depended largely on the religious affiliation, for the Moslem peoples employed the Arabic script which had always served mainly for the clergy. As for the Slavic peoples and some Christianized peoples (the Komi, the Mordvins, etc.), they adhered to the Cyrillic script. The Armenians and the Georgians had their own, original, alphabets; the invention of these in the 5th century A. D. was associated with the spread of Christianity. The Hebrew script, the Latin alphabet, and the Old Uighur-Mongolian writing (the latter for the Lamaists) were also known.

The 1920s witnessed intense efforts to increase literacy levels. The languages that had no writing at all were given orthographies; alphabets and orthographies were highly improved,<sup>1</sup> teachers were trained, handbooks and dictionaries were compiled. Much termi-

nology was researched into at that time, new universities were founded, and the literary languages came to acquire new functions by being introduced into new domains (science, higher education, mass media, etc.), see Guboglo (1984: 5). At present national literature is available in 78 languages,<sup>2</sup> and numerous languages are used in the press and broadcasting. Numerous scientific, technological reference, and educational books as well as fiction are published in many languages, embracing all the spheres of science, technology, and culture and thus facilitating the lexical and terminological development of the languages. All the union republics have their own national Academies of Science. In the RFSR, besides, the all-Union Academy of Science is based, with departments and centers in different districts of the Republic. The main means of acquainting the peoples of the USSR with scientific and cultural values created both in the country and abroad is the Russian language, which is also the major source of new vocabulary and terminological items in the languages of the USSR.

## **1. Indo-European languages**

About twenty languages of the Indo-European family are spoken in the USSR, with the number of speakers amounting to three quarters of the total population.

### **a) East Slavic**

The languages of this branch are the most widespread, being spoken by 190 million people. The group comprises Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian which developed on the basis of Old Russian and split from the Slavic community about the 14th – 15th century A. D. The oldest dated documents go back to the 11th century. The spread of these three languages, all of which have the Cyrillic script, is due to the promotion of Christianity.

Russian is the language of the Russian people and is spoken by more than a half of the population of the USSR. The 137,400,000 Russians in the USSR make up 52.4% of the population. 99.9% of these claim Russian as their mother-tongue. Russian is the main

language of the RFSR, where 113,500,000 Russians live, accounting for 82.6% of the population of the Republic (137,400,000). In addition, the population of the Republic comprises 3.6% Tatars, 2.7% Ukrainians, 1.2% Chuvash, Daghestanian and other peoples.<sup>3</sup> Over one million Russians live abroad.

The origins of the Russian literary language can be traced back to before Christianization, in the 10th century; besides the vernaculars official and poetic oral variants of the language can be distinguished belonging to that period. The written language established itself and spread after the adoption of Christianity in 988, with two literary variants, East Slavic and Old Church Slavic (*JaN* 1: 56). Numerous books appeared, both religious and fictional. In the 17th–18th centuries, the Russian language arose as the language of the nation, after the linguistic areas of Northern and Middle Russia united. In the formation of the literary language a great role was played by Moscow. A number of historic events together with certain migrations led to the formation of ethnographic groups with specific cultures; such as Cossacks (on the Don, Ter, Kuban), Pomors of the North, Staroobrjadtsy (Old Believers) in the Urals, in Siberia, etc.

Russian fiction achieved perfection in the 19th century. Initially the literary language had a highly elitist nature. Yet, democratization, which increasingly made its mark after 1917, made it accessible to different social layers. Subsequently the colloquial form made its appearance. Modern Russian, one of the functionally most versatile, highly cultured languages, spoken by the overwhelming majority of the population, serves as the main means of introducing the peoples of the USSR to ethnic and cultural values of the country and of foreign states. Vast amounts of literature written in the languages of the USSR and in foreign languages are translated into Russian. The Russian language is also the official means of communication in the central (All-Union) state institutions, mail and communication between union republics (which, for internal purposes, mainly employ their national languages). The peoples of the USSR have willingly and unanimously accepted Russian as the natural inter-ethnic means of communication.

Ukrainian is the principal language in the Ukrainian SSR. Of the 42,300,000 Ukrainians living in the USSR, 82.8% claim it as their mother-tongue. In the Ukraine, 36,500,000 Ukrainians live which equals 73.6% of its population (49,600,000). The Russians make up 21.1%, the Jews 1.3%, the Belorussians 0.8%, the Moldavians

0.6%, and the Poles 0.5% of the population. The Ukrainians live in many places throughout of the USSR as well as abroad (in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Canada, the USA, etc.). The Ukrainian language developed on the basis of Old Russian territorial dialects in about the 14th century (*JaN* 1: 123). It is a language with a well-established written tradition (the system of writing was set up in the 14th–15th century). In the 18th century the gap between the bookish and the vernacular language became smaller. The foundations for the formation of the literary Ukrainian were laid by the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko (19th century). The Ukrainian language has a vast number of functions and is well developed. It is the language of numerous and popular fiction publications, the language of science and technology, it is the language of school and high school education, of mass media and theater, etc. The Ukrainians employ the Cyrillic script with minor modifications.

Belorussian dominates in the Belorussian SSR. Of the 9,500,000 Belorussians living in the USSR, 74.2% claim it as their mother-tongue. About 7,600,000 Belorussians live in the Republic which amounts to 79.4% of its population (9,500,000). The population of Belorussia also includes Russians (11.9%), Poles (4.2%), Ukrainians (2.4%), and Jews (1.4%). The ethnic formation of the Belorussians goes back to the 14th–15th century (*JaN* 1: 155). Their ethnic name is associated with the toponym *Belaja Rus'* 'White Russia' which designated western Russian territories. The Belorussian language has an old writing tradition; the earliest documents of official, juridical and other literature date from the 14th–16th centuries (*JaN* 1: 156). Up to the 17th century, Old Belorussian served as the official written language in the Great Lithuanian state. After the 17th century, some stagnation in the use of the language set in, for the Tsarist government closed down schools, did not allow printing, etc. The language fell completely out of use in schools, and there were no institutions of higher learning using Belorussian. The situation continued up to 1917, when the Revolution put an end to it; by 1971, 28 institutions of higher learning using Belorussian as the language of instruction were in existence (Dešeriev 1976: 96). Nowadays the language has a wide variety of functions, being used in science, schooling, and education, as well as serving as the language of fiction, official documents, mass media and culture.

In Belorussia different forms of bilingualism and multilingualism are observed, mainly Belorussian-Russian, Belorussian-Polish, and Polish-Russian.

## b) The Baltic languages

The group comprises the closely related Lithuanian and Latvian, both subdivided into dialects. The formation of these languages involved different dialect communities. The written form of the languages emerged in the Reformation period mainly through the translation of religious texts (16th century). By the 19th century, fiction, essays, and other types of literature had appeared. The modern literary language came into existence by the beginning of the 20th century (*JaN* 1: 458).

Lithuanian is the main language in the Lithuanian SSR. There are about 3,000,000 Lithuanians in the USSR, and 97.9% of these have Lithuanian as their mother-tongue. About 80% of the population in the Lithuanian Republic (3,400,000), i. e., 2,700,000 people are Lithuanians, the Russians making up 8.9%, the Poles 7.3%, and the Belorussians 1.7%. Lithuanians also live in the Ukraine, in Belorussia, and abroad (in the USA, Canada, etc.). The written language employs the Latin script. Modern literary Lithuanian is used in all domains of public life, in science, technology, fiction, education, mass media, official documentation, etc.

While Lithuanian holds the dominant position, in some spheres Russian and also Polish are used. Lithuanian-Russian and Lithuanian-Polish bilingualism is common, Polish-Lithuanian-Russian trilingualism is also observed. Polish is used in some schools and figures in broadcasting, etc.

Latvian is the main language in the Latvian SSR. Of the 1,400,000 Latvians living in the USSR, 95% speak it as their mother-tongue. In the Latvian SSR, there live 1,300,000 Latvians (53.7% of the total population of 2,500,000), with Russians accounting for 32.8%, Belorussians for 4.5%, Ukrainians for 2.7%, Poles for 2.5%, Lithuanians for 1.5%, and Jews for 1.1% of the population. Latvians also live in the RFSR, in the Ukraine, and abroad.

The Latvian language emerged as the idiom of a number of Baltic tribes; it shows partially the influence of the Livonian and Estonian substrates (*JaN* 1: 466–467). The written language has existed since the 16th century; it uses the Latin alphabet. Nowadays, the literary language has extended its functions significantly, being widely used in science, technology, education, mass media, official documentation, all representations of national culture. Up to 1940, Latvian (like Lithuanian) was functionally limited, even though some literature was published, a press existed, teaching in Latvian was prac-



ticed, and a relatively high literary level was observed. Urbanization led to a significant social restructuring of the Baltic Republics, particularly increasing the number of people involved in intellectual work (Dešeriev 1976: 258); therefore, the potential use of the literary languages entered a new stage. Thus, in 1940 only 286 Latvian books were published in Latvia, while in 1967 this number had risen to 1,003 (Dešeriev 1976: 268).

### **c) Iranian languages**

The main localization of these languages is found in Central Asia and in the Caucasus. Reflexes of substratum influence can be traced in these languages. Of the Iranian languages in the USSR the following are spoken: Tadjik (Tadzhik), Ossetic, Talysh, Kurdish, Tat. Besides, a group of Pamir (Ghalchan) languages are spoken in the Pamirs: Ishkashim, Vakhi, Yazgulami, etc.

Tadjik is the main language in the Tadzhik SSR, which is itself one of the most varied with regard to nationalities. In the USSR the number of Tadjiks is 2,900,000, with 97.8% of these claiming Tadjik as their mother-tongue. Over 2,200,000 Tadjiks live in the Tadzhik Republic, which amounts to about 58.8% of its total population (3,800,000 people). The population of the Republic also includes Uzbeks (22.9%), Russians (10.4%), Tatars (2.1%), Kirghiz (1.3%), Ukrainians, Jews, etc. Over 5,000,000 Tadjiks live abroad, in Iran and Afghanistan. In the formation of the Tadjiks a certain role was played by Bactrians, Sogdians, and others. The foundations of the literary language were laid by the language common to Persians and Tadjiks, that of the so-called "classic" period (the 9th – 10th centuries). In spite of the deep-rooted cultural traditions, the Tadjik literary language was scarcely used before 1917, with only 3% of the speakers being literate. The Moslem clergy employed the Arabic language, while official correspondence and documentation were composed in Russian (Dešeriev 1976: 302). Illiteracy disappeared after the Revolution of 1917, and the functional scope of the Tadjik language became much broader. The language began to serve science and technology, mass media, education and teaching, official documentation, fiction, and culture. Other languages are also widely used in the Tadzhik SSR, for there are schools with instruction in Uzbek, Kirghiz, Russian, Kazakh, and other languages. Different types of bilingualism have developed, the Tadjik



language coexisting with one of the languages just listed; multilingualism is also observed, e. g., Tadjik-Uzbek-Russian.

The majority of the genetically related Pamir languages which have no writing cooccur with Tadjik; the latter is used officially, the former is employed in everyday life. In the 1959 census, the Pamir people called themselves Tadjiks.

The Ossetic language is spoken in the North-Ossetian ASSR and in the South-Ossetian AD. Of the 542,000 Ossetians, 88.2% speak it as the first language. The language has a Scythian substratum, and is thought to have had an ancient writing system (*JaN* 1: 92). Nowadays the language is written in an alphabet based on the Russian graphic system. The literary language serves literature in all its aspects, the development of a national culture, etc.

In the Soviet Union the Kurdish language is spoken mainly in the Caucasus. The total number of the Kurds in the USSR is 116,000, while the majority of them live in Turkey, Iran, and Iraq. In the USSR, the language is written in Cyrillic script. Nowadays, a literary language exists, fiction appears, broadcasts are made, and newspapers are published.

Iranian languages are also spoken by some national minorities in the USSR, such as Tats and Talysh, who are, as a rule, bilingual.

#### **d) Armenian**

The Armenian language is dominant in the Armenian SSR. Of the 4,200,000 Armenians living in the USSR 90.7% consider Armenian their native language. The Armenians make up the overwhelming majority of the population of the Armenian Republic (89.7% of the population of 3,037,000); 5.3% of the population are Azerbaijanis, and 2.3% are Russians. Some Armenians live in Georgia, in Azerbaijan. About 2 or 3 million Armenians live abroad (the USA, France, Iran, Syria, etc.). The Armenian ethnic community formed in the 7th century B. C. The original alphabet and documents of an impressive variety dating back to the 5th century emerged with the arrival of Christianity (Tumanjan 1971: 15–16). Up to the 19th century the ancient language served a great variety of areas (Tumanjan 1985: 120–127; 139–140). Since the 19th century, the two modern variants, the Eastern (in the Armenian SSR) and the Western (abroad) standards have spread, the former increasing its functions greatly after 1917. Nowadays it is widely used as the language

of science and technology, of education, mass media, official documentation, fiction, theatre, and so on. Ethnolinguistically, the situation in the Republic is relatively homogeneous, for the Armenians constitute the absolute majority in the population. The most frequent type of bilingualism is Armenian-Russian. The Russian language functions in a number of spheres, there are schools teaching in Russian, Russian broadcasting, etc.

#### **e) Romance languages**

In the USSR this group is represented by Moldavian, the state language of the Moldavian SSR (formerly Bessarabia). Of the Moldavians living in the USSR (about 3,000,000), 93.2% consider the language their mother-tongue. In the Moldavian Republic, the Moldavians constitute 63.9% of the population (a total of about 4,000,000), which also includes Russians (12.8%), Ukrainians (14.2%), Gagauz (3.5%), Bulgarians, Jews, and other ethnic groups. The Moldavians descend from the Walachians who underwent Romanization in the 2nd century, with the 6th century bringing Slavic influence on them. The Moldavian ethnos was formed in intense contact with the Slavic element. In the 9th – 13th centuries Moldavia was part of the Kiev Rus state. Since the 14th century the Moldavians have used the Cyrillic script (Korletjanu 1983: 38 – 39). The literary standard, created in the 16th – 17th centuries, is used now in all spheres of public life. It is the language of the ever-developing science and technology, that of fiction and the press. Mass media, arts and theatre employ primarily Moldavian. Bilingualism and multilingualism are widespread, including Moldavian-Russian, and Gagauz-Russian bilingualism.

Of other Indo-European languages spoken in the USSR, the Yiddish language should be mentioned. It was not given the status of a full-fledged language until after 1917. It is a language of press and fiction, and is also employed on the stage. Further, the Gipsy (Tsygan) language is widely used, as well as some other idioms.

## **2. Altaic languages: The Turkic branch**

The number of Turkic speaking peoples is second only to that of the speakers of the Slavic languages. Turkic languages are spoken in Central Asia and in Kazakhstan, with 60% of the total population using the respective languages. They are also spoken in Siberia, in the Volga region, and in the Caucasus. A number of regions have been distinguished where five ethnolinguistic communities with characteristics and cultures of their own have developed (Baskakov 1969: 8).

### **a) Western area**

Here the languages of the Lithuanian and Belorussian Tatars are spoken and Karaim, Krymchak, Urum, Crimean Tatar, and Gagauz are recorded as well. The speakers form compact communities (e. g., the Gagauz) or are partially assimilated (e. g., the Lithuanian Tatars).

### **b) Caucasian area**

Here Azerbaijani, Kumyk, Karachay-Balkar, Nogai, and Turkhmen are spoken. Genetically these languages belong to the Oghuz and Kypchak subgroups, their unique properties stemming from Iranian and Caucasian substratum influence.

Azerbaijani is the major language in the Azerbaijan SSR. Of the 5,500,000 Azerbaijanis of the USSR, 97.9% consider it their first language. In the Republic, there live 4,700,000 Azerbaijanis, or 78.1% of the total population of over six million. 7.9% are Armenians, 7.9% Russians, and 3.4% Daghestanian peoples. About 3,000,000 Azerbaijanis live abroad (in Iran, etc.). In the ethnos the Oghuz element prevails.

In the 9th–12th centuries representative literature was created, based on the Arabic script. It was, however, unavailable to the majority of speakers, for the level of literacy was quite low (9.2%) (Dešeriev 1976: 189). Today the alphabet used is based on the Russian script. The modern literary standard is the multifunctional means employed in science, technology, mass media, education and

teaching, official documentation, fiction, etc. In the Republic, bilingualism and multilingualism are quite common, the most frequent types being Azerbaijani-Russian, Armenian-Azerbaijani.

Speakers of the unwritten Daghestanian languages (the Kryz, the Tsaxurs, etc.) make use of the Azerbaijani language for interethnic communication and preserve the mother-tongue in everyday life. The Azerbaijan SSR includes the Mountain Karabakh AO with its compact Armenian population, where instruction in Armenian is promoted, and an Armenian language press exists, etc.

The Kumyk language of Daghestan also belongs to the Caucasian area. Of the 228,000 Kumyks 98.2% speak it as their first language. It is one of the literary languages of Daghestan recently put into writing, with an alphabet based on the Russian graphic system. New literature in Kumyk has emerged, periodicals are published, and so on.

### **c) Volgic and Uralic area**

Here live Tatars, Bashkirs, Chuvashians, who are genetically related to Bulgars and Kypchaks.

The Tatar language is spoken in the Tatar ASSR. Of the 6,300,000 Soviet Tatars, 85.9% speak Tatar as their first language. 47.7% of the total population of the Tatar ASSR (3,400,000) are Tatars, numerous Tatar communities are located also in the Bashkir ASSR, the Uzbek SSR, and elsewhere. The language belongs to the Kypchak subgroup and has a deep-rooted literary tradition. Since 1938, an alphabet based on the Russian graphic system has been used. Numerous scientific, educational, and other works are published in Tatar, abundant fiction has developed. Broadcasting and mass media are widely promoted in this language.

The Bashkir language is spoken in the Bashkir ASSR. Of the 1,400,000 Soviet Bashkirs, 67% consider it their native language. The Bashkirs constitute 24.3% of the 3,800,000 people living in the Bashkir ASSR. 40.3% of the Bashkir ASSR population are Russians, 24.5% are Tatars, and 3.2% are Chuvashians. The Bashkir language belongs to the Kypchak-Bulgar subgroup being, however, at some distance from the other languages of the subgroup. The language was put into writing after 1917. Before the Revolution, the Tatar literary language was employed as the written medium. Today, the Bashkir literary language utilizing the Cyrillic alphabet

has a large number of functions; it is the language of the press, of science, technology and fiction, that of teaching and culture, etc.

Chuvash is spoken in the Chuvash ASSR. 81.7% of the Soviet Chuvashians (1,800,000) speak it as their first language. The Chuvashians constitute 68.4% of the Chuvash ASSR population, the Russians making up 26.0%, the Tatars 2.9%, and the Mordvins 1.5%. The population of the Autonomous Republic is 1,300,000.

The Chuvash language experienced Iranian, Slavic, and Ugric influence. The written language was created in the 18th century. In the present day, the literary language is employed in fiction, official documentation, teaching, culture, etc. The alphabet is based on the Russian writing system.

#### **d) Central Asian area**

The area comprises six languages belonging to different ethnogenetic groups. These Turkic languages manifest certain features drawn from Iranian and (partly) Chinese substrates and stemming from later Arabic, Russian, and other influences.

The Uzbek language is the main language in the Uzbek SSR. Of the 12,500,000 Uzbeks, 98.5% have it as their native language. The Republic has 10,600,000 Uzbeks, 68.7% of the total population of 15,400,000. The population also includes 10.8% Russians, 4.2% Tatars, 4.0% Kazakhs, 3.9% Tadjiks, and 1.1% Koreans. The Uzbeks live also in other parts of Central Asia, in Afghanistan, China, etc. The foundations of the ethnos was laid by Turkic and Iranian tribes. The ethnic name, Uzbek, is of relatively late origin. The Uzbek language has a well-established literary tradition. The riches of Uzbek culture were for a long time unavailable to the people, for the level of literacy was rather low (e. g., in 1877 in the Ferghana region only 2.9% of Uzbeks were literate [Dešeriev 1976: 110]). Since 1939, the Cyrillic alphabet has been used. Nowadays, the Uzbek literary language has a wide scope of functions, being applied in science, technology, higher education, theatre, mass media, official documentation, etc. Natural and social sciences, as well as arts and humanities, use both Uzbek and Russian. The Republic having many nationalities, schooling is undertaken in Uzbek, Tadjik, Russian, and other languages. Bilingualism and multilingualism are quite common, e. g., Uzbek-Russian, Tadjik-Uzbek, Uzbek-

Tadjik-Russian. Russian is used alongside Uzbek in quite a number of spheres, especially as the language of international communication and culture.

The Kazakh language is spoken in the Kazakh SSR. Of the 6,500,000 Soviet Kazakhs, 97.5% consider it their native language. In the Republic, there live 5,300,000 Kazakhs (36% of the total population of 14,700,000), 40.8% of the population are Russians, 6.1% Ukrainians, 2.1% Tatars, and 1.8% Uzbeks. Many Kazakhs live in the USSR, in other Central Asian Republics. The Kazakh ethnos formed in the 15th–16th century on the basis of a number of Turkic-speaking tribes. Dialectal distinctions are rather weak. Before 1917, the Kazakhs were prevailingly nomadic and almost all illiterate. The official language was Russian. The initial growth of the literary language goes back to the second half of the 19th century, with Arabic script in use. The formation of the language was completed after 1917, the new alphabet being based on the Cyrillic script. Now the Kazakh language is employed in official documentation, mass media, education and teaching, science, fiction, etc. According to the 1959 census, 96.9% Kazakhs were, by then, literate. Bilingualism and multilingualism are quite common, with Kazakh-Russian bilingualism the most frequent. School languages are Kazakh, Russian, Uzbek, Uighur, and others.

Kirghiz is the main language in the Kirghiz SSR. Of the 2,000,000 Kirghiz, 97.9% have it as their mother-tongue. The total population of the Republic is 3,500,000, with 1,700,000 (47.9%) Kirghiz, 25.9% Russians, 12.1% Uzbeks, 3.1% Ukrainians, 2.0% Tatars, etc. Kirghiz people live also in other Republics of Central Asia and abroad (Afghanistan, etc.). The ethnic basis of the people was formed by a number of Kirghiz tribes of the Tien Shan, the Upper Yenisey, etc. The language belongs to the Eastern Hunnic subgroup and is genetically close to the Altaic subgroup (Baskakov 1969: 340). In the 19th century, the Kirghiz were nomadic cattle-breeders. In 1924 the system of writing was established, based on the Russian script. Before that time, the Kirghiz were largely illiterate. Official and trade language before the 1930s was Russian, the clergy employed Arabic. 1917 brought about significant social and economic transformations, and the Kirghiz settled. Illiteracy disappeared completely. Kirghiz has now acquired important social functions as the language of teaching, mass media, science and technology, national literature, and official documentation, etc. National minorities are taught in Uzbek and in Tadjik, and schools teaching in Russian

also exist. Bilingualism and multilingualism are common, e. g., Kirghiz-Russian, Kazakh-Kirghiz-Russian.

The Turkmen language is the main language in the Turkmen SSR. Of the 2,000,000 Soviet Turkmens, 98.7% have it as their native language. The Turkmens constitute 68.4% (1,892,000) of the total population in the Republic (2,765,000), the Russians making up 12.6%, the Uzbeks 8.5%, the Kazakhs 2.9%, the Tatars 1.5%, etc. Some Turkmens live in Uzbek SSR, Tadjik SSR, and over 3 million live abroad (Iran, Afghanistan). The ethnos formed in the 14th – 15th century, incorporating a number of ancient Turkic tribes. The language gives testimony to the contacts with Iranian speakers. The literature in Turkmen originated as early as the 18th – 19th century, and its founding father is considered the poet Makhtumkuli. However, before 1917 the level of literacy was very low, which fact impeded the functioning of the literary language. The modern language employs the alphabet based on the Russian graphic system. Illiteracy has now disappeared completely. Modern literary language has equal rights with Russian in science, technology, school and high school, broadcasting, press, and in literature of different styles, especially fiction. Ethnolinguistic heterogeneity favored the development of bilingualism and multilingualism (Turkmen-Russian, Kazakh-Turkmen-Russian, Uzbek-Turkmen-Russian). Teaching is carried out in Turkmen, and also in Russian, Uzbek, and Kazakh.

The Karakalpak language is the main language in the Karakalpak ASSR. The language belongs to the Kypchak subgroup. The total number of Karakalpaks is 303,000. This is a language with a recent writing tradition. Literature of various styles, teaching, press, etc., help in promoting it.

The Uighurs of Central Asia speak the Modern Uighur language; the total number of Soviet Uighurs is 211,000. The majority of Uighurs live in China. The Soviet Uighurs use an alphabet based on Cyrillic, while those in China employ the Arabic script. The literary language is used in a number of spheres.

#### **e) Siberian area**

The Turkic languages of the Siberian area are: Tatar, Yakut, Tuva, Tofalar, Khakas, Altai, etc. The people speaking these languages go back to a number of ethnic groups of the East Turkic tribes. The languages of this area manifest some specific features which



are due to their late development (Baskakov 1969: 15). All the alphabets are based on Cyrillic script.

The Yakuts are indigenous people in the territory of the Yakut ASSR. Their total number is 328,000, or 36.9% of the ASSR population. The Tuva people are indigenous people of the Tuva ASSR, constituting 60.5% of its total population; and numbering 166,000. The Tuva language bears evidence of the contacts with Samoyed and Mongolian tribes. The 71,000 Khakas people constitute 11.4% of the Khakas AD population (498,000). The Khakas originated from a mixture of different Siberian ethnic groups. The Altai people, 60,000 in number, are the indigenous population of the Mountain Altai AD.

All the languages mentioned are used in books, handbooks, in the press, flourish on the stage, in the mass media, and are involved in the progress of culture.

### **3. Finno-Ugric languages**

Together with Samoyed languages, these languages form the Uralic family of languages. The proto-language is believed to have split in the 4th or 5th millennium B.C. The number of speakers ranges from a few dozen (Vodic) to millions (Hungarian and Finnish, both spoken outside the Soviet Union). A particular part in the split of the family and separation of the respective languages was played by the neighboring peoples. Intensive contacts with Turkic, Slavic, and Baltic linguistic communities can be traced. The homeland of the Finno-Ugrians must have been the middle Volga and the Kama area. Nowadays all Finno-Ugric peoples, except for Hungarians, Finns, and Saams, live in the USSR. The languages display the following areal distribution: Mordva and Mari are spoken in the middle Volga region; Khanty and Mansi are spoken to the north-east of the Urals; Komi, Udmurt, Karelian, Saam, Finnish, Veps, Izhora, Estonian, Vodic (Vod), and Livonian are spoken in the north-west of the European part of the USSR. The majority of the respective peoples (the Mordva, Mari, Udmurt, Komi, Khanty, and Mansi) had their languages put into writing only after 1917. Earlier attempts at creating alphabets and writing systems for some Finno-



Ugric languages are also known; however, they produced no long-term results. Some languages with a small number of speakers (Livonian, Izhora, Veps, etc.) have no writing (*JaN* 3: 13). Modern Finno-Ugric languages are divided into five groups, more or less close genetically (*JaN* 3: 9).

#### **a) The Baltic-Finnish group**

The speakers live on the Baltic coast up to the coast of the Arctic ocean; they are also located in the territory of Karelian ASSR, and elsewhere. The group comprises Modern Livonian, Estonian, Vodic, Izhora, Karelian, Veps, and Finnish (the latter is the state language in Finland and is found in parts of Karelia).

The Estonian language is the main language in the Estonian SSR. Of over one million Soviet Estonians 95.3% speak it as their mother-tongue. The Republic has a population of 1,500,000, of which Estonians constitute 64.7% (948,000), Russians, 27.9%, Ukrainians, 2.5%, Belorussians, 1.6%, etc. The modern language got its shape in the 19th century while the first written records go back to the 13th century. The first book was published by the 16th century; the earlier books were overwhelmingly ecclesiastical. Early literature was based on different dialects; it employed, from the very start, the Latin alphabet. The ancestors of the modern Estonians lived on the Finnish Gulf coast and were in constant contact with Baltic, Slavic, and other tribes (*JaN* 3: 35). By the end of the 19th century, the level of literacy was quite high, the 1879 census revealing 79.9% of Estonians to be literate (Dešeriev 1976: 373). Even in Tsarist Russia, the Estonian language functioned widely as a means of instruction and as a written language. After 1940, its use increased considerably in all spheres of science, technology, education, mass media, and official documentation. Positive traditions of the past are fruitfully developed in fiction and culture. While the Estonian language dominates in all spheres, Russian serves as the means of international communication. The most common types of bilingualism are Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian; Polish-Russian, Ukrainian-Estonian, Finnish-Estonian, and other types are also observed.

Karelian is spoken in the Karelian ASSR where 81,000 Karelians live (the total number of Soviet Karelians is 138,000). The Karelians constitute 11.1% of the total population of the Republic (732,000).

Small compact Karelian groups are also found outside the Republic, and some Karelians live abroad. The language has no writing tradition. It is preserved in everyday life, while in other situations the Russian literary language is used. Speakers of Veps in Karelia form a very small group (8,100). In the 1930s a writing system was proposed for Karelian and Veps which, however, did not take root. Modern Veps use the Russian literary language widely (*JaN* 3: 102). The Vodic language, with very few speakers, is genetically close to Estonian. Livonians live in Latvia and use the Latvian language outside the family circle. At present their language has no written form.

#### **b) Saam (Saamic)**

Saam is spoken by a small number of people in the Kola Peninsula; the majority of speakers live abroad (Finland, Sweden, etc.). Of the 1,900 Soviet Saams, 53.0% claim the language as their mother-tongue. School handbooks and dictionaries are published, and an improved alphabet is being introduced.

#### **c) The Volga group**

This group includes the Mordva languages (Erzja, Moksha) and the Mari language. Up to the 15th century, the speakers lived in their ancient territory between the Volga and the Sura rivers (*JaN* 3: 172). Subsequent migrations led to the present situation of dispersed settlements.

The Mordva in the Mordovian ASSR amount to 339,000 speakers, or 34.2% of the total population of 990,000. The Russians account for 59.7% of the population, the Tatars 4.7%, etc. The overall number of the Mordva people is 1,200,000, and 72.6% of these have Mordva as their first language. The ethnos is based on two tribes, the Erzja and the Moksha. Despite territorial separation, they have for quite a long time considered themselves a single people. The two dialects formed the basis of the two literary languages employed in numerous spheres (literature of different styles, mass media, teaching, etc.). The writing system is based on the Russian script.

In the Mari ASSR, there live 307,000 Maris, or 43.6% of the total population, of which the Russians constitute 47.6%, the Tatars 5.8%, and the Chuvashians 1.2%. The total number of the Soviet Maris is 622,000, 86.7% of them speaking Mari as the first language. The settlement of the Maris from the original homeland began at the end of the 16th century. The earliest documents date back to the 18th century (*JaN* 3: 221).

#### **d) The Permian languages**

These languages include Udmurt, Komi-Zyrian, and Komi-Permiak. The Proto-Permian community is assumed to have split in the 9th–11th centuries. In the USSR, there live 327,000 Komi-Zyrians, 151,000 Komi-Permiaks, and 714,000 Udmurts. All these languages have been recently put into writing. National culture, literature, etc., are being developed.

#### **e) The Ugric group**

This group includes the Khanty and the Mansi languages constituting the Ob-Ugric branch, and Hungarian. Ob-Ugric and Hungarian separated not later than the first millennium A. D.

The Khantys number 21,000, with 67.8% of these speaking Khanty as their first language.

Of the 7,600 Mansis 49.5% speak Mansi as their mother-tongue.

These languages have highly divergent dialects and are located in the vast territory of the Khanty-Mansi National District. Both languages use writing systems based on Russian orthography. The Mansi language has been used for writing since 1937. There was an earlier attempt at creating a writing system for Khanty which, however, was not successful. Since 1931 handbooks and dictionaries have been published in Khanty dialects. The Hungarian language is spoken mainly abroad (Hungary); 171,000 Hungarians live in the USSR (mainly in the Ukraine) where they attend schools with teaching in Hungarian, have newspapers in their mother-tongue, etc.

#### 4. Samoyed languages

These are represented by Nenets (30,000 speakers), Selkup (3,600 speakers), Nganasan (900), and Enets. The origin of these languages is unclear, though genetic relationship with Finno-Ugric is suspected. The speakers are paramountly involved in hunting, fishing, reindeer-herding. They are located in a vast territory embracing three national districts. Their immediate neighbors are Komi-Zyrians, Evenkis, Dolgans, Kets, Khantys, and intense interaction of the languages and national cultures is to be observed. A significant Russian language influence can be noted as well. The Samoyed languages either have been put into writing recently or have no written form at all. Little is known about their history (*JaN* 3: 365).

#### 5. Caucasian (Iberic-Caucasian) languages

The Caucasus is a region of amazing linguistic diversity, for over fifty languages are spoken here. Of these, 36 languages are Caucasian, which amounts to one quarter of all the languages spoken in the USSR. Except the Ubykh language, all these languages are represented in the USSR and are located to the north and to the south of the Main Caucasus Range. The Caucasian languages are subdivided into four (or three [Klimov 1965: 14]) groups. Even within genetically affiliated groups, there is very much diversity; intergroup relationships have not been established yet. The only language with a deep-rooted literary tradition is Georgian. The adoption of Mohammedanism in the 9th–11th centuries led some peoples of the Caucasus, their clergy and clerical circles in particular, to use Arabic writing. Many languages, however, were put into writing only after the Revolution of 1917, hence their status as “young” literary languages (*mladopis'mennye jazyki*). In 1938 alphabets were worked out on the basis of the Russian script, the orthography was specified, grammars and dictionaries were compiled. As a result, the literacy level rose considerably and illiteracy eventually disappeared. The promotion of the national languages was ensured by the rise of the press, radio broadcasting, the advent

of literature and theatre. The Russian language came into wide use after the Revolution as the main means of cultural and economic interaction as well as a medium for interethnic communication. Dialect leveling is observed. Some speakers who had formerly used languages with no writing systems and with a small overall number of speakers changed these for the literary languages of larger Caucasian nations; the minor languages may be preserved in everyday life and unofficial communication.

#### **a) The Kartvelian (South-Caucasian) group**

This is a small group of closely related languages. It is represented by the Georgian, Zan (Mingrelian-Chan), and Svan languages.

Georgian is the main language in the Georgian SSR. Of the 3,600,000 Georgians, 98.3% speak it as their first language. The population of the Republic includes 3,400,000 Georgians, or 68.8% of the total population (about 5,000,000), 9.0% Armenians, 7.4% Russians, 5.1% Azerbaijanis, 3.2% Ossetians, 1.9% Greeks, 1.7% Abkhaz, etc. Georgian culture has deeply rooted written traditions. The original alphabet dates back to the 5th century; its rise is due to the adoption of Christianity. The alphabet continues to be in use. In Georgian abundant literature of different functional styles is available. However, before 1917 the Georgian language was limited in its functions, for in many areas the state language of the Tsarist empire, Russian, was used exclusively (Dešeriev 1976: 164). Nowadays Georgian is employed in all spheres of social and public life, being the language of teaching and education, of science and technology, mass media, press, and culture in all its aspects. The ethnic heterogeneity of the Republic led to establishing Georgian, alongside Russian, as the language of interethnic communication.

The Zan language, which has no written tradition, is subdivided into the Chan and Mingrelian dialects. The Svan language, having no written tradition either, is spoken in Svanetia. Georgian is used as the written language.

#### **b) Abkhaz-Adyghean (Western Caucasian) group**

This group comprises Abkhaz, Abaza, Adyghe, Kabardian (Kabardian-Circassian), all of which were only recently put into writing, and Ubykh, which has no written tradition. The Ubykh language is spoken in Turkey. The Abkhaz number 91,000, the Abaza 29,000,

the Adyghe 109,000, the Kabardians 322,000, the Circassians 49,000. The literature in these languages is represented in different genres and styles; the languages are used in teaching, on the stage, in mass media, etc. The alphabets are based on the Russian writing system and are enlarged by derived signs for the purpose of representing the rich consonant system (e.g., in Abaza, 71 consonants are found). The Adygheans and Kabardians are united by their single ethonym "Adyghe".

### **c) Nakh languages**

This group comprises Chechen and Ingush, languages recently put into writing, and Bats which has no system of writing. These languages are spoken mainly in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. The Chechen and Ingush languages are closely related, and all these languages are in close contact with other Caucasian languages, their speakers being bilingual or multilingual (Dešeriev 1966: 228).

The Chechens (who call themselves Nokhchi) make up 52.9% of the population of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR, their total number being 611,000. Chechen is the literary language of fiction, press, broadcasting, national theater, science fiction, etc. (Dešeriev 1976: 190).

The Ingush live in the western part of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. Their total number is 135,000, 11.7% of the population of the Republic. Literary Ingush is the language of broadcasting, teaching, literature and fiction.

The Bats number only 3,000.

### **d) Daghestanian languages**

This group, together with the Nakh languages with which it is often associated, comprises about 30 languages. The majority of these languages are spoken in the Daghestanian ASSR which has a total population of 1,628,000 people. Indigenous Daghestanians number 1,267,000, 77.8% of the population of the Republic. The languages are divided into the Avaro-Andi-Dido (or Avaro-Andi-Tsez) and the Lezghian subgroups. Lak and Dargwa are in relative isolation from other languages (*JaN* 4: 247). Some languages are confined to a single village (*aul*) and are spoken by only a few hundred people.

Some Daghestanian languages are spoken in the Azerbaijan SSR, the Georgian SSR, and the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. Languages with a literary tradition are Avar, Lak, Dargwa, Lezghian, Tabasaran. All these emerged as literary languages after 1917, and have alphabets based on Cyrillic script. Some attempts at creating written languages were recorded even before the Revolution and were a result of the spread of Islam and the Arabic language. At present nine languages of the Daghestanian ASSR are used for school textbooks, fiction, etc., and eleven languages are used in the press, in broadcasting, and in other areas.

Avaro-Andi-Dido languages comprise eight Andi languages, five Dido (Tsez) idioms, and Avar, a language recently put into writing. Avar functions here as the means of interethnic communication. The Avar people form 25.7% of the total Daghestanian population; some Avars live also in the Azerbaijan SSR. The literary language was on the basis of the interdialectal koine "Bolmats" which functioned as a lingua franca of some kind in the 19th century. Avar is the language of literature of various genres, the press, etc. Speakers of the non-written Andi-Dido languages, according to the census, claim to be Avars; they use the Avar literary language, while preserving their own languages in everyday life.

Dargwa, a language recently put into writing, is the language of the second largest number of speakers, after Avar. The Dargwa make up 15.2% of the total Daghestanian population. Their literary language has a wide range of functions.

The Lezghian subgroup, tentatively said to consist of ten languages, includes Lezghian, Tabasaran, Aghul, and others. Many speakers of these languages live in the Azerbaijan SSR. They use Azerbaijani widely, preserving their own language within the family circle. Lezghian and Tabasaran are written literary languages. The Lezghians comprise 11.6% of the Daghestanian population, and the Tabasarans 4.4%. The Lak language, recently put into writing, is spoken by 5.1% of the population of Daghestan. Before the Revolution, the Arabic script was used; the written language, however, served mainly the needs of the Moslem clergy. Nowadays, the alphabet is based on the Cyrillic script. A national literature and literature of different genres have developed.

The linguistic heterogeneity of Daghestan is dramatically reflected in, for example, working groups, or industrial collectives, where more than twenty different nationalities often cooperate. The main means of communication in such international groups is Russian.



## **6. Mongolian languages**

In the USSR, Mongolian languages are represented by Buryat and Kalmyk. The majority of the Buryats live in the Buryat ASSR and in national districts. The total number of Soviet Buryats is 353,000. Some Buryats live in China and in Mongolia. Before the Revolution, Eastern Buryats used transformed classical Mongolian as their literary language, employing it for writing down Buddhist texts and official documents. Western Buryats had no written language at all. Modern literary Buryat is used in a great variety of domains, for instance, in mass media, education, fiction and culture. The alphabet is based on the graphic system of Russian and has been in use since 1938.

The majority of the Kalmyks live in the Kalmyk ASSR, the total number of Soviet Kalmyks being 147,000. Some Kalmyks live in China. The Mongolian script has been in use since the 17th century, although with only limited application. Nowadays the alphabet is based on the Cyrillic script, and the literary language flourishes in all social spheres.

## **7. Tungus and Manchu languages**

The genetic relationship of the languages constituting this group is doubtful; sometimes they are included in the Altaic family. They are spoken in the USSR in the vast territories of Siberia and the Far East, and in China and Mongolia, as well. The total number of speakers (Evenkis, Oroches, Nanays, Udeghees, Evens, Negidals, etc.) is 60,000. Moreover, some languages have dialect differentiations. Some languages have been put into writing, and dictionaries, primary school books, and fiction books have been published (*JaN* 5: 55).



## 8. Paleo-Siberian languages

Under this heading genetically related and unrelated languages are subsumed, which are spoken by the most ancient autochthones of Siberia. These peoples must have been partly assimilated by the Turkic and Mongolian tribes and partly exiled to North America (*JaN* 5: 223). Ten national minorities speak the respective languages, the largest group being the Chukchees (14,000), and the smallest the Kereks (less than 100 speakers). These peoples occupy vast territories in the tundra and taiga, from the Arctic ocean to the Amur River. In the Paleo-Siberian group, four divisions are distinguished, Chukchee-Kamchatka (Chukchee, Kerek), with languages recently put into writing, and Eskimo-Aleut. Some of the Eskimos live abroad; the language of the Soviet Eskimos has been recently put into writing, with the script based on Cyrillic. The Aleut language has no written form.

Remarkably, the languages discussed display complex dialectal divisions; thus for the Eskimo languages, with 1,500 speakers only, over twenty dialects can be distinguished.

The Paleo-Siberian grouping also includes Nivkh (4,400 speakers), Yukaghir (800 speakers) and Ket (1,100 speakers), the latter having no system of writing.

The analysis of ethnolinguistic processes in the multilingual state which the USSR is, testifies to the formation of a novel historical community where the Russian language takes on the function of ensuring interaction and communication between the numerous peoples of the country. The widespread bilingualism of a national language and Russian permits the peoples to preserve and further develop the national languages and cultures on the one hand, and to promote social and economic cooperation between the peoples of the Union, on the other. The Russian language has enabled the inclusion of the highest achievements of national cultures in the common treasury of the Soviet nations and nationalities.

### *Notes*

1. Thus, the Arabic script was replaced first by the Latin system and later by the alphabets based on the Russian graphic system. The introduction of the latter

enlarged the number of signs, minimizing eventually the number of diacritics. All this led to a better representation of the rich phonetic systems of the language of the USSR.

2. The majority of these were developed as literary languages after 1917. These are called languages recently put into writing (*mladopis'mennye*) as opposed to languages with an established system of writing, which were in use before the 1917 Revolution.
3. Here and elsewhere the statistical data are taken from *Naselenie* (1980: 23–30), Bruk 1981: (212–217).

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# **The role of continental contacts for Scandinavian glottogenesis with special reference to the enclitic passive**

P. Sture Ureland

## **0. Introduction**

This paper will discuss some general aspects of Scandinavian glottogenesis, whereby the rise and spread of the enclitic passive will serve as an illustrative example of language change caused by foreign morphosyntactic influence upon Scandinavian languages during the late Middle Ages.

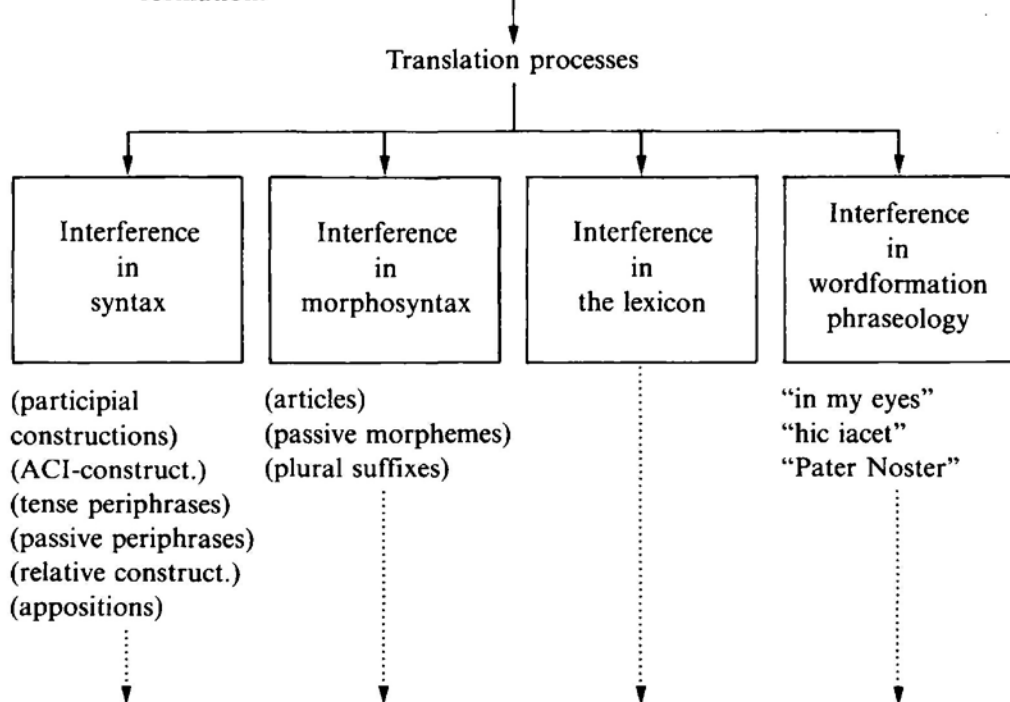
## **1. Cultural roofing in the past and loan syntax**

From the very beginning in this exposé the importance of ethnopolitical processes must be stressed in describing the rise of literary standard languages of Scandinavia. Several theories and hypotheses have been launched in order to come to grips with the difficult and still unsolved problems of linguistic genesis and linguistic change. The romantic view of languages in the Brothers-Grimm-tradition, according to which Germanic languages developed “pure and genuine” is rejected here, since it does not correspond to the realities of the history of the Germanic languages. No language in Europa has developed in isolation and unaffected by foreign connections and literary knowledge. A number of scholars have proposed a contact-linguistic model according to which the roofing of European medieval languages by classical languages (Medieval Latin in Western Europe and Greek in Eastern Europe) was decisive for the final shaping of the linguistic structures of the emerging written languages of Medieval Europe (cf. Havers 1931, Beckmann 1934, Blatt 1957, Nykrog 1957, Isačenko 1975, Kloss 1978, Fehling 1980, Parker 1983 and Ureland 1984).<sup>1</sup> The linguistic behavior of the multi- or bilin-

gual educated classes between 500–1200 A.D. was influenced far more by the process of translating works from the classical languages into the European medieval vernaculars than by laws which operate automatically in a neo-grammarian sense (cf. Osthoff–Brugmann 1878) or by syntactic rule ordering, rule addition, or rule loss changes in a generative grammarian sense (cf. Kiparsky 1968, King 1969).

A constant stream of technical, religious and linguistic innovations flooded the areas of cultural underdevelopment in western, northern and eastern Europe in the form of transferred lexemes or integrated phrases, syntactic constructions and calques from the dominating source languages in the south (see figure I).

Stage I: Foreign (Semitic, Greek, and Latin) religious, literary, and technical information.



Stage II The speech of the upper and educated classes, which is a proto-type for codification and standardization.

Stage III: Transference and integration of set phrases, calques, words, and foreign mannerisms plus transfer of foreign syntactic, morpho-syntactic, word formation rules and morphemes (articles, passive and plural morphemes) in the literary languages of Europe.

Figure I. The translation process and the effects of interference, transference, and integration in European languages

Upper-class speech was mostly bilingual in Europe in the Middle Ages, when Latin in the west and north-west or Greek in the east and south-east played the role of international vehicles of communication, while the unwritten vernaculars functioned on a more local national level. Because it was full of interferences and transferences from the classical languages, upper-class speech developed into a model for the rest of the community, which acted as a catalyst for linguistic change. Learned or literary bilingualism was the very source of numerous linguistic changes in the lexicon, the syntax, and semantics of the medieval vernaculars in Europe.

Literacy among the common people is not the necessary precondition for the influence of literary syntax in those areas of Medieval Europe, where none or little written literature can be assumed to have existed. A single document, written in runes or in the Latin alphabet consisting of a commemorative text or a Bible translation, a law text or a simple epic poem (e. g., the Rök Stone in Sweden of the 9th century) can no less have influence on the spreading of a stylistic innovation or of an archaic word order. The pre-literate societies of Scandinavia were dependent on mnemotechnical skills (alliteration, repetition, and rhythm) which were the basis of an Old Germanic oral tradition of great depth.

The rapid cultural change which was brought about by the introduction of the art of writing brought a strong foreign component in its wake to begin with. It was not only the technical innovation of using the Latin or Greek alphabet, but also the spread of linguistic material and syntactic ordering in formulae, titles, names, and calques. This statement refers not only to the Old Scandinavian languages, but to all languages which have not been codified or standardized. The syntax of a written language is more consistent not only in its choice of subordinators and in applying agreement rules, but also in its use of sentence patterns, syntactic constructions, and word order. Written language can draw upon a tradition from the past, whereas such continuity is not provided by spoken language, which has no 'historical memory of its own' (cf. Fehling 1980: 374).

This view of the development of written language is in sharp contrast to the views of some linguists working on historical syntax (e. g., Vennemann 1975, Lightfoot 1979, Braunmüller 1982). According to these linguists, syntactic change follows pretty much the same principles of genetic drift, which is innate to all languages as a result of evolutionary laws. The typological change from synthetic

to analytic has been described as such a “drift phenomenon”, but the phonological explanation underlying it is unable to explain the rise of new enclitical tenses (future and conditional) in Romance, new enclitical definite articles in North Germanic and the Balkan languages, or new enclitical verb modalities (reflexive, medio-passive, passive and deponens) in North Germanic, Baltic, and East Slavic.<sup>2</sup>

The presence of these common syntactic properties over such enormous areas in Europe requires some kind of an explanation. Chomsky’s idea of an universal deep structure from which one should generate all these structures is rejected as a naive idea based on one-sided synchronic theory construction which lacks any deeper diachronic and ethnolinguistic dimensions. The transfer of the passive periphrastic structure expressed by means of an auxiliary plus a past participle is here seen as a normal contact-linguistic phenomenon between the literary languages of Europe, which arose in Vulgar Romance and was carried from one language into the other by bi- or multilingual individuals during a period when the classical languages roofed the European vernaculars. However, the enclitical passive in Latin, e. g., *dicitur*, is also here claimed to have been the object of morphosyntactic transference in Medieval Continental Scandinavian (see section 3).

I consider that it is the translation process or the literary integration of syntactic structures belonging to a roofing language of a superior culture which has brought about such similarities in the passive constructions between the western European languages and not universal deep structures plus transformational rules posited along the lines of Chomsky (1965).

The present paper will therefore show the influence of the Latin enclitic passive on Old Swedish and other Continental Scandinavian languages. The development of enclitical modalities is a synthetic morphosyntactic phenomenon which stands in a sharp contrast to the normal periphrastic development in the European verb phrase.

## **2. The state of the art on North-Germanic passive constructions**

In spite of the interesting development towards a synthetic passive in North Germanic, no pan-Scandinavian description of the con-

strained use of passive auxiliaries (*verða/bliva*) or the enclitical suffixes (-s and -st) has so far appeared. The historical descriptions by Noreen (1904: 480, 1905: 581, 1923: 367) and Nygaard (1905: 154–155) presents inherently motivated phonological rules of the merger of the reflexive pronoun *sik* or *sér* with the Scandinavian verb in order to describe the rise of the enclitical forms V + s or V + sk.<sup>3</sup> Nygaard (1905: 2) points out that the use of the passive form with an agent is restricted to religious texts and to learned style (“lærd stil”). Öhlin (1918) and Holm (1952) repeat this diachronic merger hypothesis but restricted to Swedish alone, although they present an international view of loan patterning on a Medieval Latin model in order to explain the final breakthrough of the enclitical passive in Old Swedish. Seip (1955: 55, 203), Wessén (1965 III: 167–187), Brøndum-Nielsen (1965: 32–36), and Beito (1970: 265) give similar summaries of the historical merger between reflexives and verb stems in Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish without describing at any length the complex constraints on the use of the enclitical and/or auxiliary passive constructions. Bandle (1970: 39) focuses on the dialect-geographical distribution of the passive suffixes in the Scandinavian languages, but without any discussion of the constraints. Likewise Markey (1969) focuses on the historical transfer and integration of MLG *blīven* ‘remain’ and its recategorization into a passive auxiliary in Scandinavian, and areal linguistic maps are presented on the distribution of *verða* and *bliva* as passive auxiliaries in the Scandinavian dialects. However, the reader is not presented with any specific constraints on the overall use of the auxiliary and enclitical passive constructions. Haugen (1976) only gives anecdotal information on the two constructions. Dyvik (1981) and Braunnüller (1982) are more concerned with demonstrating the descriptive model used in their treatments of the passive, than with offering a thorough pan-Scandinavian survey of the complex constraints involved. In a series of articles this writer has pointed out the specific loan character of the enclitical passive and stressed the idiosyncratic nature of this construction in each of the recipient languages of northern Europe, stretching from Icelandic and Faroese in the west via the Continental Scandinavian languages in the middle to the Baltic and East Slavic languages in the east (cf. Ureland 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1984). The unequal penetration and integration of the enclitical passive construction in the literary languages of this vast area and across so many language borders has been explained as a result of different exposure to the



cultural roofing by Medieval Latin (cf. esp. Ureland 1984). In the extreme west — on the Atlantic Islands — and in the extreme east — in the Baltic States and in Russia — the influence of Medieval Latin was more limited than in the central area, where the Latinizing effect of the Catholic Church and the chancellories of the new kingdoms of Central Scandinavia is still visible today in the use and uneven spread of Latin and Continental Germanic syntactic constructions and lexical items.

### 3. The enclitical (medio-)passive constructions in Scandinavian

Even though enclitical *s*- and *sk*-forms are documented in Runic Danish and Runic Swedish, e. g., *qveþa + sk* 'say that he', *ænda + s* 'to die', *barþa + sk* 'fight', *hafa + sk firi(r)* 'be presented', as in

- (1a) *stin kuask hirsī stanta laki* (DRM 19, Aars, 10th c.)  
'the stone says that it will stand here for a long time'
- (1b) *ændadis assurr austr i grikkium* (Ög 81, 11th c.)  
'Assur died in the east, in Greece'
- (1c) *þa kunukar barþusk* (DRM 34, Århus 66, 10th c.)  
'when kings fought (each other)'
- (1d) *ef ænn hafsk ækki ræt fyrir* (Forsa Ring, 11th c.)  
'if it is not yet presented in a legal way'

or the enclitical form is found after verbs of inchoative action in the Old Scandinavian laws, e. g., OSwed. *minskas* 'diminish', *krænkas* 'get worse', *bætras* 'get better' as in

- (2a) *þa minskas rættær hænna* (ÖgL GB 29: 1: Collin — Schlyter 1830)  
'then her legal right diminishes'
- (2b) *krænkæs bo þæræ. ællr bætræs* (UpL AE 11, 2: Schlyter 1834)  
'if their house gets worse or better'

it does not follow that the development of a full-fledged passive enclitical construction in Old Swedish is autochthonic and uninfluenced by foreign passive models. As can be seen in (1) the *s*- or *sk*-suffix occurring after Old Scandinavian verbs could have different

interpretations depending on the valency and the context of the verb: reflexive (*kuask* < *kuap sik* 'said that he' as in (1a), medio-passive as in (1b), reciprocal as in (1c) and passive as in (1d). The morpho-syntactic status of the *sk*-suffix in (1d) *hafsk firi(r)* has been discussed at length by Scandinavianists. Hjelmqvist (1907) proved in his article that the *sk*-suffix in (1d) – occurring in the oldest law text of Sweden engraved in Runes on the Forsa Ring (11th c.) – contains a number of Old Norwegian phrases of which the Latinized passive use of *hafa* + *sk* here would be one of the earliest examples of foreign syntactic transfer of the passive construction into Scandinavian.<sup>4</sup> From being a native reflexive or medio-passive marker, the *sk*- or *s*-suffix developed into a passive marker in transitive verbs as well, due to exposure to Latin morphosyntax.

Although runic inscriptions are generally claimed to be native in their style and their vocabulary, Hjelmqvist is of the opinion that a transference of a Norwegian technical expression of law *hafa firi(r)* 'present' (< Medieval Latin *præ-habere* 'give') plus a non-native passive must have been imported through a translation process into North Sweden (Forsa-Hög) via Trøndelag as early as the 11th century,<sup>5</sup> i. e., about 200–300 years before the documentation of the earliest Götaland and Svealand laws (1225–1296). Thus the evidence here points to Latin influence having occurred far earlier than has been assumed traditionally in Scandinavian philology.<sup>6</sup> If Hjelmqvist's interpretation of this passage of the Forsa Ring is accepted, we have here one of the earliest pieces of evidence for early contacts with the west and thus for the Medieval Latin roofing of Scandinavia.<sup>7</sup> It was not possible or necessary in the laws to mention explicitly the instigator of an action or – if the cause of a change in state was unknown as in (2a) and (2b) – the law paragraph had to be formulated as neutrally as possible with regard to the cause by means of an inchoative medio-passive construction. Such impersonal constructions of inchoative mutative verbs are still used in Modern Swedish, the semantic interpretations of which are very close to reflexive readings, e. g.:

- (3a) *Filmen upplöstes (upplöste sig) på grund av dålig lagring*  
'The film dissolved because of bad storage'
- (3b) *Lingonen mosades (mosade sig) i den alltför stora korgen*  
'The cranberries got crushed in the basket which was too big'

The native inchoative/medio-passive construction was a handy structure for the editors of the East Götaland and Upland Laws in their efforts to render the law paragraphs as generally valid as possible. Furthermore, the impersonal passive constructions used in Roman and Canonical Law exerted stylistic influence upon the editors of the Scandinavian laws in their choice of the inchoative/medio-passive construction instead of an active verb with an impersonal subject which was often deleted, e. g., OSwed. *annær* 'person' or *æn man* 'a man'.<sup>8</sup>

The following quotations taken from the King's *Confirmation Letter of the Uppland Law* (UpL)<sup>9</sup> and the *Prologue of the Södermanland Law* (SdmL) illustrate well the two-fold status of the OSwed. *s*-suffix: the native medio-passive use after inchoative verbs ('be changed', 'be born', 'be found') in (4a)–(4c) and the more foreign use after transitive verbs ('be had', 'be formulated', 'be put together', 'be written', 'be mentioned', 'be initiated', and 'be enumerated') in (5a)–(5d).

*umskripta* + *s* 'be changed'

- (4a) *þa kombær stundum swa til. at vm skiptis þaen laghæ stapgi* (UpL, Conf.: Schlyter 1834. 3: 7)  
'it sometimes happens that the order of law is changed (changes)'

*föpa* + *s* 'be born'

- (4b) *fore þæn skyld at swa sum timin lipær. ok mæn fra faldæ. ok andri til föþæs. swa ymskæs mannæ samwæræ* (Schlyter 1834. 3: 9–10)  
'because as time elapses and men die and others are born, men's being together is changed (changes)'

*hitta* + *s* 'be found'

- (4c) *at. j. gamblum laghum hittis sumpt mæþ faum orþom at saght* (Schlyter 1934. 3: 11)  
'that in the old law some things are found which are said in few words'

*hafa* + *s* 'be had'

- (5a) *at. j. þeræ laghum sum ströningium haffþus j. flerum flokkum* (Schlyter 1834. 3: 18)  
'that in their law which was spread (was had) in different collections'

- skipa* + *s* 'be formulated' and *samænsætia* + *s* 'put together'
- (5b) *ok swa hwat. j. ny lagh skuldi skipæs ok samæn sætiæs*  
(Schlyter 1834. 4: 12)  
'and what in the new law should be formulated and put together'
- skriva* + *s* 'be written' and *næmpna* + *s* 'be mentioned'
- (5c) (*balkana*) *swasum hær sriwas ok næmpnis hwar æptir andrum* (SdmL, Prolog.: Schlyter 1838. 6: 3)  
'the paragraphs as are here written and mentioned one after the other'
- byria* + *s* 'begin' and *tælia* + *s* 'be enumerated'
- (5d) *Hær byriæs kirkiu balker oc tæliæs i hanom flockar* (Schlyter 1834. 6: 14)  
'here the church law begins and it is enumerated in it the following paragraphs'

A brief examination of the verb constructions in the Latin version of the Uppland Law confirms the hypothesis that Latin passive constructions were translated and copied into Old Swedish. Firstly, passive verb constructions in the Old Swedish text have parallel Latin passives in the Latin version, e.g., *contineri* 'be contained', which is parallel with OSwed. *haffdus* 'were had, were spread' (*in eorundum legibus per plura dispersis volumnia contineri*) (Latin version of Confirm., UpL: Schlyter 1834. 1: 12), see the parallel Old Swedish text in (5a); secondly, Old Swedish passives (*skipæs* 'be formulated' and *samansætiæs* 'be compiled') in (5b) correspond to Latin gerundive constructions (*condendis et compilandis*): *ac novis condendis et compilandis legibus* (Schlyter 1834. 2: 3–4); thirdly, the Old Swedish text contains different metaphors from the Latin parallel text, that is an active Old Swedish verb plus a passive verb versus a Latin noun phrase, e.g., *mæn fra faldæ. ok andri til föpæs* (cf. 4b) 'men die and others are born', whereas the Latin version has a nominal metaphor: *per ... humanae propagationis successum* (Latin version of Confirm., UpL: Schlyter 1834. 1: 3–4) 'due to the course of human propagation'.

There is no doubt about the two-fold origin of the passives in the Old Swedish version of the *Confirmation Letter*: some are directly translated and transferred from the Latin parallel text, while others are freely translated and copied on the basis of the native Old Swedish resources, especially if the verbs in question are inchoative mutative verbs as in (4a)–(4c).<sup>10</sup>



	Passive	Reflexive	Reciprocal	Medio-Passive	Deponens
1. Swedish					
a.	<i>läsa</i> + <i>s</i>	( <i>klä sig</i> )	<i>kyssa</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>öppna</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>bita</i> + <i>s</i>
b.	<i>förstöra</i> + <i>s</i>	( <i>sätta sig</i> )	<i>slå</i> + <i>ss</i>	<i>skrika</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>hoppa</i> + <i>s</i>
c.	<i>skriva</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>glädja</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>möta</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>bygga</i> + <i>s</i>	( <i>skratta</i> ) <i>sparkas</i>
2. Finnish					
a.	—	<i>puke</i> + <i>utu</i> + <i>a</i>	—	<i>ava</i> + <i>utu</i> + <i>a</i>	—
b.	—	<i>istu</i> + <i>utu</i> + <i>a</i>	—	<i>huude</i> + <i>itiin</i> (screamed)	—
c.	—	<i>opet</i> + <i>ell</i> + <i>a</i>	—	<i>rakenne</i> + <i>taan</i>	—
3. Latvian					
a.	—	<i>apgērbties</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>bučotie</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>atvērtie</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>kostie</i> + <i>s</i>
b.	—	<i>apsēstie</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>kautie</i> + <i>s</i>	—	( <i>cerēt</i> )
c.	—	<i>priecatie</i> + <i>s</i>	<i>satiktie</i> + <i>s</i>	—	<i>smietie</i> + <i>s</i> <i>spertie</i> + <i>s</i>
4. Russian					
a.	<i>čitat'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>odevat'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>celovat'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>otkryvat'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>kusat'</i> + <i>sja</i>
b.	<i>razrušat'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>sadit'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>borot'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>rugat'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>nadejat'</i> + <i>sja</i>
c.	<i>pisat'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>radovat'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>vstrečat'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>stroit'</i> + <i>sja</i>	<i>smejat'</i> + <i>sja</i> <i>brykat'</i> + <i>sja</i>
5. English					
a.	( <i>be read</i> )	( <i>get dressed</i> )	( <i>kiss each other</i> )	( <i>open, door opens</i> )	( <i>bite [dog]</i> )
b.	( <i>be ruined</i> )	( <i>sit down</i> )	( <i>fight</i> )	( <i>scream</i> )	( <i>hope</i> )
c.	( <i>be written</i> )	( <i>rejoice</i> )	( <i>meet</i> )	( <i>be built</i> )	( <i>laugh</i> ) ( <i>kick out [horse]</i> )

Figure 2. Pronominal, (medio-)passive, and deponens enclitics in the Baltic language area

## 4. Summary

The rise and spread of enclitic verb modalities (reflexive, medio-passive, reciprocal, deponens, and passive) in the northern European languages (North Germanic and Balto-Slavic) is a morphosyntactic phenomenon, which is known as *Univerbierung*. Although the enclitic verb structure is well-known and has been amply described in the specialized philological handbooks on the North Germanic, Slavic, and Baltic languages respectively, a general overview of its occurrence as a common characteristic of all the three language groups is to a large extent lacking. The present article focuses on the rise and spread of the passive enclitic construction in Scandinavian, whereby the native North Germanic medio-passive suffix *-s/-sk* is shown to have been expanded in its use (valency) through exposure to Medieval Latin enclitic passives. The rise of the synthetic verb modalities together with the development of postpositive enclitic definite articles are the most radical morphosyntactic innovations in the genesis of the Scandinavian languages and their breaking away from Continental Germanic.

## Notes

1. A more explicit contact-linguistic model of the Greek and Latin roofing of Medieval languages in Europe is presented in Ureland (1986).
2. The existence of phonologically similar reflexive, reciprocal, medio-passive, and deponens suffixes in the Baltic and East Slavic languages is not taken account of by leading Scandinavianists, e. g., in Old Russian *V + sja* or *V + s'*: *ukrysjā* '(he) hid himself' < *ukryti + sja* (Nestor Chronicle, Laur. Ms. [1377] 125: 1); Old Russian *bitis'* '(they) fight (each other)' < *biti + sja* 'to fight (each other)' (Kom. Ms. [15th c.] 208: 16); in Latvian and Lithuanian *V + s*: Latvian *apģērbtie + s* 'to dress oneself, to get dressed' and *bučotie + s* 'to kiss each other'. (For more examples see Diagram II in the Appendix).
3. Coalesced forms of the Old Russian verb and *sja* < *sę* or *s'* < *sī* occur in the earliest texts of East Slavic in the 11th and 12th centuries. Likewise the earliest Latvian and Lithuanian texts contain coalesced forms of the verbs and *s* (< Proto-Baltic *\*si*). These morphosyntactic parallels between Balto-Slavic and North Germanic are too obvious to be ignored by historical linguists.
4. In the Old Norwegian laws *s(k)*-passives occur which are completely parallel with the passive form *hafsk firi(r)* 'is presented', e. g., *greidiz* 'is paid' (FrostL XI: 8, NGL L: 231), *berse* 'is proved' (GulL 79, NGL 1: 40), etc.
5. It is known that the northern province of Hälsingland, where the Forsa Ring has been found, was also christianized from the Archbishopric of Trondheim (Nidaros).

6. Thanks to the thorough investigation of the Christian terminology in Old Icelandic in Walter (1976), using a contact-linguistic approach, we know that the transference of abstract Latin terms into Old Icelandic (e.g., *einfalldr* < *innocens*, *hugr* < *conscientia*, etc.) must be dated far back into the pre-classical period, which indicates the early roofing of Scandinavian languages by Medieval Latin.
7. The comparatively low percentage of verb-final subordinate clauses (16%) in the Hälsingland Law of 1320–1330 in comparison to the Uppland Law of 1296 (29%) and the Södermanland Law of 1327 (36%) is perhaps due to the West Scandinavian roofing of northern Sweden. The SOV order is practically non-existent in Norway and Iceland before 1300 (cf. Larsson 1931: 176–177).
8. Evidence of the earlier active impersonal construction without a passive marker is found in all areas of Scandinavia, e.g., Old Icel. *svá segir í Tryggva flokki* (OH 233, 29) 'so (one) says in the paragraph section of Tryggvar'; Old Dan. *tha skal næfna tolf men i hærathæ* (SkL: Öhlin 1918: 103) 'then (one) shall mention twelve men in the county'; Old Swed. *bot skal skipta til sættæ mans* (VgL I, M1, 5) 'the fine (one) is to divide down to the sixth man' (cf. also Ureland 1975: 727).
9. The Confirmation Letter of the Uppland Law was written in two original documents, one in Old Swedish and the other in (Medieval) Latin (cf. Holmbäck – Wessén 1933: 8). It is uncertain whether the Latin text was written first and the text then translated into Swedish, or whether the Swedish text was an independent creation and not a translation of the Latin parallel text. (For the independent hypothesis see Holmbäck – Wessén 1933: 8 and for the translation hypothesis see Henning 1932: 133, 135).
10. This transference hypothesis is also an important point in Holm's (1952) detailed investigation of the *s*-passive in Swedish. He stresses more the nativeness of the origin of the construction (in the reflexive and the medio-passive verb modalities) than its spread to other verb classes through exposure to Latin. No comparisons with other Scandinavian languages or with Balto-Slavic languages are made in this monolingual treatment of the *s*-passive.

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# Umlaut-disrupting factors in Germanic

Frans van Coetsem

1. When speaking here of “Germanic”, we refer to the last charge in the development of the Germanic parent language, that is, the stage starting with the accent shift, which is “common” Germanic, and ending with the gradual split of the language into different dialects (Van Coetsem 1970: 15–16). At this time assimilative processes operate in the short vowel system, the latter consisting of four vowels *i*, *e*, *u*, *a* [ǣ]. These processes are either raising or lowering changes which, at the time of the beginning and ongoing dialectal diversification, affect only the nonlow vowels *i*, *e*, *u* (but not *a*) meaningfully. These changes can be represented in a simple way (not distinguishing between automatic and nonautomatic stages), as  $e \rightarrow i$ ,  $i \rightarrow e$  and  $u \rightarrow o$ , the *u* producing a new *o*:



2. There is a difference of opinion among Germanicists about the nature of the changes as they are reflected in North-West Germanic and Gothic with different conditioning, as well as about their timing. In trying to reconcile the difference of opinion, let us briefly consider four points here, already partly discussed in Van Coetsem (1968).

2.1 In North-West Germanic the conditioning of the changes is primarily a vocalic one, called umlaut (umlaut-conditioning), the conditioner or umlaut factor being a vowel (or *j*) in the nonaccented syllable ( $\overline{V} C V$ , with *C* also standing for a consonant cluster). For example, *e* develops to *i* before *i* of the nonaccented syllable, \**esti* (Greek *estí*) → Germanic \**isti* (Old High German *ist*); *i* develops to *e* before *a* of the nonaccented syllable, \**nista-* (Latin *nīdus*, from \**nizdo-*) → Germanic \**nesta-* (Old High German *nest*). Raising goes with *i*-umlaut, lowering with *a*-umlaut. In addition to the vocalic conditioning, there is also a consonantal one (consonant-conditioning), the conditioner being the intramorphic consonantism following the accented vowel ( $\underline{V} C (V)$ ). North-West Germanic reveals at that

early stage only nasal clusters as having a raising effect, e.g., *e* develops to *i* before *nd* in *\*bendan-* (Latin *offendimentum*) → Germanic *\*bindan-* (Old English *bindan*).

Actually, the changes described above are part of sequential relations, which have not only a changing, but also a preserving effect. An example of umlaut-conditioned preservation is Germanic *\*neman-* with preserved *e* before *a* of the nonaccented syllable (Old High German *neman*), as opposed to Germanic *\*nimis-* with *e* being changed to *i* before *i* of the nonaccented syllable (Old High German *nimis*). An example of consonant-conditioned preservation is provided by Germanic *\*bundan-* instead of *\*bondan-* (Old High German *gibuntan*), past participle of *\*bindan-*. There are thus two kinds of sequential relations, namely one of vowel to vowel (or *j*) ( $\overline{VCV}$ ) or umlaut-conditioning, and one of vowel to consonant ( $\overline{VC(V)}$ ) or consonant-conditioning, both of which can manifest themselves as change or as preservation.

As the example of *\*bindan-* illustrates, in the sequential relation of vowel to consonant a consonant-conditioned change restricts or neutralizes the sequential relation of vowel to vowel, since the latter would require the *e* of *\*bendan-* to remain unchanged. There is then interaction between the two kinds of sequential relations ( $\overline{VCV}$ ). If they have different effects, they are competitive; the competition results in change in the case of *\*bindan-*, and in preservation in the case of the Germanic past participle *\*bundan-*. If they have the same effects, they are co-operative; the co-operation results in change in the case of *\*bindis-* (Old High German *bintis*) and in preservation in the case of *\*kunþi-* (Gothic *kunþi*, Old High German *chundi*).

The two kinds of sequential relations and their interactions can be schematized as follows:

(2) $\overline{VCV}$	[umlaut-conditioned change: <i>*esti</i> > <i>*isti</i>		
	[umlaut-conditioned preservation: <i>*neman-</i> > <i>*neman-</i>		
$\overline{VC(V)}$	[consonant-conditioned change: <i>*bendan-</i> > <i>*bindan</i>		
	[consonant-conditioned preservation: <i>*bundan-</i> > <i>*bundan-</i>		
$\overline{VCV}$	[competition	[change:	<i>*bendan-</i> > <i>*bindan</i>
		[preservation:	<i>*bundan-</i> > <i>*bundan-</i>
	[co-operation	[change:	<i>*bendis-</i> > <i>*bindis-</i>
		[preservation:	<i>*kunþi-</i> > <i>*kunþi-</i>

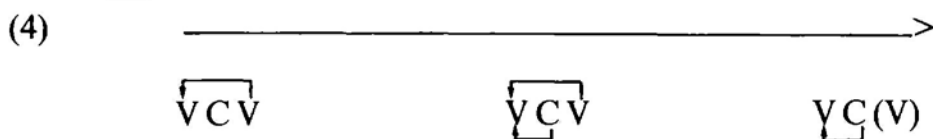
In Gothic (East Germanic), on the other hand, the raising and lowering changes involved are only consonant-conditioned ( $\sqrt{VC(V)}$ ), e. g., *e* (<ai>) before *h*, *hw*, *r*, and *i* before other consonants (loan words do not necessarily follow the rule). The exclusivity of consonant-conditioning in Gothic is the standard opinion, although one might wonder whether such unexplained cases as *waila* and *hiri* could not represent residual examples of an earlier umlaut-conditioning (Sverdrup 1928: 202). The Gothic phenomena are often dissociated from the North-West Germanic ones, and called breaking (e. g., Ramat 1981: 28 ff.).

A number of facts (which are implied in the reconstruction of the short vowels under (1)) should be emphasized, namely (a) that in both North-West Germanic and Gothic exactly the same vowels *i*, *e*, *u* (*o*) are affected, (b) that these segments undergo exactly the same types of change, raising and lowering, and (c) that these changes are assimilative and part of the sequential relations. Given this striking similarity, the difference of sequential relations between North-West Germanic and Gothic concerns only the kind of conditioning involved. Using *Z* for umlaut-conditioning ( $\sqrt{VCV}$ ) and *Z'* for consonant-conditioning ( $\sqrt{VC(V)}$ ), we can represent the similarity and difference of the sequential relations or changes, as they are reflected in North-West Germanic and Gothic, as follows:

- (3) North-West Germanic:  $X \rightarrow Y / \begin{Bmatrix} Z \\ Z' \end{Bmatrix}$   
 Gothic:  $X \rightarrow Y / Z'$

**2.2** The point we want to make is that the North-West Germanic and Gothic sequential relations have a "common" Germanic character and should not be viewed as separate, and that the respective kinds of conditioning, which in their documented reflexes have a "dialectal" Germanic character, are mutually relatable. The competitive interaction between the two kinds of sequential relations ( $\sqrt{VCV}$ ) is in principle one of mutual restriction. In the development of the language or descendant dialects one kind of sequential relation is subject to expansion at the expense of the other. For example, *e* of Germanic *\*neman-* develops to *i* in Old Saxon *niman* (vs. Old High German *neman*). What we actually see, however, is restriction of umlaut-conditioning by consonant-conditioning. In other words, there is a direction in the development, namely from umlaut-conditioning to consonant-conditioning, which also implies reshuf-

flings; in this development the interaction of the two kinds of sequential relations ( $\overline{V} C \overline{V}$  and  $\underline{V} C (V)$ ) is the changing middle term ( $\overline{V} C \underline{V}$ ) in the following progression of time:



The interaction between the two kinds of sequential relations may produce partly similar and partly different situations in the descendant dialects. Such dialects may develop more or less specific forms of consonant-conditioning, this being at least partly due to certain specificities of their phonological feature make-up. Compare in this context Old Gutnish and Gothic, as described by Krause (1953: 79, based on research by Axel Kock): "das Altgutnische ..., in dem urg. *u* im allgemeinen – auch vor einem *a* der folgenden Silbe – blieb, jedoch vor *r* + Konsonant (mit Ausnahme vor *rg*) zu *o* geöffnet wurde." Old Gutnish *orpu* 'became', *ort* 'work', *borp* 'table desk' and *horn* 'horn' are thus comparable with Gothic *waurpun*, *frawaurhts*, *-baurd* and *haurn*; however, Old Gutnish *burg* 'borough, town' and *dur* 'door' are different from Gothic *baurg* and *daur*. Similarly, umlaut-conditioning may exhibit specificities in each descendant dialect.

Change in umlaut-conditioning is not only ascribable to the interaction of the two kinds of sequential relations, but also to the natural modification and reduction of umlaut factors in the non-accented syllable. This has different consequences. First, an automatic umlaut-conditioning often develops to a nonautomatic one, which produces a shift from phonetic to phonemic status in the umlauted vocalism (Van Coetsem 1968), this potentially leading to paradigmatic levelling. Second, one form of umlaut-conditioning may develop to another. Well-known is the case of the first person singular of the Germanic present *\*nemā* (after the merger of *ā* and *ō*, but originally *\*nemō*, Latin *amō*), with *e* before *ā* of the non-accented syllable. This *ā* develops to *u* in Old High German (*nimu*) and in the Older Runic inscriptions (Old Futhark *giþu*), producing a raising of the accented *e* to *i* before *u* (vs. Gothic *nima* with *i* before any consonant other than *h*, *hw*, *r*).

It is also important to recognize that the segments which produce umlaut-conditioning are less stable than the segments which produce consonant-conditioning; while umlaut factors occur in nonaccented

syllables and as such are subject to modification and reduction, segments which effect consonant-conditioning are part of the root.

**2.3** Under the framework outlined above,  $\sqrt{C(V)}$  in Gothic would appear to be the later, derived relation as compared to the earlier  $\sqrt{C}V$ , retained to a greater extent in North-West Germanic. Such a view has indeed been expressed, namely by Sverdrup (1928) and Van Coetsem (1968: 518 ff.); cf. also Krause (1953: 77–78), who, although doubtful about the developmental place of the so-called ‘Brechung’, adds: “Innerhalb des – ebenfalls ostgermanischen – Burgundischen erscheint die gleiche Brechung erst in späterer Zeit ..., so daß hier Parallelentwicklung vorzuliegen scheint.” This should not only be seen in terms of derivation (temporal dimension), but also in the perspective of areal expansion and dialectal diversification (areal dimension). The raising and lowering changes operate in a transitional stage, marked by a growing dialectal diversification. It is quite possible then that within the East Germanic dialect area there is from the start a stronger emphasis on consonant-conditioning than in North-West Germanic. In other words, while the raising and lowering changes are at least in their automatic aspects “common” Germanic, their conditionings may be different from one dialect area to another.

**2.4** In addition to interaction between umlaut-conditioning and consonant-conditioning, competition between two opposed changes within the same kind of sequential relation seems also possible. One of these changes may then be counteracted or restricted, leaving only residual or sporadic traces of its presence (compare Wang 1969 and Van Coetsem 1983: particularly 44–45). This could well be true of  $i \rightarrow e$  (as the reverse of  $e \rightarrow i$ , opposed only to  $u \rightarrow o$ ) in the case of umlaut-conditioning, which, as noted, is less stable than consonant-conditioning. Indeed, the change  $i \rightarrow e$  is markedly less well documented than  $e \rightarrow i$  and  $u \rightarrow o$ , as has been long recognized (for example, by Streitberg 1900: 56). This can account for the discrepant behavior of  $i : e$  and  $u : o$  in Old High German *gigrifan* (instead of \**gigreffan*) of *grīfan*, and *gibotan* of *biotān*. Confirming this tendency for the  $e \rightarrow i$  change to predominate over the  $i \rightarrow e$  change, we find the development of the diphonemic diphthong *ei* ( $e + i$ ) to *ii* (*ī*) to be far better evidenced than the one to *ee* (*ē*<sup>2</sup>) (see the initial exposition in Van Coetsem 1956: 22 ff.). In addition,



these reflexes of *ei*, namely  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{e}^2$ , as long vowels, no longer “responded” to umlaut-conditioning, and, of course, the remaining examples of  $\bar{e}^2$  were subject to paradigmatic levelling (Van Coetsem 1962).

In conclusion, the disruption of umlaut and its reflexes is due, first, to the restriction of umlaut through competition either with consonant-conditioning or opposed umlaut-conditioning, and, second, to levelling. In the transitional Germanic stage under consideration, the two kinds of sequential relations (raising and lowering changes) are “common” Germanic in their nature and at least in their automatic aspect, but they may differ from one dialect area to another in their conditioning. In other words, they range from “common” Germanic to “dialectal” Germanic. It is precisely because of their co-occurrence and interaction that their documentation is “mixed up” (which does not mean that *i*-umlaut could not have started somewhat earlier than *a*-umlaut). If the changes had been in sequence, i. e., raising in “common” Germanic and lowering in “dialectal” Germanic, the resulting picture would have been quite different from what it is now, and cases like Old High German *gigrifan* vs. *gibotan* would be unexplainable. Although we will probably never be able to account for all the steps and reshufflings that have taken place in the dialect-diversifying development of raising and lowering, we can recognize the general paths it has followed.

3. The developments of the Germanic diphthong *eu* (*e* + *u*) in Older Runic (Old Futhark), (Western) Old Norse and Old High German, the latter represented by Old Franconian and Upper German (Old Alemannic and Old Bavarian), illustrate several of the questions discussed above. We find the regular change through umlaut-conditioning in one dialect area (*e* → *i*, i. e., *eu* → *iu* with *i*-umlaut and *u* → *o*, i. e., *eu* → *eo* with *a*-umlaut), and in another dialect area the same umlaut-conditioning, with, however, preservation of *eu* due to interacting consonant-conditioning. We also find masking (of change) through subsequent change (compare Van Coetsem – Hendricks – Siegel 1981). Let us consider all this in more detail.

The diphthong *eu* is represented in Old Franconian as *iu* with *i*-umlaut (*i*, *j*, *u* as umlaut factors) and *io* (earlier *eo*) with *a*-umlaut (*e*, *a*, *o* as umlaut factors). It is exclusively a sequential relation of vowel to vowel or umlaut-conditioning ( $\sqrt{V C V}$ ). We will use three

verb types with original *eu*-vocalism in the present, whose roots end in a dental, labial, or velar, respectively, namely *biotān* 'to offer', *klioban* 'to cleave', and *liogan* 'to lie' (cf. Braune—Mitzka 1959: 53 ff.). The paradigms of the present are as follows (for the first person singular, see section 2.2 above):

(5)	Sing.	1. <i>biutu</i>	<i>kliubu</i>	<i>liugu</i>
		2. <i>biutis</i>	<i>kliubis</i>	<i>liugis</i>
		3. <i>biutit</i>	<i>kliubit</i>	<i>liugit</i>
<hr/>				
	Plur.	1. <i>biotamēs/-emēs</i>	<i>kliobamēs</i>	<i>liogamēs</i>
		2. <i>biotet/-at</i>	<i>kliobet</i>	<i>lioget</i>
		3. <i>biotant</i>	<i>kliobant</i>	<i>liogant</i>

In Upper German there is interaction between umlaut-conditioning and consonant-conditioning ( $\sqrt{V \ C \ V}$ ), in that before labials and velars only *iu* (and not *io*) is found, while umlaut-conditioning regularly occurs before dentals and *h*. In the above-mentioned verb types, which are *biotān*, *chliuban*, and *liogan* in Upper German, the vocalisms in the paradigms are as follows:

(6)	<i>iu</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>iu</i>
	<i>iu</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>iu</i>
	<i>iu</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>iu</i>
	<i>io</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>iu</i>
	<i>io</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>iu</i>
	<i>io</i>	<i>iu</i>	<i>iu</i>

In Old Norse we find a situation comparable to that of Upper German. Old Norse  $\bar{y}$  (from *iu* ← *eu*) occurs with *i*-umlaut and before *r* (← *R*), while furthermore there is a split between *jū* before labials and velars, and *jō* before dentals (with some exceptional cases like *hljōmr*). In the Older Runic inscriptions *iu* is found with *i*-umlaut and *eu* in other cases; there is no trace of *eo*, although *a*-umlaut of *u* is documented (*boro*, *horna*), and there is also evidence of consonant conditioning (Antonsen 1975: 15). In the above-mentioned verb types, which are *bjōða*, *kljūfa*, and *ljūga* in Old Norse, the vocalisms in the paradigms are as follows:

(7)	$\bar{y}$	$\bar{y}$	$\bar{y}$
	$\bar{y}$	$\bar{y}$	$\bar{y}$
	$\bar{y}$	$\bar{y}$	$\bar{y}$
	<hr/>		
	jō	jū	jū
	jō	jū	jū
	jō	jū	jū

This is a three-way distinction, which presupposes the following earlier situation:

(8)	iu	iu	iu
	iu	iu	iu
	iu	iu	iu
	<hr/>		
	eo	eu	eu
	eo	eu	eu
	eo	eu	eu

Here *iu* reflects *i*-umlaut; *eo* is usually explained as a reflex of *a*-umlaut as in Upper German (e. g., Heusler 1932: 18), while *eu* is a consonant-conditioned preservation which restricts umlaut, that is, maintains *eu* quite naturally before labials and velars. The Upper German situation can also be directly derived from (8), in that *eo* and *eu* (before labial and velar) have been affected by a new, more recent raising phenomenon in Old High German, *eo* → *io* and *eu* → *iu* (Van Coetsem 1975),<sup>1</sup> resulting exactly in the situation described under (6); the Old High German raising phenomenon masks the three-way distinction mentioned under (8). The consonant-conditioning which preserves *eu* is thus a dialectal feature of Upper German and (Western) Old Norse (for this cf., e. g., Maurer 1952: 70, 84 ff.).

Here again the Germanic development of raising and lowering displays a difference in conditioning, depending upon the dialect area, namely  $\sqrt{V} C V$  in Old Franconian and  $\sqrt{V} C V$  in Upper German and Old Norse. As noted, this should not only be seen in a derivational perspective of  $\sqrt{V} C V$  developing to  $\sqrt{V} C V$ , but also in one of areal expansion and dialectal diversification, umlaut-conditioning being applied in one dialect area, and both umlaut-conditioning and consonant-conditioning in another.<sup>2</sup>

1. In my treatment of the Old High German raising phenomenon (1975) which I have called "Old High German Vowel Shift", I also speak of a residual (preserved) *eu* before *w* (or *e + w* [ww]) in Old High German *treuua* (Tatian) besides *triuua* (comparable to the preservation of *eu* before labials and velars, discussed in the present study). I do not refer to *eu* of the Germanic parent language, since this *eu* had already become *iu* (*i*-umlaut) or *eo* (*a*-umlaut) in Germanic. When Keel (1982: 32 ff., in particular footnote 2 and p. 41) believes that with Old High German *eu* (before *w*) I refer to the undifferentiated *eu* of the Germanic parent language, he has a misconception of my view.
2. I would like to thank A. Buccini, T. C. Young, and K. Vesey for helpful remarks.

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## **Religion and language varieties: the case of Hindi-Urdu**

Herman van Olphen

Since language is the vehicle of thought and religion is a major component of thought in most societies, it is not surprising that religion and language are often closely related.

One way religion plays an important role in language is through the importance of liturgical language. Examples are Sanskrit, and to a lesser extent Pali, in Ancient India, Old Church Slavonic in Eastern Europe, Latin in Western Europe, and Arabic in the Middle East. Such languages exerted a major influence on the subsequent linguistic make-up of the areas involved, not only as written and spoken standard at the time, but also as a source of writing conventions and vocabulary for languages which succeeded the ancient languages within the same tradition. In the case of Sanskrit and Latin, many of the writings in these languages were composed long after the language was no longer spoken, and religion was certainly instrumental in maintaining these languages. In the case of Arabic, the classical language is still the written language in a somewhat revised form as Modern Standard Arabic, which exists as the high form in a diglossia relationship with various local “dialects”.

Religion has also played an important role in the standardization of languages, since established prestigious religious texts enhance the importance of the particular style of language represented in the text. The Koran is a salient example (see Chejne 1969: 13), since the Koran established a specific style of Arabic, which spread far beyond the Arab world, but there are also many other examples. Thus the Kralice Bible (cf. Salzmann 1980: 41) fostered the leading position of Czech as the language of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, and William Morgan's Bible in Welsh in 1626 produced a common literary standard for that language (Stephens 1974: 155).

Religion also affects language in altering the political context in which language-planning decisions are made. Thus the rise of the Catholic party in the 1880s in Belgium resulted in greater power for its base of support, the clerical Dutch-speaking areas in the North. As a result, the primacy of French was questioned for the first time,

resulting in various laws to give equal status to Dutch. The fact that Urdu had always been viewed as the language representing Islam in South Asia led to its adoption as National Language of the new Islamic State of Pakistan in 1947, even though it was the native language of only a small minority of the population compared to the much larger numbers who spoke Punjabi or Bengali.

The strongest manifestation of religion in language is the choice of a writing system, a choice which is often dictated by religious or political forces; the imposition of a language by such forces is a long, slow process whereas writing systems can be quickly implemented, especially in societies with low literacy. Thus the spread of Islam did not lead so much to the spread of the Arabic language throughout the world as it did to the use of the Arabic writing system for languages as diverse as Swahili in Zanzibar and Malay in Southeast Asia. The Latin writing system spread to many languages outside Europe, in Southeast Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, largely through the efforts of Christian missionaries, although colonial governments also shared some involvement in this process. Thai and Cambodian still use writing systems based on early versions of the Indian Brāhmī script, which spread into Southeast Asia with the advance of Hindu/Buddhist influence.

Since writing systems are easily changed and languages are not, it frequently happens that one language may use more than one writing system. Usually a new writing system will replace an older form, sometimes due to contact with external (colonial) modernizing forces as in the adoption of the Latin writing system for languages such as Vietnamese, Swahili, and Malay, or the use of Cyrillic for various minority languages in the Soviet Union (cf. the detailed description of script reform in Isayev 1977: 236–271). The well-known switch-over in Turkey from the Perso-Arabic writing system to Latin script under the tutelage of Atatürk is an instance of script reform due to internal modernization factors. Religion often plays a role as in the original spread of the Arabic writing system far beyond the Arab world, which generally coincided with the spread of Islam.

It is in the context of language change through religion that we must consider the possible creation of language varieties due to religious factors. Yet such changes fostered by religious conversion have not normally had the result we find in the Indian subcontinent, that is, the creation of two varieties of language, based on religious divergence, which by all non-linguistic definitions (sociolinguistic, attitudinal, political) are two distinct languages, Hindi and Urdu. In fact, the same

kind of linguistic dichotomy has not occurred for other languages in the Indian subcontinent, either. When we consider the ubiquity of other sociolinguistic phenomena: multilingualism (functional and non-functional), diglossia, social dialects, etc., it is indeed strange that the kind of division found in Hindi-Urdu is not found elsewhere in the world. Thus Arabic spoken by Christian communities, in Lebanon for example, does not differ from the Arabic spoken by Muslims in a fundamental way. Swahili reflects the dual writing systems of two religious traditions, but linguistically the language has tended to re-converge to a single standard. On the Indian subcontinent, there are other languages subject to the same religious divisions as are found for Hindi-Urdu. Punjabi is spoken by Muslims in Pakistan, who use the Perso-Arabic script. In India, Punjabi is spoken by Hindus and Sikhs, the latter using the Gurmukhi writing system. Yet Punjabi is considered to be one language, in spite of the two writing systems, the many regional dialects, the international border dividing the language, and the vast differences among the religious groups speaking the languages. Bengali, which is similarly spoken in two countries, India and Bangladesh, by two religious groups, Hindus and Muslims, has also maintained its status as one language, which in this case uses only one writing system. There are many other instances of linguistic differences based on religion at the local level, none of which have more than one language. (For an example of such differences cf. Gumperz 1971: 25–45).

One other case should be mentioned, and that is Serbo-Croatian in present-day Yugoslavia, for that case seems to be most closely analogous to Hindi-Urdu. Serbian in the Greek-Orthodox tradition is written in the Cyrillic Script, while Croatian in the Catholic tradition uses the Latin writing system. Like Hindi-Urdu, the two languages are very similar but are spoken by two religious communities. In the case of Serbian and Croatian, however, the two languages originated in distinct, albeit geographically and culturally close, centers, and religious differences have had the effect of maintaining the two languages as distinct entities rather than creating the difference. In addition, events of the twentieth century have brought the two languages together as they have jointly become the official language of one political unit, Yugoslavia (cf. Tollefson 1980; Dunatov 1978).

Thus Hindi and Urdu would seem to be a unique case of two languages which have remained separate not only by virtue of the international border separating Pakistan's Urdu from India's Hindi;



but even in India, Urdu maintains its independent status in spite of the objective similarities between the two languages.<sup>1</sup>

The rise of Urdu in South Asia was in principle no different from similar phenomena associated with the Eastward movement of Islam. Turkish and Persian were Arabicized in vocabulary and script, and Urdu was the Arabicized language of Delhi with a strong influx of Arabic vocabulary and use of the Arabic script. From the eleventh century to the advent of the British in the eighteenth century, Urdu was the most widespread language of literary activity in India, having spread as a *lingua franca* far from Delhi, with the establishment of literary centers of Urdu in Western and Southern India (cf. Khan 1984: 15–16).

Islamicization of India remained incomplete, however, with no more than 25% of the population Muslim at the time of Independence in 1947, and native religious and linguistic traditions persisted. In fact, Urdu became established only in the areas of strongest Muslim influence, the so-called *madhyadeś*, stretching from Punjab on the west to Bihar in the East, Kashmir in the North to Hyderabad in the South. Even though Urdu did establish itself as *lingua franca* in this area, many regional literatures also developed in local dialects such as Braj Bhāṣā in Agra, Awadhi in Lucknow, and Marwari in Rajasthan, and these maintained a strong Hindu tradition in content, vocabulary, and use of native Indian writing systems, primarily Devanāgarī. (For a brief description of the beginnings of Hindi literature and its development cf. Dittmer 1972: 54–57.)

The advent of the British, an event which reduced the Muslims from ruling class to a minority, had an effect on the Indian language situation beyond the gradual establishment of English as language of administration. For the British required local languages also, and in the *madhyadeś* the obvious choice was the *lingua franca*, Urdu, which the British also called Hindustani. Since all Hindu literature in this area had been in local forms, the response of the Hindus in North India was to create an *ausbau* language (for the notion cf. Kloss 1967: 29–41) called Hindi. Unlike other literary forms used previously, the basis of the language was the Urdu/Hindustani *lingua franca* and the resulting Hindi language, in spite of its newness, became a powerful symbol for the Hindus. Based on the *lingua franca*, it was widely used and understood; written in Devanāgarī, a writing system widely used for local dialects and for Sanskrit, it was readily accepted in written form; and it could call the literary traditions of Braj Bhāṣā, Awadhi and others its own.

This successful ausbau creation led to a century-long struggle between Hindi and Urdu which has been well-documented by, i. a., Das Gupta (1970) and Dittmer (1972) and led to the current situation of Urdu as National Language of Pakistan and Hindi as National Language of India, with Urdu retaining an official function in India, especially as second language in certain provinces like Uttar Pradesh.

Thus the Hindi/Urdu situation was created by an ausbau process, not unlike the process which created Norwegian as distinct from Danish, and Afrikaans as distinct from Dutch. However, those ausbau processes were based on distinct regional varieties which developed after separation from the other language in question. In the case of Hindi, a regional basis for the Hindi ausbau was consciously rejected, since unlike Afrikaans and Norwegian, the Hindi ausbau was created long before separation and thus had to compete with its model — a competition which could only succeed if the ausbau was made on the basis of the religious symbols of the 75% Hindu population. It is these factors that have made this creation of two languages out of one unique.

The Hindi/Urdu situation is not a static one. First of all, Urdu continues to play an important role in India outside the Muslim community. Thus the so-called Hindi cinema, which is popular all over India, still uses a largely Urdu-based vocabulary, although Hindi words are becoming more common.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, official Urdu as found in newspapers and radio is becoming increasingly inaccessible to the average Hindi speaker due to use of difficult Arabic vocabulary, although this seems to be less true for Pakistani sources.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the tendency of the last hundred years is continuing — Urdu will continue to become more and more limited in its identification as a language of Muslims — in Pakistan, a Muslim nation, and in secular India where various political pressures will increasingly reduce the capability of Urdu to express the full national experience.

### *Notes*

1. 'Urdu and Hindi have almost the same grammar and syntax — the only difference being marginal and in their vocabularies, one contains more words from Persian and the other from Sanskrit. But for this difference, they are one and the same language.' (Srivastava 1970: 117)  
'The author has had several experiences in which Hindus complimenting him him on his efforts to speak the local idiom would say, "You speak Hindi well,"

whereas Muslims would react to the same or similar words with, "You speak Urdu well." (Gumperz 1971: 14)

'Hindi and Urdu are two elegant (high) varieties superimposed on the common colloquial variety Hindustani; ... Muslim speakers in North India prefer to identify their speech as Urdu and Hindu speakers identify their speech as Hindi; though at (the) colloquial level, both — the Hindus and the Muslims — speak the same variety.' (Pandit 1977: 41)

2. A recent column (May 26, 1984) in the Hindi Navbharat Tāims newspaper (Delhi) entitled "Urdū Axbārō se" reproduces a few comments from Urdu newspapers in the original Urdu, transcribed in Devanagari script. The author Firoz Ashraf felt it to be necessary to give Hindi equivalents for more than twenty Perso-Arabic words used in the Urdu text.
3. Thus in an article by Srirām Sharmā in the May 10, 1984 Navbharat Tāims laments the difficult Arabic vocabulary used by the Hyderabad (India) Urdu radio while Radio Pakistan uses the more accessible vocabulary of Persian origin (i. e., Arabic *matlā* for sky in India, Persian *asmān* in Pakistan).

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# Die innergermanische Lautverschiebung und die Entstehung der germanischen und deutschen Dialekte\*

Theo Vennemann

In „Hochgermanisch und Niedergermanisch“ (Vennemann 1984) habe ich eine neue Theorie der germanischen und deutschen Lautverschiebungen vorgeschlagen. Ihr zufolge entstand das Hochgermanische nicht durch eine Weiterentwicklung des niedergermanischen Konsonanteninventars — Kernstück<sup>1</sup>:  $*p^h *t^h *k^h > *p^f *t^f *k^x$  —, sondern durch eine zu derjenigen des Niedergermanischen parallele Entwicklung des urgermanischen Konsonanteninventars, genauer: der urgermanischen Tenues (interpretiert als stimmlose Fortisplosive, möglicherweise glottalisiert):<sup>1a</sup>

$$(1) \quad \text{urgerm. } p' \ t' \ k' \begin{matrix} \nearrow \\ \searrow \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{hochgerm. } p^f \ t^f \ k^x \\ \text{niedergerm. } p^h \ t^h \ k^h \end{matrix}$$

Die unterschiedliche Verschiebung der urgermanischen Medien (interpretiert als stimmlose Lenisplosive) ist ihr zufolge eine Konsequenz der unterschiedlichen Tenuesverschiebung: im Hochgermanischen eine Fortisierung der Mediae, die hier nach (1) die einzigen freien Plosive des Systems sind; im Niedergermanischen die Sonorierung und Frikativierung der Mediae in begünstigender Umgebung:

$$(2) \quad \text{urgerm. } b \ d \ g \begin{matrix} \nearrow \\ \searrow \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \text{hochgerm. } p \ t \ k \\ \text{niedergerm. } b \ d \ g \rightarrow \check{b} \ \check{d} \ \check{g} \\ \text{in begünstigender} \\ \text{Umgebung} \end{matrix}$$

Die Entstehung der Affrikaten und ihre positionelle Weiterentwicklung in Frikative gemäß (3) ist dieser Theorie zufolge die Ursache für die Lenisierung der urgermanischen Frikative  $*f$ ,  $*þ$  und  $*s$  gemäß (4) im Hochgermanischen:

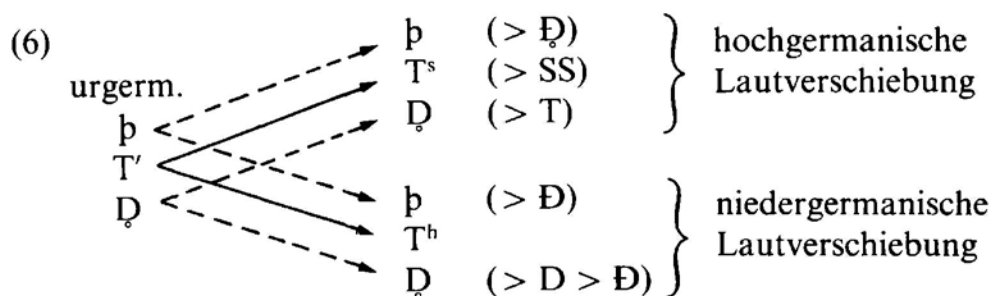
$$(3) \quad \text{hochgerm. } p^f \ t^f \ k^x > pf \ tʃ \ kx > ff \ ʒʒ \ xx > f \ ʒ \ x \\ \text{in begünstigender Umgebung}$$

$$(4) \quad \text{urgerm. } f \ þ \ s > \text{hochgerm. } \gamma \ \check{\theta} \ z$$

Im Niedergermanischen werden die urgermanischen Frikative *\*f* und *\*þ* lenisiert und sonoriert, aber nur in begünstigender Umgebung:

- (5) urgerm. *f þ* > niedergerm. (*ʃ ǿ* >) *v ð* in begünstigender Umgebung, z. T. auch *s* > (*z* >) *z* in begünstigender Umgebung

Die beiden innergermanischen Lautverschiebungen lassen sich unter Verwendung geeigneter Abkürzungen (*T'* für *p' t' k'* usw.) folgendermaßen zusammenfassen:<sup>2</sup>



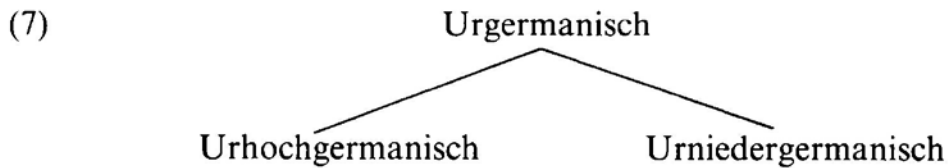
In „Hochgermanisch und Niedergermanisch“ wurden die resultierenden Inventare echter Konsonanten als repräsentativ für ein „strenges“ Hochgermanisch bzw. Niedergermanisch betrachtet, vertreten durch das älteste Hochalemannisch und das Altisländische, nämlich als „Extreme“, von denen aus die „Übergangssysteme“ zu charakterisieren seien (Vennemann 1984: 8). Dabei wurden die mitteldeutschen Übergangssysteme in Anlehnung an die Tradition als solche betrachtet, die nur zum Teil affriziert, im übrigen aber die plosive Aussprache bewahrt haben (Vennemann 1984: 25, 41). Zu dieser Ansicht möchte ich hier eine Alternative vorschlagen.

Nach verbreiteter Auffassung hat sich Jacob Grimms „Zweite Lautverschiebung“ ausgebreitet, und zwar von einem Gebiet mit strikter Verschiebung (also *\*T' > \*Tʰ* auch im Anlaut, in der Geminata und postkonsonantisch, und zwar nicht nur *\*t' > tʰ*, sondern auch *\*p' > pʰ* und *\*k' > kʰ*) in die Gebiete mit geringerer (nicht *\*k' > kʰ*) und geringster Verschiebung (auch nicht *\*p' > pʰ*).<sup>3</sup> Nach weniger verbreiteter Auffassung ist die „Zweite Lautverschiebung“ in mehreren hochgermanischen Dialekten autochthon.<sup>4</sup> Nach einer wenig verbreiteten Auffassung – die wie die erste von einer Monogenese ausgeht – hat die „Zweite Lautverschiebung“ in einem Gebiet geringster Verschiebung ihren Ausgangspunkt und hat sich von dort bei zunehmender „Regelverallgemeinerung“ ausgebreitet (so Becker 1967: 64).

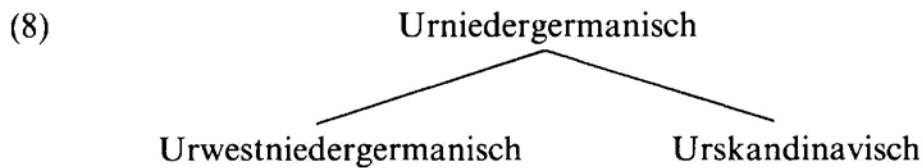
Gegen jeden dieser drei Ansätze lassen sich schwerwiegende Einwände vorbringen. Ich nenne je einen Einwand. Theorien, die Ausbreitung mit abnehmender Generalität ansetzen, müssen den Ursprung der „Zweiten Lautverschiebung“ in einem Gebiet stärkster Verschiebung, also jedenfalls im Oberdeutschen, und eine Ausbreitung in die Gebiete geringerer Verschiebung, also ins Ost-, Süd- rhein-, Rhein- und Mittelfränkische hinein, annehmen. Dies widerspricht aber jeder soziolinguistischen Erfahrung, der zufolge ein so durchgreifender und sinnfälliger Lautwandel sich nur mit, nicht aber gegen die Ausbreitung der Träger der politischen Macht ausbreiten kann.<sup>5</sup> Theorien, die autochthone Entwicklung der „Zweiten Lautverschiebung“ in mehreren Dialekten ansetzen, erklären nicht, warum die verschiedenen Dialekte sie so verschieden weit vorangetrieben haben. Theorien, die den Ursprung der „Zweiten Lautverschiebung“ in einem Gebiet geringster Verschiebung ansetzen, lassen unerklärt, warum diese sich nur in einer Richtung ausgebreitet haben sollte und nicht z. B. konzentrisch um ihr Ursprungsgebiet herum; merkwürdig erscheint in ihrem Licht aber vor allem, daß die „Zweite Lautverschiebung“ ausgerechnet am äußersten Südrand des deutschsprachigen Gebiets ihre höchstmögliche Verallgemeinerungsstufe erreicht haben soll. — Keine dieser drei Sorten von Theorien kann wirklich befriedigen.

Mir scheinen die hier knapp charakterisierten und kritisierten Sorten von Theorien dadurch motiviert, daß ihre Autoren den Einschnitt zwischen Hochgermanisch und Niedergermanisch nicht tief genug angesetzt haben: Sie sehen das Hochgermanische nur als eine Weiterentwicklung des Niedergermanischen, sehen z. T. sogar ihre „Zweite Lautverschiebung“ nur als eine verschieden weit vorangetriebene Fortsetzung der „Ersten Lautverschiebung“. (So z. B. Prokosch 1939: 56–57, 79–81 und 1917: 3–4.) Meine Lautverschiebungstheorie hingegen setzt den Schnitt viel tiefer an: Ihr zufolge sind das Hochgermanische und das Niedergermanische zwei verschiedene Weiterentwicklungen einer urgermanischen Grundsprache, deren System in keiner der beiden Nachfolgegruppen besonders treu bewahrt ist: Weder das Hochgermanische noch das Niedergermanische ist dem Urganischen strukturell besonders ähnlich. Tatsächlich sehe ich in der Innergermanischen Lautverschiebung den tiefsten Schnitt durch die germanischen Sprachen überhaupt, nämlich in ihrem Kernstück (1), das ich mir als sehr bald vollständig — in allen Positionen mit Ausnahme der bekannten Konsonantengruppen — ausgeführt denke.<sup>6</sup>

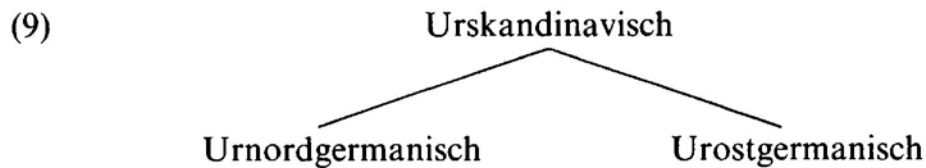




Um nun plausibel machen zu können, wie es von hier aus zu der bekannten Staffe­lung der Reflexe der hochgermanischen Lautver­schiebung in historischer Zeit kam, muß ich zunächst mein Bild der Aufgliederung des Germanischen weiterentwickeln. Die zweite Aufgliederung betraf das Urniedergermanische. Es teilte sich in Westniedergermanisch und Skandinavisches.



Das Urskandinavische teilte sich seinerseits in Nord- und Ostgermanisch.<sup>7</sup>



Das Urhochgermanische und das Urwestniedergermanische bilden nach der Trennung des Urwestniedergermanischen vom übrigen Niedergermanischen einen Sprachbund, den Westgermanischen Sprachbund. In der frühen Phase des Bestehens dieses Sprachbundes bilden sich die charakteristischen Gemeinsamkeiten der westgermanischen Sprachen heraus. Auf lautlichem Gebiet ist vor allem die westgermanische Geminatio­on interessant. Diese trifft das Westniedergermanische auf der Stufe  $\text{P}/\text{T}^{\text{h}}/\text{D}$ , also nach (2)  $*\text{D} > *D$ , aber jedenfalls vor (2)  $*D > *D$  in begünstigender Umgebung, denn die Geminationsresultate sind dort  $\text{PP}$ ,  $\text{TT}^{\text{h}}$  und  $\text{DD}$ , jedenfalls nicht  $\text{DD}$ . Die Geminatio­on trifft das Hochgermanische auf der Stufe  $\text{P}/\text{T}^{\text{s}}/\text{D}$ , also vor (3)  $*\text{T}^{\text{s}} > *SS$ , denn die Geminationsresultate sind dort  $\text{PP}$ ,  $\text{TT}^{\text{s}}$  und  $\text{DD}$  (bzw.  $\text{TT}$ ).<sup>8</sup> Die Entwicklung (2)  $*\text{D} > *D$  in begünstigender Umgebung ist gemein-niedergermanisch und kann der Stufe des Urniedergermanischen zugeordnet werden; die niedergermanische Frikativierung, (2)  $*D > *D$  in begünstigender Umgebung, ist zwar in allen niedergermanischen Sprachen zu fin-

den, aber in den drei Gruppen in verschiedener Ausprägung: im Nordgermanischen durchweg nach allen oralen Sonoranten (Vokalen und Liquiden), im Gotischen durchweg, aber nur nach Vokalen, im Westniedergermanischen nach allen oralen Sonoranten, aber nur bei *\*b* und *\*g*, nicht bei *\*d*.

Ich skizziere nun die Entstehung der gestaffelten hochdeutschen Lautverschiebungslandschaft der historischen Zeit. In den letzten Jahrhunderten vor der Zeitenwende saßen die Westniedergermanisch sprechenden Stämme auf der Jütischen Halbinsel und westlich entlang der Nordseeküste; in diesem „Nordkorridor“ drangen sie in den darauffolgenden Jahrhunderten immer weiter nach Westen vor. Gleichzeitig saßen die Hochgermanisch sprechenden Stämme an der unteren und mittleren Elbe („Elbgermanen“) und drangen von dort nach Südosten, immer wieder – und im frühen dritten Jahrhundert (als Alemannen) entscheidend – im „Südkorridor“ nach Südwesten vor.<sup>9</sup> Der Südosten des heute deutschsprachigen Gebiets (östlich der Iller und südlich der Donau) bleibt formell bis ins 6. Jahrhundert römisch, während die Bevölkerung zum großen Teil aus Elbgermanen, nach einer neueren Ansicht seit Anfang des 6. Jahrhundert weitgehend aus Alemannen bestand, die nach 496/497 bzw. 506 vor den Franken in das Reich Theoderichs flohen (Hartung 1983: 101, 105–106, 108–109, 181, etc.). Im 3. Jahrhundert stehen sich folgende Stammesgruppierungen gegenüber: Im Nordwesten die niedergermanischen Franken, im Nordosten die ebenfalls niedergermanischen Sachsen, im Süden die hochgermanischen Elbgermanen, vor allem die Alemannen und Thüringer. Das Hochgermanische hat zu dieser Zeit in seiner vollständigen Ausprägung bis in die Gegend der Benrather Linie und vermutlich noch weiter nördlich gegolten, im ganzen „Südkorridor“, von der Mittelbe bis zum Mittelrhein, im Thüringerreich nördlich der Donau wie auch im Dekumatenland. Aus dieser Gruppierung heraus entwickelt sich die gestaffelte Frankonisierung Mittel- und Süddeuschlands als Folge der stufenweisen Unterwerfung der Elbgermanen. Die Lautverschiebungslandschaften sind überall eine Folge dieser Frankonisierung: die hochgermanische Lautverschiebung wird unter fränkischem Superstrateinfluß rückgängig gemacht, und zwar proportional zur Intensität der Frankonisierung. Diese Rückgängigmachung ist am stärksten in den zuerst eroberten Gebieten, die unmittelbar an die bis heute niedergermanischen „Stammlande“ der Franken anschließen; sie wird schwächer in dem Maße, wie die Frankonisierung später erfolgt, nämlich jeweils durch Franken, die

selbst z. T. schon ein niedergermanisch kreolisiertes Hochgermanisch sprachen; sie ist am schwächsten dort, wo der fränkische Einfluß am geringsten war, nämlich in den äußersten Rückzugsgebieten der Alemannen: Nur das südlichste Alemannisch – im wesentlichen das Alpenalemannische – bewahrt ein fast unfrankonisiertes Hochgermanisch, und insbesondere eben die ungestörte hochgermanische Lautverschiebung; hinsichtlich dieser gilt das Entsprechende für das südliche Bairisch.<sup>10</sup>

Zu diesem Bild einer gestaffelten Rückgängigmachung der hochgermanischen Lautverschiebung im Zuge der Frankonisierung paßt sehr gut, wie sich das mitteldeutsche „Fränkische“ in der Rheingegend als „Rheinfränkisch“ und „Südrheinfränkisch“ bis fast nach Straßburg erstreckt, während das Oberdeutsche (definiert durch generelle *\*p*-Verschiebung, hier also durch gänzliche Bewahrung der generellen *\*p'*-Verschiebung) als „Ostfränkisch“ bis zum Main und darüber hinaus reicht: Das Rheingebiet war aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen für die Franken von herausragendem Interesse.<sup>11</sup> Hochdeutsch ist nach dieser Auffassung ein differenziell frankonisiertes Herminonisch (Elbgermanisch, linguistisch greifbar fast ausschließlich als von Norden nach Süden abnehmend mit dem Fränkischen kreolisiertes Alemannisch<sup>12</sup>).

Die Abstufung der Rückgängigmachung der hochgermanischen Lautverschiebung durch die Superstratsprecher – bzw. umgekehrt der Grad der Aneignung – folgt durchweg universellen phonetischen Gesichtspunkten.<sup>13</sup> Insofern *\*p'* *\*tʰ* *\*k<sup>x</sup>* bereits zu Frikativen weiterverschoben waren, waren sie perzeptiv so auffällig, daß eine Substitution von Plosiven nicht mehr möglich war. Insofern es sich bei *\*p'* *\*tʰ* *\*k<sup>x</sup>* um Affrikaten handelte, war *\*tʰ* wiederum die auffälligste, andererseits die einfachste und zugleich in der Verbindung /ts/ vorgeprägte Affrikata; und im übrigen sind nicht-anlautende Affrikaten leichter zu sprechen als anlautende. Generelle Verschiebung zu *\*tʰ* und generelle Verschiebung in postvokalischer Position definieren das Hochdeutsche, und wo unter fränkischem Einfluß nur dies von der hochgermanischen Lautverschiebung geblieben ist, spricht man heute „Mittelfränkisch“. Wo *\*p'* sich auch nach Konsonant und in der Geminat durchgesetzt hat, nicht aber im Anlaut (also die nächstschwerere Affrikata in den leichteren Positionen), spricht (oder sprach) man „Südrheinfränkisch“; wo *\*p'* auch im Anlaut triumphierte, spricht man Oberdeutsch, nämlich „Ostfränkisch“ bzw. gemäßigtes Alemannisch und Bairisch. Schließlich hat sich im Gebiet geringsten fränkischen Einflusses sogar *\*k<sup>x</sup>*

erhalten (bzw. anlautend zu /x/ vereinfacht). Zu diesem Bild paßt auch, daß sich die Formen mit /t/ statt /ʒ/ — *dat, bit, allet* und einige andere — nur im Gebiet allerintensivster Kreolisierung finden. Traditionell werden sie als unverschobene Formen aufgefaßt; aber das gibt überhaupt keinen Sinn: Warum sollten gerade die häufigsten Formen von einem Lautwandel ausgenommen bleiben? Nach meiner Theorie handelt es sich um niederfränkische Lehnformen, die sich wegen ihrer Häufigkeit im Gebiet intensivster niederfränkischer Kreolisierung — und nur dort — durchsetzen konnten.

Um es noch einmal ganz knapp zu fassen: Die hochgermanische Lautverschiebung hat sich (im Sinne der heutigen Dialektunterschiede) überhaupt nicht ausgebreitet; die hochgermanischen Lautverschieber haben sich ausgebreitet, und zwar von der Elbe durch den ganzen „Südkorridor“ und weiter nach Baiern (mit *i*, d. h. ins bairischsprachige Gebiet); und das geschichtliche Süd-Nord-Gefälle ist die Folge differenzieller Kreolisierung mit einem niedergermanischen Dialekt, der im heutigen Niederfränkisch (Holländisch, Flämisch) fortlebt.

Zum Abschluß meiner Betrachtungen möchte ich den Grad der Spekulativität, sofern das möglich ist, noch steigern und die Frage stellen und mit einer Hypothese beantworten, wo sich die hier angenommenen Dialektspaltungen abgespielt haben. Zwei wichtige Einschnitte bestimmen die Entwicklung des Westgermanischen. Ich möchte sie beide mit dem räumlichen Gegensatz Kontinentales Mitteleuropa (einschließlich der Jütischen Halbinsel) vs. Skandinavische Halbinsel in Verbindung bringen. Die Sprecher des Urhochgermanischen denke ich mir auf der Jütischen Halbinsel, die Sprecher des Urniedergermanischen auf der Skandinavischen Halbinsel, am ehesten in Südschweden und sich von dort nach Norden und Nordwesten ausbreitend; ob die Sprecher des Urgermanischen in Jütland oder Skandinavien saßen, bleibe dahingestellt. Hier jedenfalls sehe ich den ersten Einschnitt. Von der Skandinavischen Halbinsel — als der *officina gentium* — denke ich mir die Sprecher des Westniedergermanischen eingewandert; sie müßten mit den Sprechern des Hochgermanischen auf der Jütischen Halbinsel den westgermanischen Sprachbund gebildet haben, ehe sie diese nach Süden — gegen die untere und mittlere Elbe zu — verdrängten und selbst die westliche Nordseeküste und einen Anteil der britischen Inseln eroberten. In die von ihnen z. T. aufgegebenen Gebiete drängten dann — wiederum von der Skandinavischen Halbinsel, nämlich von Südschweden aus — Sprecher eines Niedergermanischen nach,

das sich inzwischen zum Nordgermanischen gewandelt hatte: des Urdänischen. Dabei ist nicht auszuschließen, daß der Druck dieser neuen Einwanderungswelle auch bereits zur Süd- und Westwanderung der Sprecher des Westniedergermanischen beigetragen hat.

Die Annahme eines westgermanischen Sprachbundes auf engem Raum – eben der Jütischen Halbinsel – halte ich für sehr wichtig. Sie und nur sie erlaubt es zu erklären, daß die westgermanischen Dialekte sowohl tiefgreifende Verschiedenheiten – am tiefsten eben den der innergermanischen Lautverschiebung – als auch durchgreifende Neuerungen aufweisen: im lautlichen Bereich am auffälligsten die Geminatio, im morphologischen die nur westgermanische, aber eben gemeinwestgermanische Ersetzung der 2. Sg. Ind. Prät. durch die Konjunktivform (wohl aus dem Interrogativmodus) – dies die älteste und m. E. plausibelste Hypothese. Zugleich bietet die Annahme den Ausgangspunkt für ein Szenario, in welchem die gestaffelte hochdeutsche Lautverschiebungslandschaft eine kohärente Erklärung findet, nämlich durch den historisch gesicherten Vorgang einer fortgesetzten Vermischung Hochgermanisch und Niedergermanisch sprechender Bevölkerungsgruppen vor allem im Zuge der Südausbreitung des Frankenreichs.<sup>14</sup>

### *Anmerkungen*

- \* Die folgenden, im Sommer 1984 formulierten Betrachtungen biete ich dem verehrten Jubilar nur zögernd an: Richtiger wäre es sicherlich gewesen, die hier angeschnittenen Probleme einige Jahre lang gründlich zu erforschen und dann ein Buch darüber zu schreiben. Aber dazu fehlt es mir an Zeit, und das mag noch lange so bleiben. Ich beruhige mich in dem Bewußtsein, daß, wie ich Edgar C. Polomé kenne, ihm eine riskante Spekulation mindestens so willkommen ist wie eine kontrollierte Versammlung gesicherter „Fakten“. – Den Grundgedanken der folgenden Skizze, daß ursprünglich das ganze hochdeutsche Sprachgebiet „elbgermanisch“, d. h. streng hochgermanisch, gewesen sei, habe ich erstmals zu Beginn des Winter-Semesters 1983–1984 gegenüber einigen Münchner Kollegen geäußert und bin dabei auf große Skepsis gestoßen. Am 4. April 1984 habe ich ihn in einem Brief an Willi Mayerthaler ausgeführt, der in einem Vortrag an der Sommerakademie der Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes in Alpbach/Tirol im September 1983 die Ansicht vertrat, daß das Bairische und das Ostfränkische je verschieden kreolisiertes Alemannisch seien, was mich auf der Grundlage meiner Lautverschiebungstheorie zu der radikalen Auffassung anregte, das Entsprechende gelte auch für die übrigen hochdeutschen Dialekte der althochdeutschen Zeit. Ich habe Willi Mayerthaler für zahlreiche fruchtbare Gespräche und die Zusendung seiner Schriften, zuletzt des Manuskripts über bairisch *p*- (vgl. unten Fn. 12), zu danken, des weiteren den Teilnehmern und Gästen – namentlich

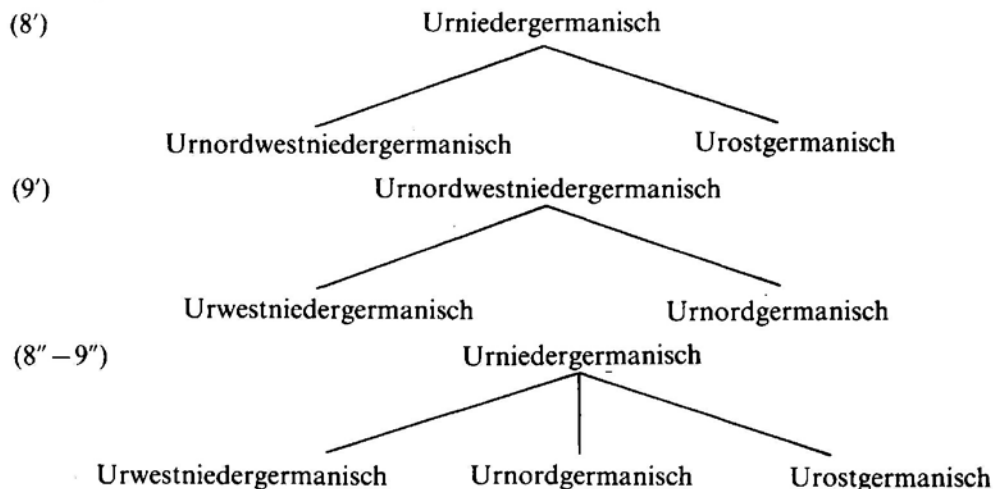
Herrn Dr. Reinhard Bauer und Herrn Dr. Egon Felder – meines Oberseminars „Neuere Theorien zur Entstehung des Althochdeutschen“ im Sommersemester 1984 an der Universität München, dessen zentrales Thema der hier vorgestellte Ansatz ist. Selbstverständlich bin ich für alles in diesem Aufsatz Geäußerte allein verantwortlich.

1. Bemerkung des Herausgebers: Hier und im weiteren Text wird – entgegen sonstigem Usus des Autors – zur Kennzeichnung rekonstruierter Formen nicht ein hochgestelltes Kreuzchen, sondern ein Asterisk verwendet. Der Autor hat dieser Änderung gegenüber dem Manuskript im Interesse der Einheitlichkeit des Bandes freundlicherweise zugestimmt. [W. W.]
- 1a. Die Labiovelaren werden hier nicht gesondert betrachtet. Bei den schematischen Darstellungen werden ferner die Kreuze zur Anzeigung bloß rekonstruierter Sprachlaute fortgelassen. – Dem knappen Hinweis „ganz anders Vonficht 1964“ in Norbert Richard Wolf (1983: 1119) verdanke ich die Kenntnis einer Vorwegnahme desjenigen Teils der Verzweigungstheorie, der die bewahrten Affrikaten (im Auslaut, in der Geminata und nach Konsonant) betrifft. Nicht aufgrund einer umfassenden Rekonstruktion des frühgermanischen Obstruenteninventars, wie ich sie versucht habe, sondern aufgrund einer rein phonetischen Betrachtung kommt Fritz Vonficht (1958: 167) zu der Ansicht, daß hochdeutsch [pf, ts, kx] nicht aus [ph, th, kh], sondern unmittelbar aus [p t k] hervorgegangen seien, indem sich nämlich vermutlich kein Beweis erbringen lasse, daß Affrikaten überhaupt jemals aus Aspiraten entstünden. Von diesem einfachen Gedanken aus entwickelt sich dann notgedrungen die Annahme einer parallelen „nördlichen Lautverschiebung“: „Es dürfte sich ... bei der Entwicklung von [p, t, k] zu [ph, th, kh] im Englischen, Dänischen, Schwedischen um eine von der hochdeutschen Lautverschiebung unabhängige Parallelerscheinung zu dieser handeln, die man vielleicht kurz als ‚nördliche Lautverschiebung‘ bezeichnen kann. Wenn in Deutschland Mundarten mit [ph, th, kh] an solche mit [pf, ts, kx] grenzen und sogar innerhalb einzelner Mundarten Mischungen von Aspiraten mit Affrikaten vorkommen (wie z. B. [ph, ts, kh] im Rheinfränkischen), so ist hier also nicht an das Vorliegen von 2 Stufen einundderselben Lautverschiebung, sondern an das Aufeinandertreffen einer südlichen Lautverschiebung bestimmter Art und einer nördlichen Lautverschiebung anderer Art zu denken, das dem Zusammentreffen spezifisch oberdeutscher mit spezifisch niederdeutschen Wörtern in manchen mitteldeutschen Mundarten vergleichbar ist“ (S. 167). Zur [p, t, k]-Aspirierung merkt Vonficht noch an, daß „das Niederfränkische ... [p, t, k] nicht verschoben“ habe (S. 167). – Später modifiziert Vonficht (1964: 32) seine Ansicht dahingehend, daß er eine „Mischung“ nur für das Ostmitteldeutsche und höchstens noch das Obersächsische annimmt, während er ansonsten einen Lautwandel [kx] > [kh] ansetzt, der vom Südrheinfränkischen und nördlichen Oberdeutsch aus in das Gebiet des unverschobenen [k] eindringt, während unverschobenes [p] dann nach dem Muster von [kh] seinerseits zu [ph] wird. – Ohne mich explizit zu der (modifizierten) Mischungstheorie äußern zu wollen, freue ich mich über die hier von phonetischer Seite her vorgebrachte Argumentation zugunsten der Verzweigungstheorie.
2. Das urgermanische Inventar  $\text{P}/\text{T}/\text{D}$  wird seinerseits durch eine Urganische Lautverschiebung –  $\text{T}^h > \text{P}$  – aus einem paläogermanischen Inventar  $\text{T}^h/\text{T}'/\text{D}$  abgeleitet. – Auf das tatsächliche Vorkommen von Plosivinventaren  $\text{T}^h/\text{T}'/\text{D}$  wie im Paläogermanischen,  $\text{T}/\text{D}$  wie im Urganischen,  $\text{T}^h/\text{D}$  wie im



Niedergermanischen und  $\text{D}$  bzw.  $\text{T}$  wie im Hochgermanischen wird in Vennemann (1985) hingewiesen.

3. Vgl. die jüngste Zusammenfassung mit Literaturangaben in Norbert Richard Wolf (1981: 40–46, 1983: 1119).
4. Hier ist dann zwischen Polygenese und parallelen Entwicklungstendenzen zu unterscheiden; vgl. Wolf (1981: 40).
5. „Das Fränkische schließt sich, offenkundig in seiner politisch werbenden Einstellung zu den doch nicht immer entschieden unterworfenen süddeutschen Stämmen, diesen in ihrer Sprache an“ (Mitzka 1951–1952: 69): Besser kann man die soziolinguistische Unhaltbarkeit der Theorien vom süddeutschen Ursprung der „Zweiten Lautverschiebung“ nicht unterstreichen, als es hier einer ihrer energischsten Vertreter tut.
6. Es ist dabei gleichgültig, ob die beiden Teile dieses Kernstücks gleichzeitig durchgeführt wurden, wie es die Darstellung (1) vielleicht nahelegt, oder ob  $\text{T}' > \text{T}^h$  früher als  $\text{T}' > \text{T}^s$  bzw.  $\text{T}' > \text{T}^s$  früher als  $\text{T}' > \text{T}^h$  eingetreten ist. Wichtig ist nur, daß im Westgerm. Sprachbund Hochgerm. und Niedergerm. u. a. durch die Verschiedenheit ihrer Tenuisreihen unterschieden sind, ob als  $\text{T}^s$  vs.  $\text{T}^h$  oder  $\text{T}^s$  vs.  $\text{T}'$  oder  $\text{T}'$  vs.  $\text{T}^h$  ist von zweitrangiger Bedeutung.
7. Die Abfolge (8)–(9) soll der verbreiteten Auffassung Rechnung tragen, daß die Gemeinsamkeiten des Altnordischen und Gotischen zahlreicher und umfassender sind als diejenigen des Altnordischen oder Gotischen mit dem Westniedergermanischen. Für das Folgende hängt hiervon aber weiter nichts ab, so daß ich es offen lassen kann, ob statt (8) und (9) eher (8') und (9') oder auch einfach (8''–9'') anzusetzen ist.



8. Diese Auffassung ist jedenfalls mit den Daten völlig verträglich. Gibt es gute Gründe, die Affrikation oder die Aspiration gemäß (81) später als die Geminat anzusetzen, so würde die Geminat im Vor-Hochgermanischen bzw. im Vor-Niedergermanischen die Stufe  $\text{T}'$  mit dem Resultat  $\text{TT}'$  betroffen haben.
9. Die Bezeichnungen „Nord-“ und „Südkorridor“ übernehme ich aus Hartung (1983: 20, 33). — Schon in Prokosch (1917: 4) ist die Ansicht ausgesprochen, es sei „ihr Ausgangspunkt im germanischen Stammlande zwischen Elbe und Oder zu suchen; von dort hat sie sich über das westliche und südliche Deutschland im Gleichschritt mit der deutschen Besiedlung dieses Landes ausgedehnt, überall bald nach der Germanisierung zum Stillstand kommend“. Die Staffelnung der

Lautverschiebungs-Landschaft sieht Prokosch (1917: 13–17), wenn ich ihn recht verstehe, als eine Folge der allmählichen Generalisierung der Lautverschiebung im Zuge dieser Besiedlung.

10. Willi Mayerthaler (1983: 31) betrachtet „Bairisch als Fusionskreol aus Alemannisch und (Proto-)Ladinisch“.
11. Auch die zeitliche Abfolge der Eroberungen paßt dazu, ist aber wohl vergleichsweise von geringerer Bedeutung: Vernichtung der Selbständigkeit der Alemannen zwischen 480/481 und 506; Eroberung des Thüringerreiches 531; Eroberung der nordalpinen Gebiete des Ostgotenreiches (Baierns) 536/537.
12. Nach Mayerthaler wäre hinzuzufügen: „nach Südosten zunehmend mit dem (Proto-)Ladinischen kreolisiert“. Mayerthaler (1983: 35) unterscheidet für eine ältere Zeit drei Zweige des Alemannischen mit einem „inneralemannischen Variationsraum“: A-, B- und C-Alemannisch. Aus dem A-Alem. entsteht bei geringfügigem ladinischem Einfluß das Hochalemannische sowie unter vergleichsweise starkem fränkischem Superstrateinfluß das Niederalemannische. Aus dem B-Alem. wird bei vergleichsweise schwächerem fränkischem Superstrateinfluß, aber starkem protoladinischem Einfluß durch Fusion das Ladinioalem. bzw. Bairische. Aus dem C-Alem. entsteht unter massivem fränkischem Superstrateinfluß und Adstrateinfluß das Frankoalem. (Ostfränkische und Südrheinfränkische). [Ähnlich Mitzka (1951–1952: 69): „Das *Ostfränkische* selbst braucht nicht ethnisch stark fränkisch zu sein. Seine Fläche ist alter thüringischer Siedelboden und im Westabschnitt alemannischer. Das Alemannische mag auch hier sprachgeographisch die Grundlage darstellen. Eine alemannische Unterschicht aber läßt den mächtigen Anteil der Lautverschiebung im Ostfränkischen verstehen.“] – Wie leicht zu erkennen, ist der oben skizzierte Ansatz nur eine von Mayerthalers Einteilung inspirierte Generalisierung auf das Rheinfränkische, Moselfränkische und Ripuarische nebst spezieller Anwendung auf die Entstehung des gestaffelten Lautverschiebungsraums. Diese Anwendung findet sich neuerdings auch bei Mayerthaler (1986: 63): „Noch heute aber ist das Frankoalem. dem Alem. viel näher verwandt als dem authentisch (Nieder)Fränkischen; dieses Faktum wird durch die germ. Terminologie ‚Ostfränkisch/Südrheinfränkisch‘, die sich lediglich an den von den Franken durchgesetzten Politbegriff ‚Franken‘ anlehnt, verdeckt und ist in sprachlicher Hinsicht irreführend: ein richtiger Franke ‚lautverschiebt‘ gerade nicht. Die sog. oberdeutsche / zweite germanische / hochgermanische Lautverschiebung ist schlicht und einfach die *alemannische* Lautverschiebung. Frankonisierung und Ladinisierung der jeweiligen alem. Peripherie (darunter das Langobardische) führen zu mehr oder minder massiver Inhibition bzw. Rückgängigmachung der alem. Lautverschiebung.“ Die Generalisierung auf das Rhein- und Mittelfränkische ist durch mancherlei Hinweise in der Literatur zum Gegenstand nahegelegt. Zur Hand ist die Bemerkung in Mitzka (1951–1952: 69): „Wie weit das Mittelfränkische wirklich altfränkisch im ethnischen Sinne ist, lassen wir hier unerörtert. Auch unsere eigene, total ketzerische Ansicht, daß in der Dialektgeographie aller Zeiten durch alle Umformung die eigentlichen Franken, das sind die salischen, und die erst Jahrhunderte nach ihnen genannten und gewiß erst in solchem Abstand entstandenen ripuarischen Franken durch eine starke Mundartgrenze getrennt sind. An dieser ist die Beteiligung an der Lautverschiebung von den salischen, wie es die Niedersachsen in ihrem gegensätzlichen Stammesgefühl getan haben, angehalten worden.“ (Nach meiner Auffassung ist Mitzkas



- „starke Mundartgrenze“ zwischen salischem und ripuarischem Fränkisch gerade die zwischen Niedergerm. und Hochgerm.) Freilich läßt Mitzka von der Auffassung einer Ausbreitung der Lautverschiebung gleichwohl nicht ab.
13. Die phonetische Natur dieser Abstufung ist oft kommentiert worden. Immer noch erscheinen mir einschlägig u. a. die Betrachtungen in Vennemann (1972: 253 mit Fußnoten); allerdings halte ich die dort über die hochgermanische Lautverschiebung gemachten Annahmen im übrigen für unzutreffend. — Mit den universellen Voraussetzungen parallel gehende einzelsprachliche (z. B. das Vorkommen von /ts/, aber nicht /pf/ oder /kx/, in niedergermanischen Wortformen) mögen ebenfalls einen Beitrag geleistet haben, vgl. Mitzka (1951–1952: 20).
  14. Es bleibt zu erwägen und zu untersuchen, inwiefern auch die Südausbreitung der Sachsen und verwandter Gruppen zu dieser Vermischung und der sie begleitenden Kreolisierung beigetragen hat. — Auch das Langobardische könnte schon im Elbgebiet — also im niedergermanischen Bereich — kreolisiert worden sein, nicht erst durch romanisches Substrat (vgl. Fn. 12); diese Annahme liegt besonders nahe, wenn man sich „die Langobarden“, also wohl ihre maßgebliche Schicht, in Anlehnung an Paulus Diakonus aus Skandinavien in den Elberaum eingewandert denkt. — Übrigens finden sich auch Ansätze einer Kreolisierung des Altsächsischen durch das zu dieser Zeit bereits weitflächig hochgerm. „Fränkisch“, ein Vorgang, der in der Neuzeit durch den Sprachenwechsel — allgemeine Annahme der deutschen Standardsprache — seinen Höhepunkt findet.

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## Translation: Minimizing errors in the thought process

John Weinstock

Consider the following passage from the Swedish author Lars Gustafsson's novel *Sigismund. Ur en polsk barockfurstes minne* (Stockholm: P. S. Norstedt & Sönners förlag, 1975):

... jag talar om riktiga författare, inte om diletantiska självbedragare och inte heller om sådana där *smörtenorer* som bara skriver för att bli älskade för sitt själslivs skull ...

'I'm speaking about real authors, not about diletantish self-deluders nor about those butter tenors who write just to be loved for the sake of their emotional life.' ...

The word *smörtenorer* illustrates well the inherent difficulties confronted in the translation enterprise. A literal translation would be 'butter tenors' which makes little sense in English. What is referred to here is clearly that type of mellifluous, extremely sentimental Italian bel canto tenor. Evidently the butter is very sweet in Sweden! But how should this be rendered in English — *bel canto tenors*? This does not evoke the same kind of visual and auditory images as *smörtenorer* does. The adjective *schmaltzy* in 'schmaltzy singers' has the desired connotation of over-sentimentality but also has a certain unwanted ethnic flavor. Retaining the singing concept, *crooners* might be the best rendering of this expression into English. Moving closer to what Gustafsson is referring to, viz., authors, a translation such as *soap opera writers* might be more effective.

Anyone who has endeavored to produce a high-quality translation (whatever that means) of a literary work is very familiar with such quandaries. For centuries translators have toiled on with little glory and much criticism to make the masterpieces of world literature accessible to a broader reading public; and, although contributions to the theory of translation date back to Cicero, research in this area has multiplied markedly over the past two decades or so. To date, however, study of the actual translation process has been woefully lacking; scholars such as Andre Lefevere and George Steiner consider the process as unapproachable. Of course, trans-

lating is only one aspect of the more general process of thinking and writing (I leave aside verbal communication where intra- and interlingual translation are also important). The complex thinking process whose final product is a written text is not well understood, in part because the human brain, though the object of intense scientific scrutiny, has not yet yielded its functional secrets. We try to teach writing to students throughout their years in school; yet research into the effectiveness of composition teaching on the college level indicates that students write about as well at the end of a course as when they began it. Some insight into the translation process could provide benefits not only for the training of translators but also for the teaching of writing. In this essay I limit myself to mistakes owing to erroneous thinking; a better understanding of the nature of these errors can help minimize them.

There are, of course, many views on how thought processes work — Piaget and Lorenz to mention two; cf. George Steiner, *After Babel. Aspects of language and translation* (New York/London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 114. I have no theory of my own that I wish to propose; I assume a working definition of what is narrowly taken as language in writer and translator. Interpretation and thinking are undefinables for the purpose of this study. Reading and writing, on the other hand, can be operationally defined as the physical realizations of thought processes: the former involves interpreting a text while the latter is concerned with creating a text.

Translation has much in common with creative writing; the time constraint is not as important as it is with spoken language. The writer as well as the translator has ample time to reflect and think before committing something to the page, and he may then revise what has been written. Spoken language, on the other hand, to be effective, requires relatively rapid responses, as in simultaneous translation. The similarities between the writer and translator are apparent: both read and interpret a text, the writer's being the "text" of human experience, the translator's being the writer's text. The major difference lies in purpose: the writer has a message to pass on to a reading public, the translator helps the writer to expand that public. Figure 1 presents one conception of the first stage of the translation process from Swedish to English and compares this with the process the Swedish writer goes through.

Certain assumptions must be made before translation can be attempted and achieve some degree of success. First, that the languages are similar in their basic structures and that there are

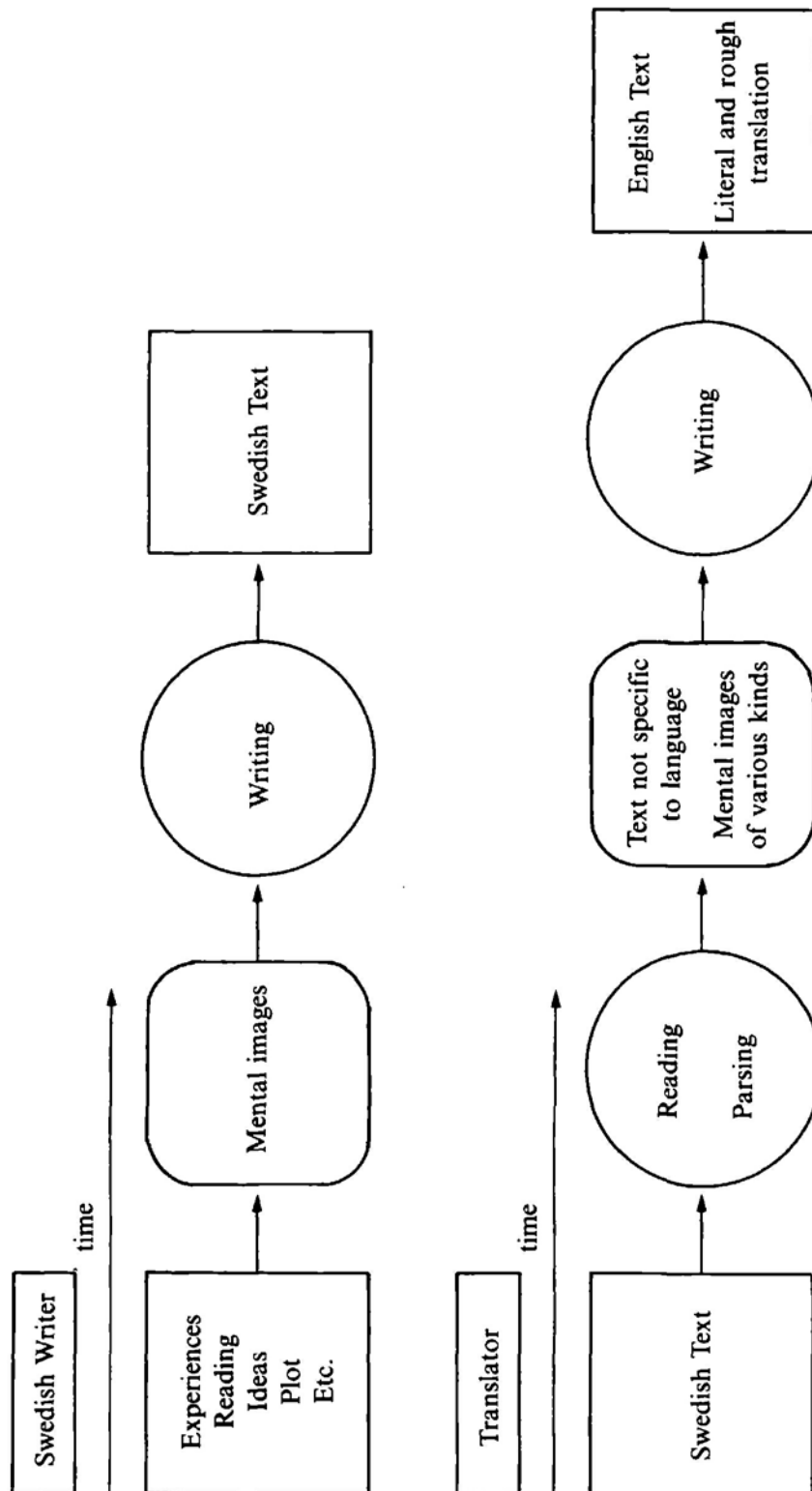


Figure 1.

universal features of language which cross cultural boundaries. The colors on the writer's palette such as metaphor and irony are not language-specific, and, accordingly, the ideas expressed in one language using those colors can be transformed into another language using similar shades and yet preserving meaning. This is not to suggest that the metaphors or figures of speech of one language do not differ from those of another, rather that all languages make use of metaphors and figures of speech. The translator, of course, must know the source and target languages well. Ideally he should be bilingual, though fluency in the source language is not nearly as important as fluency in the target language. The translator can make use of dictionaries and native speakers to assist him in comprehending the original text. In this essay I consider the case of translation from Swedish to English, two languages whose basic structures and vocabularies have much in common.

A more basic question, though, is the relationship between the cultures of the two languages: the closer they are, the easier the translator's task, for the contexts surrounding a text in one language will be similar in the closely related target language. Each cultural, language community divides up the total semantic world differently depending on what is important and what is insignificant for the people of that community. There are richer means of expression for those items that play an important role in their lives: Lapplanders for whom reindeer breeding has been essential have a rich set of words and expressions for this portion of the semantic world that is not generally of interest to speakers of English. If the cultures are far apart and basic life patterns are markedly different, the translator's problems are compounded, perhaps even insurmountable, in that his intended audience will probably not be familiar with the original culture and effort at translation in a wider sense may fail or turn out to be flawed. Fortunately, in the case of Swedish and English we are dealing with two similar cultures, both from the Western tradition, and cultures that have mutually influenced each other to a considerable extent. Since the Swedish original and my translation are nearly contemporary, the time barrier that a translator is often confronted with is not a factor.

For me translation consists of the following steps: 1) Read (understand); 2) Close Read — Rough Draft (interpret — write); 3) Refine (bring original and translation into high degree of overlap). The aim of the first reading is to reach an overall view of the work to be translated, an understanding of its plot, and the author's

message. Some concentration is given to words and phrases not clearly understood; a dictionary might be consulted. At this stage questions are jotted down, notes taken or made in the margins, but a first draft must await step two. After this rather cursory first reading the first draft is begun, proceeding usually in a linear order, sentence by sentence, chapter by chapter.

What kind of thinking goes on to produce a translated sentence? The translator makes use of every thought process available to create a mental construct of the source sentence. Because the source sentence consists of words, the mental construct will normally consist of words or phrases supplemented as necessary by visual, auditory, and other sensory images. Often the source words and phrases themselves will become visual images until a suitable calque is found. Take the following passage from *Sigismund*:

En av lakejerna tappar balansen, fatet med orrarna håller på att glida ur handen på honom. Fortfarande envisas han med att hålla den vänstra armen på ryggen, men han vacklar hit och dit som en osäker cirkusjonglör med sin orrbricka.

'One of the servants loses his balance, the dish with the grouse is on the verge of slipping out of his hand. Yet he persists in keeping his left arm on his back, staggering back and forth like a shaky circus juggler with his grouse tray.'

Visual images come immediately to mind. The idea expressed becomes part of the non-language-specific text, and from here it can be expressed in another language depending on the capabilities of the person reading it.

If the portion of the original text being worked on is, say, a dialogue, then it may not be so easy to visualize the text. Words or word images alone may suffice. If the locale of the dialogue is important, then an image of that locale with varying degrees of detail will be conjured up. Again from *Sigismund*:

Scholtzplatz ligger knappast längre i Berlin, ett stenkast från Spandau, i ett hörn, det ruggigaste men i alla fall ett hörn av Grunewalds stora skog, där muntra ryttarskaror spränger fram och där bokarna blev grönnare för varje dag. Ett lätt regndis låg över Berlin i de där dagarna.

'Scholtzplatz lies a bit further out in Berlin, a stone's throw from Spandau, on a corner, the roughest, but anyhow, a corner of Grunewald's great forest where merry horsemen ride forth and



where the beeches were becoming greener by the day. A light mist lay over Berlin those days.'

The scene is set, and the reader can picture the area where the subsequent action takes place. If there is music or other sound in the background, that may become part of the mental construct. Gustafsson mentions several times *en monteverdivind*. I know that he happens to like the music of this early Italian opera and madrigal composer; when I confront this word, strains of baroque music go through my mind. Of course, the mental construct is complex, made up of all kinds of images, words included. In a particularly difficult passage these images may remain in the mind until a good translation pops out.

Selection and decision procedures are critical in the translation enterprise. The translator must inevitably decide what to put in and what to leave out, and it is almost always the case that information is either lost or added. Many words can be translated in more than one way, and Swedish words usually have different semantic fields than their English equivalents. At every stage in the translation process we must select words and phrases, compare alternative translations, and finally decide which of the various possibilities will work best. Consider the following brief example from *Sigismund*: *vi har aldrig förr eller senare haft det så bra som på femtiotalet*. The basic idea seems to be that 'we've never had it so good as in the fifties, neither before nor since'. Since I come to Swedish via Norwegian, my Swedish is somewhat limited. My problem is with *förr eller senare*: it usually means 'sooner or later', but that doesn't seem to fit here. If it had read *vi har aldrig, varken förr eller senare, haft det så bra som på femtiotalet* 'we have never, neither before nor since, had it so good as in the 50's', it would have been clearer. Perhaps the Swedish is flawed?

In working on *Sigismund* I have paid close attention to the role that my own misunderstandings have played. There seem to be two categories of errors I make: intellectual errors and dictionary errors. Under the former are included errors of comprehension, portions of text that I have simply misunderstood. By dictionary errors I mean cases where I have been led astray by my reference materials. I will now examine some of these errors hoping that a closer look will shed some light on the causes and help prevent them in the future. One drawback should be mentioned: my only Swedish dictionary until now has been the Harlock *Svensk-Engelsk Ordbok*

originally published in 1943 and it is, thus, a bit out of date. There is no particular order in which the mistakes are discussed.

Let me begin with a few errors owing to Norwegian-Swedish interference. *Planeterna är bevuxna med en del primitiva lavar* 'the planets are overgrown with a kind of primitive lichen'. This I erroneously translated as 'lava' rather than 'lichen' because the plural for the Norwegian word for 'lichen' is *lav*. In *mina möjliga mjölkttänder* 'my decaying molars' I came up with 'possible' on confusion with Norw. *mulig* and Germ. *möglich* rather than the correct 'decaying'. Another time *en låglänt sumpmark med gulnad vass* 'a lowlying swamp with yellowed reeds' brought 'water' on the first effort. In Norwegian and Icelandic compounds beginning in *vatns-* 'water' are pronounced [vass] and thus the error. It should have been 'reeds'. A last example of this type of mistake is *grunt vatten* 'shallow water'. Here a careless first stab resulted in 'green water' on the similarity to *grøn* rather than the correct 'shallow'. Notice that in all of these cases the mistranslation is not intrinsically inconceivable in the context. A real danger is present here in that there is often nothing to lead the translator to suspect that he is on the wrong track.

Consider next *den unga lovande dramatikern* 'the young promising playwright' which I mistranslated as 'drama critic' confusing it with *dramaturg*. Other examples of terminology come readily to mind: *direktörerna* — 'managers' rather than 'directors'; *protokollspärmar* should have been 'files' rather than 'notebooks'. An up-to-date dictionary would have contained such items. Titles, though, are another matter:

Har *docenten* (jag översätter här en titel, som kanske inte är så lätt att översätta, med "docenten". Andra översättare skulle kanske föredra "privatdocenten" beroende på något svårbegripliga samhällsförhållanden på Ygal-Ygal, andra åter med "lilla syster").

'Are you in contact, docent? (I am translating a title here that is perhaps not so easy to translate, with "docent". Other translators would perhaps prefer "private docent" depending on some difficult-to-comprehend social relationship on Ygal-Ygal, others again with "little sister")'.

The context here is science-fiction, an intergalactic war. What is clear is that using *docent* in English doesn't sound very good since the person in question is not a lecturer or teacher.

A lack of familiarity with poetry tripped me up in *varje ny centrallyriker som hojtar om sina kosmiska hjärtebesvär* 'each new lyric poet who shouts about his cosmic heartthrobs'. My first effort produced 'central poet' which did sound strange. The 'central' refers to that kind of poetry in the mainstream, lyric poetry. In *Sjöar där flyttfåglar skriker över de finvattrade vindbrunnarna i april* 'lakes where flocks of migrating birds scream over the rippled windblown holes in the ice in April' I really blundered with 'fine-watered springs'. At least I realized something was amiss, and further work on this sentence produced 'moiré patterns on the openings in the ice caused by the wind', which is the correct meaning. That is not what the final translation looks like! These kinds of errors are intellectual, that is, they involve areas of knowledge I was not conversant with.

In the case of the chapter title *Hagelskuren, fångad i flykten framför jägarens bössa* 'The shower of shot, captured in flight in front of the hunter's gun' I simply chose the wrong alternative for *hagelskur* on the first attempt, viz., 'hail storm'. Here the immediate context is the key to resolving the ambiguity. With *Jag kan, kort sagt, en egendomlig konst* 'In short, I know a strange trick' I puzzled over whether *konst* should be rendered with 'art' or 'trick', and the subsequent context cleared it up. Context usually provides a hint as to whether you are on the right track; in *att tala om för alla farbröder som kom med räkningar att pappa var inkallad och mamma utgången* 'explaining to all the men who came with bills that father was in the army and mother had gone out' I thought it odd that a person's uncles were bill collectors. So 'uncles' was replaced with 'men' in the English version. Next consider *de befriade broderfolken* 'our liberated neighbors' which refers to Denmark and Norway after World War II and which suggests common heritage: we don't usually call our neighbors to the north brothers, so 'neighboring peoples' is perhaps best.

Frequently encountered are a number of proper names which will mean little to a speaker of English. *Hall*, for example, is the name of a noted Swedish prison; I translated it simply as the 'penitentiary'. With *Sällskapet* and *Kungamiddag* some readers might guess what is being alluded to; I rendered these as 'The Club' and 'the Royal Banquet'. However, with *Jägersro* few will have any idea what this means, and a translation as 'the Royal Box' or 'the Royal Box at the track' would seem fitting. In the case of *JO*, the ombudsman, there is no problem in that we have taken over the concept in

American society. *Dagens Eko*, on the other hand, can hardly be rendered with 'the echo of the day'. As some might guess *Dagens Eko* is an afternoon radio news and commentary program; perhaps 'evening news' is best.

Next I briefly look at two grammatical problems: in *Vill licentiaten vara så vänlig att ringa till Inrikesdepartementet* 'Will you be so kind as to call the Department of the Interior' we encounter that old and strange Swedish custom of addressing people on lower social levels in the third person. If the context makes it clear who is being addressed, it is perhaps best to avoid a clumsy circumlocution and simply use the second-person pronoun 'Would you be so kind ...'. In *en kall, en förkylningsruskig vår* 'a spring of the nasty sort apt to give you a cold' we have an adjectival phrase of the type common in German. Does 'a chilly spring of the bleak sort apt to give you a cold' sound strange?

These are just a sample of many errors made on the first attempt at translating *Sigismund*. Most of these errors do not present major problems in that they are recognizable; they sound just odd enough so that you pursue them until you have them correctly translated. It is the careless errors, though, that can escape unnoticed; it is belaboring the obvious to stress how vital it is to proceed with care, noting anything that seems unusual and working on it until it is right.

The third step is refining the rough draft by bringing it into as high a degree of overlap with the Swedish original as possible. Ambiguities, metaphors, figurative language, and allusions to other sources are checked in the original to see if they have been preserved in translation. Attention is paid to style so that it reflects the original as much as possible. Even when translating into a closely related language compromises will have to be made: a perfect one-to-one mapping of the original onto the target language is impossible in practice. Generally, meaning takes precedence over form, at least in working with prose. The refining process is depicted in figure 2. The Swedish original A and the English rough draft B<sub>1</sub> overlap to some extent; but after the draft has been considerably revised, the two texts A and the revision B<sub>2</sub> overlap to a greater extent. They have become equivalent in a certain sense. Had we been dealing with poetry, the problems would have been more severe in that form and content both are usually of importance.

Refining a translation is often a lengthy and difficult process that leads the translator to a better understanding of the original text

Refining

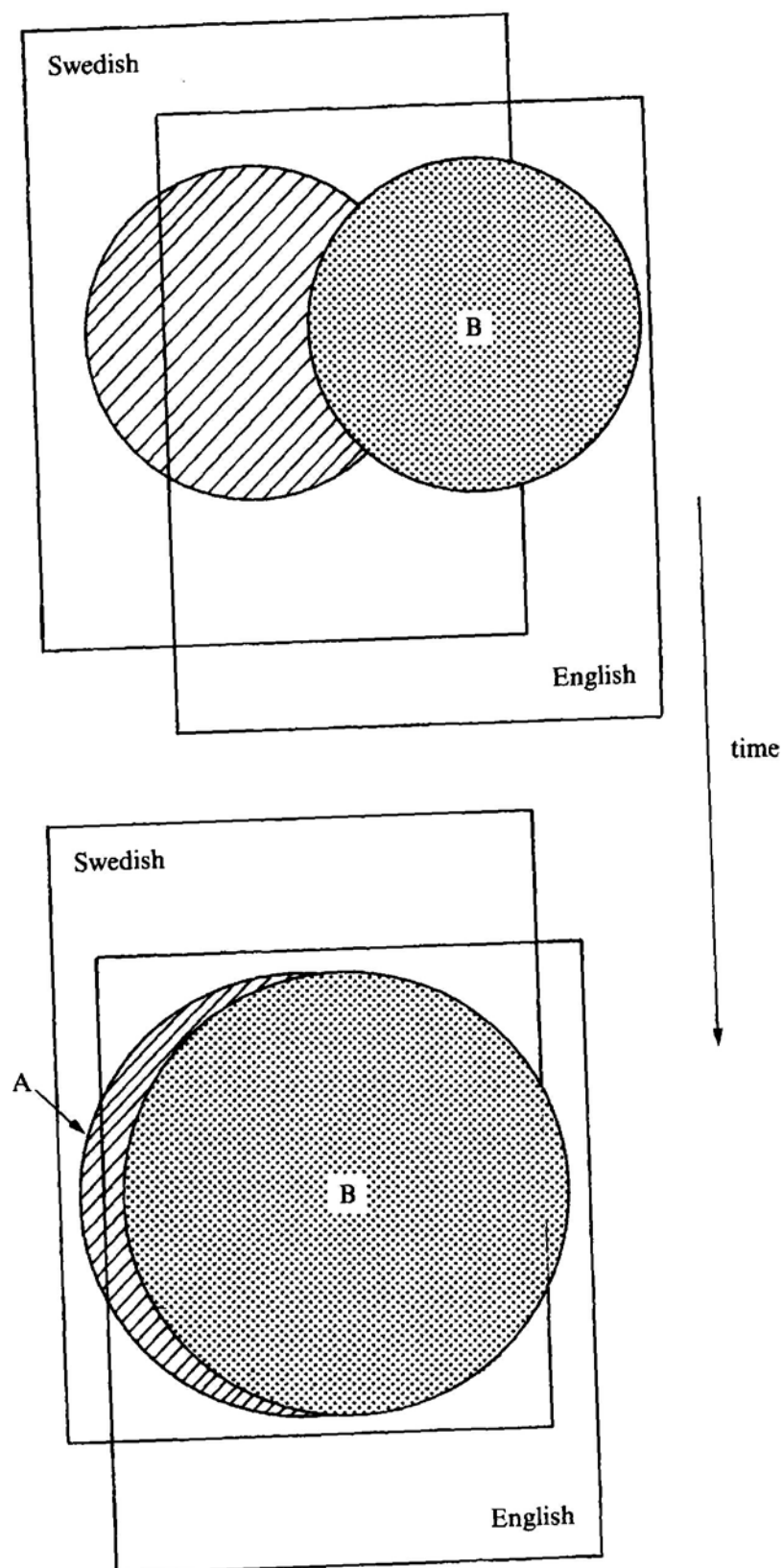


Figure 2.

and the author's thoughts. A final example from *Sigismund* illustrates well the involved revision process.

... språkförgiftningen, som gör att det knappast längre går att tala, bara att lalla, i korta, oklara satser som en full karl som står och lutar sig mot en husvägg.

Genomströmningshastighet

Kulturutbud

Lokaliseringspolitik

Illegal strejk

Avnämaringintresse

'... language poisoning so that you can hardly talk any longer, just *mumble*, in short, confused sentence like a drunk standing and leaning against a house wall.

Flow velocity

Cultural market

Localization policy

Illegal strike

Consumer interests'

To render this passage into appropriate English requires that it be well understood, and that in turn entails an examination of the five expressions. What is it about them exactly that offends the narrator? *Genomströmningshastighet* means 'flow velocity', a common term in the jargon of hydraulics and chemical engineering. However, the usage has been extended in Swedish so that it also refers to the rate at which students are moved through a school system. *Kulturutbud* means literally 'cultural market', everything in the area of culture that can be bought and sold such as books, films, works of art, theater tickets, and so on. The idea of making a commodity out of a cultural item, making culture available to those who have the money is offensive. *Lokaliseringspolitik* is a form of decentralization and refers to solving unemployment problems by uprooting people and moving them to an area where a new plant has been constructed, rather than moving the factory to where the unemployed people are. *Illegal strejk* is, of course, a contradiction in terms. The only legal strikes in Sweden are evidently those authorized by the large worker federations; a local strike by a small group of individuals without the approval of the federation is illegal. *Avnämaringintresse* could be translated as 'consumer interests', but usually refers to something not in the best interest of the consumers,

such as trying to sell them products they do not need. It should be clear that all five expressions involve something with negative connotations for individuals, for people. They are euphemistic, neutral terms that hide the negative connotations. The old, honorable words are no longer used, and the language is dehumanized. *Städare* 'cleaning lady' becomes *lokalvårdare* 'local caretaker'; it presumably sounds better and lends dignity to the person. This Swedish bureaucratic language finds its counterpart in English, e.g., with Alexander Haig, that master of doublespeak. Five such expressions in English may work fine for the *Sigismund* passage. Several possibilities are: *throughput* which is close to *genomströmningshastighet*; *negative patient outcome*; and *Indian resettlement*.

Translation is a very complex and fascinating activity. The translation process deserves closer scrutiny.



## **Cardinal points and other directions in Tocharian A and B**

Werner Winter

**0.** In his scholarly work, Edgar Polomé has always sought to combine the study of linguistic data with that of cultural facts in the broadest sense. It therefore seems fitting to dedicate to him a paper straddling the fence between language and culture.

**1.** Work on the Tocharian languages has been facilitated and impeded by an important factor: At least of the published texts, the vast majority — above all in Tocharian A — consists of translations and paraphrases, often in verse form, of originals composed in Sanskrit. This circumstance greatly contributed to the decipherment of the languages A and B and to the elucidation of fine points in grammar and lexicon; at the same time, it helped to hide from us essential aspects of the native cultures — thus, we still do not know the self-designation of the people who spoke A and B (with uncertainty resulting about their place in history), we know very little about their everyday life, in particular outside the monasteries, and when texts — mostly in B — do contain references to aspects of material culture (e. g., foodstuffs) we are at a loss trying to determine the precise meaning of the terms encountered. It is no accident that philological work on the texts, often of very high caliber, has concentrated on those for which sources or parallels could be discovered in Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Chinese; this has gone so far as to make scholars like Couvreur or Thomas devote what would seem to be an undue amount of energy to republishing (with a small gain in points of detail) texts which had long been in the public domain while numerous, admittedly difficult, texts of local provenance remained — and continue to remain — unpublished. The exceptions from this trend are few and far between: there are the original bits of text composed by Tocharian translators and the headings and colophons; there is an early discussion of caravan passports by Lévi (1913: 312–318), resumed by Couvreur (1953: 90–96); there is Sieg's exemplary presentation of bookkeeping texts from a monastery (Sieg 1950: 208–223); there are letters published by Krause



(1948: 49) and Thomas (1953: 78–80). On the whole, then, there is very little that has been made widely known in this field. Fairly important insights can be expected once the slow pace of publication has been accelerated; thus, a number of important documents pertaining to secular administration have been pointed out to exist (cf. Winter 1984: 132–133) but have not been made available in print so far; graffiti and other wall inscriptions, important for the question of the local distribution of the Tocharian languages and their dialects, still await systematic treatment.<sup>1</sup>

The degree of cultural knowledge we can derive from translated texts depends on the freedom of expression available to, and chosen by, the Tocharian writer. While the signifié will be determined by the source, the details of its correlate on the signifiant side will be part of the target language: what is to be expressed is a given, but how it is expressed may allow for some leeway, and the words or phrases chosen will reflect the patterns of the target language (unless a slavish use of calques or even loanwords carries the influence of the source language onto the expression level). Thus, even translated terms may yield important information for the target language; cases in question are presented, e. g., in Thomas (1969) and Winter (1985).

In the paper offered here I propose to examine terms for cardinal points and some other directions found in Tocharian A and B texts.

2. For a number of reasons, it is advisable to begin this discussion with Tocharian expressions for ‘east’: the meaning is clear beyond any doubt, and — except for morphological details to be analyzed — the etymology is straightforward.

2.1 In A, both a noun A *kompärkānt* ‘east’ and an adjective A *kompärkāñci* ‘easterly’ is found, the former also in a compound form A *kompärkānt-kälyme\** ‘easterly direction’. The relevant passages are:

A 259 a 2 Š *yäṣ kompärkāntac* ‘goes to the east’ (cf. Sieg—Siegling—Schulze 1931: 5, Thomas 1969: 245)

A 462 b 2 D // *rsā // purvasyādi · kompärkānt-kälymey(äṣṣ aci)* // ‘from an easterly direction’ (cf. Sieg—Siegling—Schulze 1931: 5)

A 66 b 4 Š // *kārnaṣ kompärkāñcām kälyme riṣis swayamparṣiṃ lameyam* ‘descends towards the easterly region of the city, to the place of the svayamvara’ (cf. Sieg 1952: 9)

A 253 a 7 Š *wsāṣim šont yo kompärkāñcām yokmā Ketumati ri(yam yowäs)* ‘along the golden road he entered the city of Ketumati through the easterly gate’

A 379 b 3 Š //(:) *kompärkāñcām kälmyam cami* ‘in an easterly direction for him’

**2.2** In Tocharian B, *kaumpirko* (eastern dialect: *kompirko*) matches A *kompärkānt*; A *kompärkāñci* has its counterpart in B *kaumpirkoṣṣe*; and the compound B *kaumpirko-kälmyi* corresponds to A *kompärkānt-kälmye*. The following attestations can be listed:

B 108 b 4 S *kälmyim läkāṣyem cey kompirkomem ipprer-ne ka ṣ lyakārne* ‘they were looking in (all four) directions, and then they saw him (the Buddha) in the sky (coming) from the east’ (cf. Thomas 1957: 110)

PK 13 D b 4 *kaumpirko* ‘east’ (cited by Thomas 1969: 244)

PK 13 D a 3 *kaumpirko-kälmyi* ‘easterly direction’ (cited by Bernhard 1958: 142, 168, 263)

PK NS 434 a 2 *kau(m)pirkoṣṣai ka(lymi-ne)* ‘in an easterly direction’ (cf. Bernhard 1958: 112, 142, 263; Thomas 1969: 244)

B 527 b 3 D *(pūrva)syām · kaumpirkoṣṣai-ne* ‘in an easterly direction’

The parallelism between A *-pärkānt* and B *-pirko* is most obvious in A 462 b 2 D : B 527 b 3 D. However, this does not mean that semantic identity of the two forms also implies formal identity.

**2.3** It is just this identity that has been proposed by Van Windekens (1976: 362–363, 1979: 49); however, the following observations are called for:

B *pirko* is a noun of the *-o* : *-onta* class (cf. Krause–Thomas 1960: 124) associated with the verb stem B *pärkā-* ‘rise (of the sun)’ as found in B *pärkālñe* ‘rising’, B *parka* ‘rose’ (cf. Krause 1952: 258), in the same way as B *pilko* ‘glance’ is with B *pälkā-* ‘look’, B *raso* ‘span’ with B *räsā-* ‘stretch’, B *ṣiko* ‘step’ with B *sikā-* ‘take a step’, B *yarpo* ‘merit’ with B *wärpā-* ‘enjoy’ (cf. Krause 1952: 51). All these forms share the property of showing the reflex of PIE *\*e* in the first syllable — wherever admissible, palatalization of the preceding consonant is found. The first conclusion to be drawn from these findings is that B *pirko* cannot be derived from a pre-form with zero grade: a Proto-Indo-European source *\*bhr̥ghōnt-* as proposed by Van Windekens (1976: 363) has to be rejected outright

as far as the onset is concerned; there is also no discernible motivation for an *\*-ōnt-*: where should *\*-ō-* come from in a form based on a stem *\*bhergh-*? The proposal made by Van Windekens is therefore to be rejected.

The exact equivalent of B *pirko* is A *pärk*. This form occurs in A *opärkā*, interpreted by Sieg–Siegling–Schulze (1931: 264) as ‘vielleicht = “im Osten”’, by Krause–Thomas (1960: 170) and Thomas–Krause (1964: 87) as ‘zur Morgenzeit’. The form is a hapax legomenon which does not permit a decision based on the evidence of the immediate context:

A 265 a 3 Š // (tmä)š opärkā kom pärkamām säs parno wrasom  
 ‘(then)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in the morning} \\ \text{in the east} \end{array} \right\}$  this splendid being (seeing?)  
 the rising sun ...’

In view of the fact that A *kompärkānt* is well established as the technical term for ‘east’, it seems advisable to give preference to the interpretation proposed by Krause and Thomas.

**2.4** A *pärkānt* differs considerably from B *pilko*. The A form is an *-nt-* noun based on the verb stem A *pärkā-*, the stem being that of the subjunctive, not of the present. This fact sets A *pärkānt* apart from present-stem based *-nt-* participles and agent nouns; an explanation of A *pärkānt* along the lines once suggested by Van Windekens (1950: 519–521) is therefore out of the question. Within the Tocharian languages, there is, however, a close parallel to the A form, viz., B *auñento*, A *oñant* ‘beginning’: in both cases do we find an *-nt-* extension of a subjunctive, once with a presuffixal vocalism matching that of thematic present participles (cf. B *aseñca*, A *āsant* ‘leading’), once agreeing with that of present participles derived from present stems in *-a-* (cf. A *šwānt*, B *šawāñca* ‘eating’). *-nt* of A *pärkānt* must originally have been followed by a suffix containing a vowel. This suffix may well have been the match of B *-o*; the fact that B *auñento* is not an *-ont-* stem, but has an accusative singular in *-ai* is not a counterargument — cf. the forms given by Krause (1952: 51) and an item like B *šatkai* ~ *šitkai* ‘very’: B *kätkā-* ‘exceed’ (cf. Van Windekens 1976: 471). The very tentative suggestion by Sieg–Siegling–Schulze (1931: 5) can thus be viewed as essentially correct.

**2.5** The alignment of B A *pärkā-* ‘rise’ with PIE *\*bherǵh-* ‘high’ (Van Windekens 1941: 90) can be accepted. B A *pärkā-* would then be relatable to B *pärkare*, A *pärkär* ‘long’ (cf. Van Windekens 1950: 520), an adjective in which a *\*-ro-* stem replaced older *\*-u-* stem — cf. Arm. *barjr* ‘high’ (note also Winter 1962: 29). The verb stem indicates that the semantic shift *\*‘high’* > *‘long’* is of a relatively recent, though Common Tocharian, date. Van Windekens (1951: 214–215) proposed possible Iranian influence; for such an impact of Iranian on Tocharian semantics, cf. Winter (1968: 63).

**3.** The text A 259 a 2 Š, cited briefly in § 2.1, contains more than just one directional term: A *yäš kompärkāntac* is followed by A *yäš škārā komwmānt*. Sieg–Siegling–Schulze (1931: 278) proposed a translation: ‘er geht nach Osten (Sonnenaufgang), er geht zurück nach Westen(?)’; on p. 5, the authors made it quite clear that they could not see how A *komwmānt* was connected with any known form. Thomas–Krause (1960) contains no reference to the word. In a brief aside (Winter 1965: 206) I suggested, on the basis of the fact that A *komwmānt* occurred beside terms for ‘east’ and (probably) ‘west’ and of a possible etymology, an identification of A *komwmānt* as ‘south’. Van Windekens (1976: 578–579), who had obviously not consulted the text itself, but merely read the incomplete quotation in Sieg–Siegling–Schulze (1931: 278), went ahead and proposed an etymology for the word allegedly meaning ‘west’, an etymology which is demonstrably wrong in almost all phonological and morphological details and deserves no further comment.

**3.1** What Sieg–Siegling–Schulze (1931: 278) failed to mention is the fact that the text in A 259 a 2 does not end with A *komwmānt*, but that it continues with A *yäš šul.//*. The pattern A *yäš* plus direction, *yäš* plus direction, *yäš* plus X suggests that A *šul.//* is the onset of a third directional term. The obvious reading for A *šul.//* is A *šuliñc* (or a case form thereof) — ‘Bezeichnung einer Himmelsgegend’ according to Sieg–Siegling–Schulze (1931: 17), ‘“bergig”, eine Himmelsgegend bezeichnend’ in Thomas–Krause (1960: 150). The latter passage contains an explicit reference to A *šuliñc-kälyme*, a form found in A 379 b 3 Š and neatly analogous to A *kompärkānt-kälyme* ‘easterly direction’ referred to in § 2.1. Van Windekens (1976: 465) just takes ‘bergig’ from Thomas–Krause (1960: 150) and renders A *šuliñc* by ‘montagneux’, thus disregarding

the central function of the term. The nature of the relationship between A *ṣuliñc* and A *ṣul* ‘mountain’ will be discussed later (§ 6.5).

**3.2** In my reference to A 259 a 2 (Winter 1965: 206) I neglected to pay adequate attention to the word A *ṣkāṛā* ‘back, backwards’. Sieg – Siegling – Schulze (1931: 278) appear to have settled for an identification of A *koṃwmānt* as ‘west’ essentially because the west would be in the back of a person facing east. While this might seem legitimate reasoning, an alternative solution deserves to be considered: Directed movement around a circle has one proper direction in Indian, and for that matter: our own, culture, viz., that of moving along with the sun; to move counterclockwise, withershins, is improper and invites bad luck (cf. Winter 1985: 588). A movement from one cardinal point to others would be a movement around a circle; thus the notion of a ‘right’ direction should apply. To reverse such direction would mean moving counterclockwise; if so, A *koṃwmānt* would, in a context where only (maximally) four cardinal points were mentioned, have to be identified as denoting ‘north’. An etymological support for this identification does not seem to exist; still, my own earlier interpretation of A *koṃwmānt* as ‘south’ should be considered disproved even if no positive identification of an A term for ‘south’ could be provided. Such a term is, however, detectable in our records.

**3.3** A *koṃpärkānt* ‘east’ has been analyzed (cf. § 2.4) as an -nt-extension of the verb stem A *pärkā-* ‘rise’. All subjunctive stems in A -ā- have a common property: the preceding consonant is always nonpalatalized. The only exception to this statement would be A *koṃṣānt* in

A 379 b 4 Š *mācrim koṃ[nṣānt] källymentwaṃ* ‘in the directions X and Y’

The square brackets in Sieg – Siegling (1921: 210) indicate that the reading is not certain. Note now that there are two pairs of akṣaras in Tocharian writing the members of which are most readily confused by a reader or copyist (for the latter case, cf. von Gabain – Winter 1958: 27), viz., *ta* : *na* and *pa* : *ṣa*, respectively. In principle, we have thus to recognize the possibility of four admissible readings for the ligature reluctantly identified as *nṣā* by Sieg and Siegling, viz., *nṣā*, *tṣā*, *npā*, and *tpā*. The second of these would violate the rule stated above in the same way as does the first one. This leaves

us with the readings *npā* and *tpā*. The former has no recognizable connections in A or B; the latter, however, does have them:

In A 148 a 5 Š the parallel constructions (as well as the constructions with antonyms in b 1–2) permit a completion of the damaged passage as follows:

//(*kus ne orto tpont kulypa*)*l(am) toṃ tpont māskantrām · kus ne āñc (nmont kulypalam toṃ āñc) nmont māska(ntrām : )* ‘he who wants them (i. e., the extremities) raised high, for him they will be high. He who wants them bent down low, for him they will be bent down.’

As seen by Sieg – Siegling – Schulze (1931: 439), the verb stem found in A *tpont* should be compared with the stem of the adjective A *tpār* ‘high’. Accepting this proposal, we may now write down two matching sets:

A *kompärkānt* ‘east’ : A *pärkā-* ‘rise’ : A *pärkär* ‘long’

and

A *komtpānt* ‘X’ : A *tāpā-* ‘be held high’ : A *tpār* ‘high’

The conclusion seems inevitable that A *komtpānt* must be assigned a meaning ‘south’ (which of course indirectly supports the identification of A *komwmānt* as ‘north’ proposed in § 3.2). If this is correct, we get in A 379 b 4 a reference to movement in the ‘right’, clockwise direction – ‘east’, ‘south’, and ‘west’ are named in this order.

4. In the passage just cited, A *komtpānt* does, however, not occur by itself, but in conjunction with another term, attested only here. We read:

A 379 b 4 *mācrim komtpānt källymentwam* ‘in the directions (plural!) X and south’

A *mācrim*, whatever its language-internal analysis and ultimate etymology, must designate a point between east and south, that is, its meaning must be ‘southeast’. Is it likely that an enumeration not only of the four cardinal points should be given, but that intermediate directions should also be named in a Tocharian text? The answer to this question can be in the affirmative because of one significant fact: The text A 379 is badly damaged, but an important detail has been preserved: In A 379 b 3 we find A *yā śāk källyme(ntwam)* ‘(he) went in the ten directions’, and earlier in the

same line A *||(ṣu)liñc-kālyme* ‘westerly direction’ is immediately followed by A *āñc orto* ‘down (and) up’. In A 379 then, the text deals with the ten directions ‘east, southeast, south, southwest, west, northwest, north, northeast, down, up’, while A 259 seems to refer to the quadripartite pattern ‘east, south, west, north’. (For some references concerning patterns of directions in Sanskrit, cf. Monier-Williams 1899: 480.)

5. In an enumeration as found in A 379 one would expect ‘east, southeast, south’ to be followed by a term for ‘southwest’. The fact that A *ṣuliñc* is not a designation formed with A *koṃ* ‘sun’ and thus agrees with A *mācraṃ* ‘southeast’ might be cited in support of such an assumption: however, A 259 provides an argument against it, and it seems wiser to follow the suggestions cited in § 3.1 from Sieg – Siegling – Schulze and Thomas – Krause and to take A *ṣuliñc* as the simple term ‘west, westerly’.

The attestation of A *ṣuliñc* is poor; the complete form is found in

A 286 a 1 Š - - - ṣ *p.nis ṣuliñc* //

A 434 a 4 D *||(wa)’rts yo worpu ṣuliñc ṣlem su* //

The first passage is untranslatable. As for the second one, the hapax legomenon A *ṣlem* may be an adjective of appurtenance based on the noun A *ṣul* ‘mountain’, with a loss of *-u-* as in A *ykas* – beside A *yukas* – ‘horses’ (accusative plural) or A *pkul* – beside A *p<sup>u</sup>kāl*, *p<sup>u</sup>kul* – ‘year’, which would make possible a tentative rendering of the broken line as ‘surrounded by (his) entourage, (he) ... (towards?) the western mountain’s ...’; the only important information extractable from the immediate collocation of A *ṣuliñc* and A *ṣlem* would be that, whatever its more remote prehistory, A *ṣuliñc* could not longer mean ‘mountainous’.

In three further attestations, A *ṣuliñc* occurs only in damaged forms:

A 259 a 2 Š *yāṣ koṃpārkañtac yāṣ ṣkāṛā koṃwmānt yāṣ ṣul(iñcām kālymeyac?)* // ‘(he) goes towards the east, (he) goes back towards the north, (he) goes (towards) the west(erly direction?)’

A 379 b 2–3 Š *||(ṣu)’liñc-kālyme āñc orto : tāṃnek – koc yā śāk kālyme(ñtwam)* // ‘westerly direction, down below (and) up high; thus (he) ... went in the ten directions’



A 379 b 4 Š // (:) *kompärkãñcãm kãlymyam cami mãcrim komtpãnt kãlymentwam šul.* // ‘in easterly direction, in the directions southeast and south, in westerly (direction)’

The second passage shows A *šuliñc-kãlyme* in adjacency with ‘down below’ and ‘up high’; no reason can be given for this sequential arrangement.

6. Sieg – Siegling – Schulze (1931: 17) derived A *šuliñc* from A *šul* ‘mountain’, pointing out the parallel with A *ãkiñc* ‘lonely’ (Thomas – Krause 1960: 80: ‘remote’) : A *āk* ‘end’.

A *šul* matches B *šale* ‘mountain’. It is therefore tempting to propose also a connection of B *oššale* ~ *ošle* with the B word for ‘mountain’. The B forms cited are attested in:

B 69 a 2 Š – *ošle pãkre klainã-mpa kca treñksate · m.* // ‘abends und morgens (?) hängte er sich an eine Frau ...’ (Sieg – Siegling 1949: 80)

B 303 frg. a M // *oššalemem* // ‘from the west(?)’

B 508 b 1 Š // *((tãko)ycer (lo) lymoš oššaleššai nikš(ãtrã...))* // ‘if you had been seated ... the western (star’s) ...’

B 509 b 3–4 Š // *((o)ššale(šš)ai (ka)lymi-ne kãryort...)* // ‘in the western region ... merchant(s) ...’

B 612 a 5 X // *((o)ššalešše nauntai-ne* – // ‘on the western road’

A clear reference to a direction occurs in B 509 (cf. § 2.2) and B 612, possibly also in B 303 and B 508. A proper translation of B 69 depends to a large extent on the meaning of B *pãkre*, which, however, is so uncertain that the word is not listed in Thomas – Krause (1960); one may merely speculate as to what motivated the rendering by Sieg – Siegling (1949) – perhaps the authors assumed that there was an etymological connection of B *pãkri* ‘offenbar’ with B *pãkre* which could then be a term for ‘in the morning’. However, this meaning is expressed by B *tsonkaik*, a form based on a noun B *tsonko*\* related to B *tsãnkã* ‘get up’, and though of course (near-)synonyms cannot be said not to have existed, the probability that B *pãkre* and B *tsonkaik* had (almost) the same meaning is rather low. Thomas (1983) refrains entirely from a discussion of B 69.<sup>2</sup>

6.1 Earlier etymologies proposed for B *oššale* ~ *ošle* are not persuasive. Couvreur (1950: 129) suggested a connection with PIE *\*awes-* (i.e., *\*Awes-*) ‘stay overnight’; as far as the meaning is



concerned, this might account for ‘vespertine’, but less so for ‘western’, and, more significantly, neither the *-ss-* nor the *-l-* of B *oṣṣale* is explained. Van Windekens (1976: 344) posited a preform PIE *\*sy-elo-* for B *-ssale*, a reconstruction which has no morphological support and glosses over the difficulty of bridging the semantic gap between ‘fall silent’ and ‘evening’, let alone ‘west’; the onset B *o-* remains totally unexplained, not the least because Van Windekens never understood the conditions under which a prefix with a vowel quality B *o-* can be expected to occur (cf. Van Windekens 1976: 156, 157).

**6.2** If a connection exists between B *ṣale* ‘mountain’ and B *oṣṣale* ~ *oṣle* ‘west’, the latter has to be broken down into a prefix B *o-* and a stem B *-ṣale* ~ *-ṣle*. The basic shape of the prefix denoting closeness (adjacency) is B *e-*, A *a-* (not B *a*, A *ā* as Van Windekens 1976: 154–156 thought; B *a*, A *ā* resulted from umlaut before B *a*, A *ā* of the following syllable). In both Tocharian languages, there seems to have been a large-scale confusion among the reflexes of PIE *\*n̥-* ‘un-’, PIE *\*n̥-* ‘together with’, and PIE *\*ō-* ‘close to’, the unumlauted continuations of which were B *en-*, *en-*, *e-* and A *an-*, *an-*, *a-*, respectively. Preceding labials and (Common Tocharian) labiovelars, we find:

- (a) preservation of the vocalism B *e-*, A *a-* (cf. B *empalkaitte* ~ *empālkatte* : A *apālkāt* ‘without concern’; B *emparkre* : A *apärkär* ‘in detail’);
- (b) rounding only in A (cf. B *epastye* : A *opässi* ‘skilful’; B *epiñkte* : A *opānt* ‘inbetween’; B *epiyac* : A *opyāc* ‘in memory’ — note also B *emalle\** : A *omāl* ‘hot’, B *eñkwe* : A *oñk* ‘man’ with phonologically, though not morphologically, comparable onsets);
- (c) rounding in both B and A (cf. B *oñkolmo* : A *oñkalām* ‘elephant’, with uncertain etymology; B *oñkrocce* : A *oñkrac* ‘immortal’);
- (d) rounding in B, without preserved parallels in A (cf. B *ompakwättñe* ‘unreliability’ beside B *empakwatte* ‘unreliable’; B *ompalskoññe* ~ *ompolskoññe* ‘meditation’; B *ompostām* ‘thereafter’; B *omprotärtstse\** ‘with brothers’; B *oñkor* ‘together(?)’; B *oñkarño* ~ *oñkorño* ‘rice gruel’, with unknown etymology — the proposal by Van Windekens 1976: 338 is inadequate on phonological and morphological grounds).

It seems possible that rounding in B was triggered, or at least supported, by *-o-* of the following syllable (cf. B *ontsoytte* ‘not satisfied’), but difficulties remain: B *ompalskoññe* ‘meditation’ is by far the most frequent variant, and the word for ‘gruel’ is distributed in B 107 S as follows: The nominative B *oñkorño* is found three times (including B 107 a 3 *sā<sup>u</sup> oñko((rñō))* — the emendation to *oñko((rñai))* as proposed in Sieg–Siegling 1953: 41 n. 5 is to be replaced by that offered in Thomas 1957: 46; it is strange to note that Thomas 1983: 255 has no comment). A nominative form B *oñkarño\** does not occur. An accusative form B *oñkorñai* is attested twelve times, a competing form B *oñkarñai*, five times. The incidence of B *oñkarñai* is by far too high to consider this form wrong and in need of correction; rather does it seem advisable to assume the coexistence of an unlevelled paradigm (nominative B *oñkorño*, accusative B *oñkarñai*) and a levelled one (nominative B *oñkorño*, accusative B *oñkorñai*). *-o-* in B *oñkorño* would then have been triggered by *-o* of the nominative, just as *-o* in B *prosko* ‘fear’ was responsible for the internal *-o-* of this form (cf. Van Windekens 1976: 388). If this explanation of *-o-* in B *oñkorño* is correct, the vocalism of the initial syllable can hardly have been due to the influence of *-o-*, but rather to that of the consonantism of B *oñkorño*, *oñkarñai*. B *ompostām*, *omprotärtstse\**, *oñkor* may be considered forms containing an umlaut-conditioning *-o-*, but there are enough cases where such an *-o-* does not occur to lead us not to view it as the only important factor. The existence side-by-side of rounded B *ompakwättñe* and unrounded B *empakwätte* suggests that rounding was an ongoing development not yet fully generalized. (For a rather comprehensive discussion of the problems of *o-* vocalism in the Tocharian languages cf. Hilmarsson 1986).

**6.3** In this overall context, B *oşsale* ~ *oşle*, if derived from B *şale* ‘mountain’, posits a problem of its own. A *şul* ‘mountain’ admits of two possible explanations — either (a) < pre-A *\*sw’ale-* or (b) < pre-A *\*s’alwe-*. In the second case, *-w-* metathesis would have to be assumed as in A *yuk* : B *yakwe* ‘horse-’, A *tunk* : B *tañw* ‘love’, A *p<sup>u</sup>käl* : B *pikul* ‘year’. (A slightly different argumentation is found in Van Windekens 1976: 465.) In B, there is no *-w-* metathesis; if alternative (b) were appropriate, one would, however, have expected to find *-ll-* in the B form for ‘mountain’ (cf. Winter 1972). It thus seems preferable to turn to alternative (a): a Proto-Indo-European form *\*swelo-* would account for both A *şul* and B *şale*. Unfortu-

nately, no connection can be established in Indo-European; the etymology proposed by Van Windekens (1976: 465) would of course have to be dropped.

Alternative (a) also offers the only plausible way of accounting for *o-* in B *oṣṣale* ~ *oṣle* if this is to be connected with B *ṣale* as A *ṣuliñc* was with A *ṣul*: a rounding of B *e-* is not entirely unlikely to have occurred before *\*sw-* if such rounding developed before *\*kw-*. However, a difficulty remains: In B *ṣale*, there is no longer any trace of *\*-w-*. The onset of *\*swelo-* must have gone through a development as follows: (1) *\*sw'ə* (*-w-* plus palatalizing shwa) > (2) *\*s'wə* (palatalized *-w-*) > (3) *\*syə* (*-y-* as a reflex of palatalized *-w-*) > (4) *\*šyə* > (5) *\*ṣṣə* > (6) *ṣə*. A rounding effect of *\*w* can be expected to have occurred no later than at stage (2).

**6.4** It is important to note that a close parallel exists for the development claimed here of B *oṣṣale* from *\*ō-swelo-*: B *orkāntai* 'back and forth' (Thomas–Krause 1960: 176: 'hin und her') is attested in two fairly well preserved passages:

B 88 a 4 Š *tsakatsai' kem-tsa orkāntai yārttane* 'he (Rudraśarma) dragged him (Uttara) back and forth over the thorny ground' (cf. Thomas 1957: 91)

B 108 b 5 S *lyama śama mas' orkāntai lek yamaṣṣa lyśalyneṣṣe* 'he (the Buddha) sat down, stood up, walked back and forth, made the gesture of lying down' (cf. Thomas 1957: 110)

The word is explained by Van Windekens (1976: 341) as derived from a prefix plus a root *\*rāk-* < *\*ruk-* with alleged parallels only in Germanic. However, forms within Tocharian seem better candidates for comparison: A *wärkānt*, B *yerkwantai* (accusative) 'wheel' have been connected with OInd. *vṛṇākti* 'turns', etc. (< PIE *\*werg-*; cf. Pokorny 1959: 1154) as early as Sieg–Siegling (1921: VII). The origin of *-w-* in B *yerkwantai* has remained obscure, in spite of the arguments presented by Van Windekens (1976: 559): in view of the absence of rounding of *-ānt* in A *wärkānt*, *-w-* must be a development internal to B. B *ye-* in lieu of expected B *yä-* is also found in B *yeksnar* beside B *aiksnar* < *\*e-yeksnar* 'all around' and in B *yekte* ~ *yäkte* (*yakte*) 'scant', so that A *wärkānt* and B *yerkwanta\** can both be derived, as athematically formed agent nouns (cf. B *yokānta* 'he who drinks'), from an underlying full-grade *\*werK-nt-*; B *-kw-* may then be due to an early assimilation process.

B *orkāntai* now can be taken to be derived from \**ē-w'ark-nt-*, meaning roughly 'in the manner of one who turns around'; it can be so explained only if rounding preceded the development of a fronted B *y* for palatalized \**w*.

**6.5** Provided B *şale* can be derived from \**swelo-*, and further provided that the rounding reflected in B *o-* can be dated very early, an interpretation of B *oşşale* as resulting from \**ō-swelo-* seems warranted, which would place it fairly close to A *şuliñc* < *şul* < (\**swelo-*) plus a reflex of \*-*nty-* or \*-*ṇKyo-*; the latter suffix cluster may be compared with \*-*Vnkʷ-* in Lat. *propinquus* 'near', OInd. *údañc-* 'raise up' (cf. Walde—Hofmann 1954: 371 with literature). The basic meaning of B *oşşale* and A *şuliñc* would then approximately be '(pertaining to the direction) by the mountain'.

Is this a likely background for the designation of a cardinal point (or another direction on the compass)? The answer to this question can be in the affirmative: Turkic languages, from Old Turkish onwards, have used the word for 'mountain' also to name a direction — usually 'north', but 'west' in Chuvash (cf. Sevortjan 1980: 118, who adds a comment which can be translated as follows: 'It is also difficult to establish the sources for the meanings "north" and "west" since the region of settlement of the ancestors of the ancient Turks and the Chuvash at the time when these designations were formed is unknown; the question of time also remains open.').

One must assume for both Tocharians and Turks that there were mountains towards the west and north, respectively, of their ancestral homelands — mountains so conspicuous that 'going behind the mountain' or 'being behind the mountain' could take the place of a reference to the setting sun or to the sun hidden during the night, respectively. In the case of the Tocharians, this would seem to rule out, for the Common Tocharian homeland, areas to the north, west, or south of impressive mountains just as well as areas with no mountains to speak of towards the west. More than this, I think, cannot reasonably be said at this point.

**7.** The terms denoting 'by the mountain' were not used because the Tocharians had no way of talking about the setting sun. Forms cited by Thomas (1969: 243–244) from unpublished texts indicate that at least in B, 'to set' was rendered by B *yäp-* 'enter'. To the extent that it can be determined, reference is made, though, to the sunset and not to the west as a cardinal point; witness:

PK NS 18 a 3 *kaum-yaptsi-täntsi* ‘until sundown’

PK NS 49 b 3 *kaum-yänmälle* ‘sundown’, b 2 *kon-yänmälle* ‘do.’

(cf. Bernhard 1958: 139–140)

B+ 64 *kaunantse yaipor-mem* ‘because of the sunset’

A similar restriction in use is also found in forms derived from B A *pärkā-* ‘rise’ other than B *pırko*, A *pärkāt* — no reference to direction, but rather one to the time of day is detectable in B *pärkor*

PK (NS) 12 K b 2 *skakänmamem kaunänts(e) pärkor-ne wawā-kauwa piltāsa* // ‘leaves that had unfolded at sunrise (were strewn) from the balconies’

and in B *pārki\**

B 90 b 5 Š // (r) *ekauna kauparki aksaune* ‘... words I will tell him at sunrise’ (cf. Bernhard 1958: 141; Thomas 1983: 244).

8. In conclusion, it can be said that in contradistinction to some, but not all, Old Turkish texts (some of which reflect Chinese influence — cf. Zieme 1985: 93 n.13.16), the Tocharian data give evidence for adherence to Indic direction patterns, with ‘east’ as the basic point. The terms for ‘north’ and ‘south’ (the latter with a simple etymology) are found in A, while B texts so far have not yielded them. ‘East’, ‘south’, and ‘north’ make explicit reference to the sun; ‘west’, derived from the words for ‘mountain’, does so only in an indirect way. A ten-direction pattern found in an A text, apart from giving the designations for ‘high up’ and ‘down below’ — terms attested elsewhere and with established equivalents in B —, provides us with a word denoting an intermediate point on the compass, viz., ‘southeast’; nothing can be said about the etymology of this form. While directional patterns and orientation agree with, and in part probably derive from, Indic sources, the terms used in Tocharian are of native origin. In the case of ‘west’, the motivational agreement between the two languages points to a Common Tocharian date of the association of ‘west’ with ‘mountain’; we thus get a hint of the topography of the territory once occupied by the ancestors of the speakers of the Tocharian languages, a hint which may turn out to be useful when plotted against other evidence we have now or may eventually have once the still unpublished texts have been made accessible and been scrutinized by experts in various, including nonlinguistic, disciplines. In this way, a clarification

even of what may appear to be only minor aspects of the Tocharian heritage may contribute towards deeper insights into the history of these people and of the Asian lands they once inhabited.

## Notes

1. After the present paper had been sent to the publishers, an extremely well-documented and comprehensive publication of the group of texts mentioned appeared in print: Georges Pinault, "Épigraphie koutchéenne. I Laissez-passer de caravanes. II. Graffites et inscriptions", in: Chao Huashan—Simone Gauthier—Monique Maillard—Georges Pinault, *Sites divers de la région de Koutcha. Épigraphie koutchéenne* (Documents archéologiques 8, Mission Paul Pelliot) (Paris: Collège de France, 1987), 59—196, with numerous plates.
2. In the text Otani 19.1, which Klaus T. Schmidt kindly brought to my attention, B *oşşalemem* occurs alongside B *kom-kläskomeṃ* in a context which suggests a rendering 'from the west' for the latter term (cf. B 305 b 3) and 'from the north' for the former. It is hoped that the Otani text can be discussed in full detail soon.

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